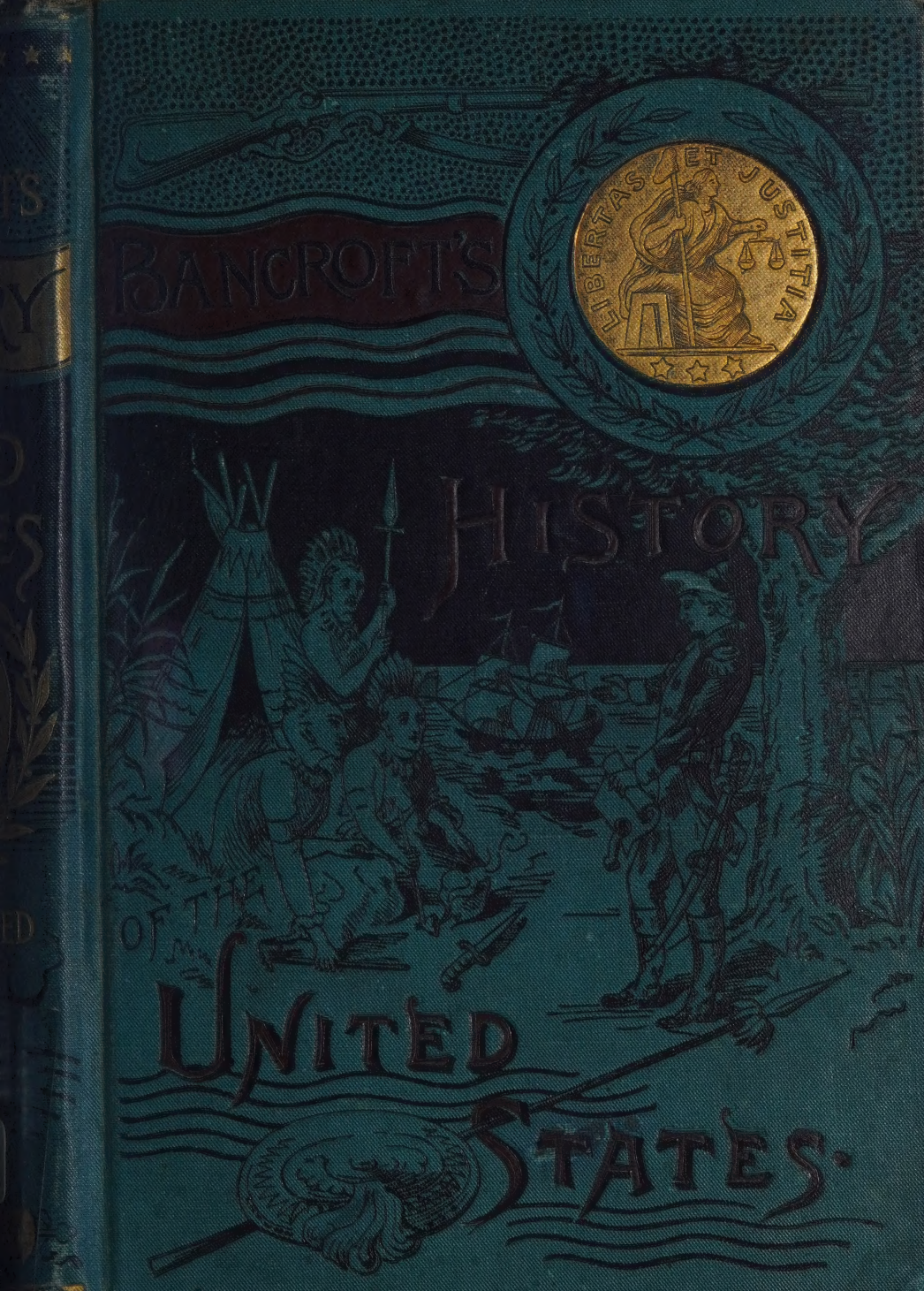
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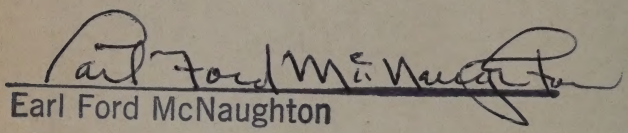

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HISTORY

OF THE

COLONIZATION

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

BY

GEORGE BANCROFT.

ABRIDGED BY THE AUTHOR.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

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COLONIAL HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY VOYAGES. FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

It is the object of the present work to explain the origin of our country, and to follow the steps by which a favoring Providence called our institutions into being.

The enterprise of Columbus, the most memorable maritime enterprise in the history of the world, formed between Europe and America the communication which will never cease. The national pride of an Icelandic historian has indeed claimed for his ancestors the glory of having discovered the western hemisphere; and Danish antiquaries believe that Northmen entered the waters of Rhode Island, and gave the name of Vinland to the south-east coasts of New England. The nation of intrepid mariners, whose voyages extended beyond Iceland and beyond Sicily, could easily have sailed from Greenland to Labrador. No clear, historic evidence makes it certain that they accomplished the passage,—far less that they reached the territory of the United States. Imagination had conceived the idea that vast, inhabited regions lay unexplored in the west; and poets had declared that empires beyond the ocean would one day be revealed to the daring navigator. But Columbus deserves the undivided glory of having realized that belief.

Columbus was a native of Genoa. The commerce of the middle ages, conducted chiefly upon the Mediterranean Sea, had enriched the Italian republics, and had been chiefly engrossed by their citizens. The path for enterprise now lay across the ocean. The states which bordered upon the Atlantic—Spain, Portugal, and England—became competitors for the New World and its traffic; but the nation which, by long and successful ex-

perience, had become deservedly celebrated for its skill in navigation, continued for a season to furnish the most able maritime commanders. Italians had the glory of making the discoveries, from which Italy derived neither wealth nor power.

In the new career of western adventure, the American continent was first discovered under the auspices of the English, and the coast of the United States by a native of England. The magnificent achievement of Columbus, revealing the wonderful truth, of which the germs may have existed in the imagination of every thoughtful mariner, won the admiration which was due to an enterprise that seemed more divine than human, and kindled in the breasts of the emulous a vehement desire to gain as signal renown in the same career of daring; while the politic king of England desired to share in the large returns which were promised by maritime adventure. It was, therefore, not difficult for John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, residing at Bristol, to engage Henry VII. in plans for discovery. Under a patent obtained from that monarch, and containing the worst features of colonial monopoly and commercial restriction, John Cabot, and his celebrated son Sebastian, embarked, in 1497, for the west. Of what tempests they encountered, what mutinies they calmed, no record has been preserved. The discovery of the American continent, on the twenty-fourth day of June, probably in the latitude of fifty-six degrees,—far, therefore, to the north of the Straits of Belle Isle, among the polar bears, the rude savages, and the dismal cliffs of Labrador,—was the fruit of the voyage. The navigators hastened homeward to announce their success. Thus the discovery of our continent was an exploit of private, mercantile adventure; and the possession of the new-found "land and isles" was a right vested, by an exclusive patent, in the family of a Bristol merchant. Yet the Cabots derived little benefit from the expedition, which their genius had suggested, and of which they alone had defrayed the expense. Posterity hardly remembered that they had reached the American continent nearly fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, came in sight of the main land, and almost two years before Amerigo Vespucci sailed west of the Canaries. But England acquired, through their energy, such a right to North America as this indisputable priority could confer.

Confidence and zeal awakened; and Henry grew circumspect in the concession of rights, which now seemed about to become of immense value. In February, 1498, a new patent was issued to John Cabot, less ample in the privileges which it conferred; and his son Sebastian—a native of Bristol, a youthful adventu-

rer of great benevolence and courtesy, daring in conception, and patient in execution—pursued the paths of discovery which he, with his father, had opened. The object of the new expedition was, in part, to explore "what manner of landes those Indies were to inhabit;" and perhaps, also, a hope was entertained of reaching the rich empire of Cathay. Embarking in May, Sebastian Cabot, with a company of three hundred men, sailed for Labrador, by way of Iceland, and reached the continent in the latitude of fifty-eight degrees. The severity of the cold, the strangeness of the unknown land, and his declared purpose of exploring the country, induced him to turn to the south; and, having proceeded along the shores of the United States to the southern boundary of Maryland, or perhaps to the latitude of Albemarle Sound, want of provisions hastened his return to England.

The maps which he sketched of his discoveries, as well as the accounts which he wrote of his adventures, have perished; and the history of the next years of his life is involved in obscurity. Yet it does not admit of a reasonable doubt that, perhaps in 1517, sailing once more from England to discover the North-Western passage, Sebastian Cabot passed through the straits, and entered the bay, which, after the lapse of nearly a century, took their name from Hudson. He himself wrote a "Discourse of Navigation," in which the entrance of the strait was laid down, with great precision, "on a card drawn by his own hand." He boldly prosecuted his design, making his way through regions into which it was long afterwards esteemed an act of the most intrepid adventure to penetrate, till, on June the eleventh, as we are informed from a letter written by the navigator himself, he had attained the latitude of sixty-seven and a half degrees, ever in the hope of finding a passage into the Indian Ocean. The sea was still open; but the cowardice of a naval officer, and the mutiny of the mariners, compelled him to return, though his own confidence in the possibility of effecting the passage remained unimpaired.

The career of Sebastian Cabot was in the issue as honorable as its opening had been glorious. He conciliated universal regard by the benevolent mildness of his character. For nearly sixty years he guided maritime adventure; was revered for his achievements and skill; and, at last, was pensioned and rewarded for his merits as the Great Seaman. It was he who framed the instructions for the expedition which discovered the passage to Archangel. He lived to an extreme old age, and so loved his profession to the last, that, in the hour of death, his

wandering thoughts were upon the ocean. The discoverer of the territory of our country was one of the most extraordinary men of his age: there is deep cause for regret, that time has spared so few memorials of his career. He gave England a continent, and no one knows his burial-place.

Upon the certainty of success, a throng of adventurers eagerly engaged in voyages to explore the New World, or to plunder its inhabitants. The king of Portugal, grieved at having neglected Columbus, readily favored an expedition for northern discovery. Gaspar Cortereal was appointed commander of the enterprise. In 1501, he reached the shores of North America; ranged the coast for a distance of six or seven hundred miles, probably as far north as the fiftieth degree; and carefully observed the country and its inhabitants. The pines, well adapted for masts and yards, promised to become an object of gainful commerce. But men were already with the Portuguese an established article of traffic; and Cortereal freighted his ships with more than fifty Indians, whom, on his return, he sold as slaves. It was soon resolved to renew the expedition; but the adventurer never returned. The name of Labrador, transferred to a more northern coast, is a memorial of his crime, and the only permanent trace of Portuguese adventure within the limits of North America.

The French entered without delay into the competition for the commerce and the soil of America. Within seven years of the discovery of the continent, the fisheries of Newfoundland were known to the hardy mariners of Brittany and Normandy. The island of Cape Breton acquired its name from their remembrance of home; and in France it was usual to esteem them the discoverers of the country.

The fisheries had for some years been successfully pursued; savages from the north-eastern coast had been brought to France; plans of colonization in North America had been suggested by De Lery and St. Just; when, at length, in 1524, Francis I., a monarch who had invited Da Vinci and Cellini to transplant the fine arts into his kingdom, despatched John Verrazzani, another Florentine, with a single caravel, to make discovery of new countries. Fifty days elapsed before the continent, in the latitude of Wilmington, appeared in view; and Verrazzani, vainly searching for a convenient harbor, cast anchor on the coast of North Carolina. The russet color of the Indians seemed like the complexion of the Saracens; their dress was of skins; their ornaments, garlands of feathers. They welcomed with hospitality the strangers whom they had

not yet learned to fear. As the Dolphin ploughed its way to the north, it was thought that imagination could not conceive of more delightful fields and forests; the groves, redolent with fragrance, gave promise of the spices of the East; and the color of the earth argued an abundance of gold.

The harbor of New York especially attracted notice, for its great convenience and pleasantness. In the spacious haven of Newport Verrazzani remained for fifteen days. The natives were "the goodliest people" that he had found in the whole voyage—liberal and friendly, yet too ignorant even to covet instruments of steel and iron. Leaving the waters of Rhode Island, the persevering mariner sailed along the coast till, on the fifth of May, he approached the latitude of fifty degrees. The natives of the more northern region had learned the use of iron, and were willing to traffic for knives and weapons of steel. In July, Verrazzani was once more in France. His own narrative of the voyage is the earliest original account, now extant, of the coast of the United States. He advanced the knowledge of the country; and he gave to France some claim to an extensive territory, on the pretext of discovery.

The historians of maritime adventure agree that Verrazzani again embarked upon an expedition. One writer asserts that he was thrice on the coast of America, and that he gave a map of it to the English monarch. It is the common tradition that he perished at sea, having been engaged in an expedition of which no tidings were ever heard. It is probable that Verrazzani had only retired from the fatigues of the life of a mariner, and, while others believed him buried in the ocean, was enjoying the delights of tranquil employment. Yet such is the obscurity of the accounts respecting his life, that certainty cannot be established.

The subsequent misfortunes of the French monarchy did not affect the industry of its fishermen. There exists a letter to Henry VIII., from the haven of St. John, in Newfoundland, written in 1527, by an English captain, in which he declares, he found in that one harbor eleven sail of Normans and one Breton, engaged in the fishery. The French king himself became interested in the design of exploring and colonizing the New World; and James Cartier, descended from the enterprising Normans who first occupied the rock of St. Malo, was selected to lead the expedition. His several voyages are of great moment; for they had a permanent effect in guiding the attention of France to the region of the St. Lawrence. It was on the twentieth of April, 1534, that the mariner, with two

ships, left his home ; and prosperous weather brought him in twenty days upon the coast of Newfoundland. Having almost circumnavigated the island, he turned to the south, and, crossing the gulf, entered the bay, which he called Des Chaleurs, from the intense heats of midsummer. Finding no passage to the west, he sailed along the coast as far as the smaller inlet of Gaspé ; where a lofty cross was raised, bearing a shield, with the lilies of France and an appropriate inscription. Leaving the Bay of Gaspé, Cartier, the first to conduct the Northmen into the great river of Canada, sailed, in August, up its channel, till he could discern land on either side. Unprepared to remain during the winter, the little fleet weighed anchor for Europe, and, in less than thirty days, entered the harbor of St. Malo in security.

The court listened to the urgency of the friends of Cartier ; and a second squadron, provided by the king, and attended by some of the young nobility of France as volunteers, sailed, in May, 1535, for the New World, full of hopes of discoveries and plans of colonization in the territory which now began to be known as New France.

After a stormy voyage, the adventurers arrived within sight of Newfoundland. Passing to the west of that island on the day of St. Lawrence, they gave the name of that martyr to a portion of the noble gulf which opened before them—a name which has gradually extended to the whole gulf, and to the river. Sailing to the north of Anticosti, they ascended the stream in September, as far as a pleasant harbor in the isle since called Orleans. The natives, Indians of Algonquin descent, received them with unsuspecting hospitality. Leaving his ships safely moored, Cartier, in a boat, sailed up the majestic stream to the chief Indian settlement on the island of Hochelaga. The language of its inhabitants proves them to have been of the Huron family of tribes. The town lay at the foot of a hill, which he climbed. As he reached the summit, he was moved to admiration by the prospect before him of woods, and waters, and mountains. Filled with bright anticipations, he called the hill Mont-Real ; and time, that has transferred the name to the island, is realizing his visions of its prosperity. Cartier also gathered of the Indians some indistinct account of the countries now contained in the north of Vermont and New York. Rejoining his ships, the winter, rendered frightful by the ravages of the scurvy, was passed where they were anchored. At the approach of spring, a cross was erected, bearing the arms of France, and an inscription that Francis was king of these new-

found regions. Having thus claimed the territory, the Breton mariner once more sailed for St. Malo.

The description which Cartier gave of the country bordering on the St. Lawrence, furnished arguments against attempting a colony. The intense severity of the climate terrified even the inhabitants of the north of France ; and no mines of silver and gold, no veins abounding in diamonds and precious stones, had been promised by the faithful narrative of the voyage. Three or four years, therefore, elapsed before plans of colonization were renewed ; when, in January, 1540, a nobleman of Picardy, Francis de la Roque, lord of Roberval, sought and obtained a grant of regal authority over the territories and islands which lie near the Gulf or along the River St. Lawrence. Cartier also, as captain-general and chief-pilot of the expedition, was directed to take with him persons of every trade and art ; to ransack the prisons, to rescue the unfortunate and the criminal, and to make up the complement of his men from their number. With these he was to repair the newly-discovered country, and dwell there with the natives.

The division of authority between Cartier and Roberval of itself defeated the enterprise. Roberval was ambitious of power ; and Cartier desired the exclusive honor of discovery. They neither embarked in company, nor acted in concert. Cartier sailed from St. Malo in May, 1541, the next spring after the date of his commission ; he arrived at the scene of his former adventures, ascended the St. Lawrence, and, near the site of Quebec, built a fort for the security of his party ; but no considerable advances in geographical knowledge appear to have been made. The winter passed in sullenness and gloom. In June of the following year, he and his ships stole away and returned to France, just as Roberval arrived with a considerable reënforcement. Unsustained by Cartier, Roberval accomplished no more than a verification of previous discoveries. Remaining about a year in America, he abandoned his immense viceroyalty. Perhaps the expedition on its return entered the Bay of Massachusetts ; the French diplomatists always remembered that Boston was built within the original limits of New France.

The commission of Roberval was followed by no permanent results. It is confidently said, that, in 1549, he again embarked for his viceroyalty, accompanied by a numerous train of adventurers; and, as he was never more heard of, he may have perished at sea.

Can it be a matter of surprise, that for the next fifty years, no further discoveries were attempted by the government of a

nation which had become involved in the final struggle of feudalism against the central power of the monarch, of Calvinism against the ancient religion of France?

At length, under the mild and tolerant reign of Henry IV., the star of France emerged from the clouds of blood, treachery, and civil war, which had so long eclipsed her glory. The number and importance of the fishing stages had increased: in 1578, there were one hundred and fifty French vessels at Newfoundland; and regular voyages, for traffic with the natives, began to be successfully made. One French mariner, before 1609, had made more than forty voyages to the American coast. The purpose of founding a French empire in America was renewed; and, in 1598, an ample commission was issued to the marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany. Yet his enterprise entirely failed. Sweeping the prisons of France, he established their tenants on the desolate Isle of Sable; and the wretched exiles sighed for their dungeons.

The prospect of gain prompted the next enterprise. A monopoly of the fur trade, with an ample patent, was obtained, in 1600, by Chauvin; and Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, shared the traffic. The voyage was repeated, for it was lucrative. The death of Chauvin prevented his settling a colony.

A firmer hope of success was entertained, when a company of merchants of Rouen was formed by the governor of Dieppe; and Samuel Champlain, of Brouage, an able marine officer, and a man of science, was appointed to direct the expedition. By his natural disposition, "delighting marvellously in these enterprises," Champlain became the father of the French settlements in Canada. He possessed a clear and penetrating understanding, with a spirit of cautious inquiry; untiring perseverance, with great mobility; indefatigable activity, with fearless courage. The account of his first expedition gives proof of sound judgment, accurate observation, and historical fidelity. It is full of exact details on the manner of the savage tribes, not less than the geography of the country; and Quebec was already, in 1603, selected as the appropriate site for a fort.

Champlain returned to France just before an exclusive patent had been issued to a Calvinist—the able, patriotic, and honest De Monts. The sovereignty of Acadia and its confines, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of latitude, that is, from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal; a still wider monopoly of the fur trade; the exclusive control of the soil, government, and trade; freedom of religion for Huguenot emigrants;—these were the privileges which the charter conceded.

All New France was now contained in two ships, which, in March, 1604, followed the well-known path to Nova Scotia. The summer glided away, while the emigrants trafficked with the natives, and explored the coasts. The excellent harbor now called Annapolis so pleased the imagination of Poutrincourt, a leader in the enterprise, that he sued for a grant of it from De Monts, and, naming it Port Royal, determined to reside there with his family. The company of De Monts made their first attempt at a settlement on the island of St. Croix, at the mouth of the river of the same name. In the following spring, they removed to Port Royal.

For an agricultural colony, a milder climate was more desirable: in view of a settlement at the south, De Monts, in 1605, explored and claimed for France the rivers, the coasts, and the bays of New England, as far, at least, as Cape Cod. The numbers and hostility of the savages led him to delay a removal, since his colonists were so few. Yet the purpose remained. Thrice, in the spring of 1606, did Dupont, his lieutenant, attempt to complete the discovery. Twice he was driven back by adverse winds; and at the third attempt, his vessel was wrecked. Poutrincourt, who had visited France for supplies, himself renewed the design; but, meeting with disasters among the shoals of Cape Cod, he, too, returned to Port Royal. There the first French settlement on the American continent had been made; two years before James River was discovered, and three years before a cabin was raised in Canada.

The arrival of Jesuit priests, in June, 1611, was signalized by conversions among the natives. In the following year, De Biencourt and Father Biart explored the coast as far as the Kennebec, and ascended that river. The Canibas, Algonquins of the Abenaki nations, touched by the confiding humanity of the French, listened reverently to the message of redemption; and, already hostile towards the English who had visited their coast, the tribes between the Penobscot and the Kennebec became the allies of France, and were cherished as a barrier against English encroachments.

A French colony within the United States followed. In 1613, under the auspices of De Guercheville and Mary of Medici, the rude entrenchments of St. Sauveur were raised by De Saussaye on Mount Desert Isle, to guard the approach to the Penobscot. The natives venerated Biart as a messenger from Heaven; and, under the summer sky, round a cross in the centre of the hamlet, matins and vespers were regularly chanted. France and the Roman religion had appropriated the soil of Maine.

Meantime the remonstrances of French merchants had effected the revocation of the monopoly of De Monts, and, in July, 1608, Champlain, acting for a company of merchants of Dieppe and St. Malo, had founded Quebec; that is to say, rude cottages were framed, a few fields were cleared, and one or two gardens planted. The next year, attended but by two Europeans, he joined a mixed party of Hurons from Montreal, and Algonquins from Quebec, in an expedition against the Iroquois, or Five Nations, in the north of New York; ascended the Sorel, and explored the lake which bears his name and perpetuates his memory.

When, in 1615, merchants of St. Malo, Rouen, and La Rochelle, obtained a colonial patent from the king, Champlain, now sure of success, embarked once more for the New World, accompanied by monks of the order of St. Francis. Again he invades the territory of the Iroquois in New York. Wounded, and repulsed, and destitute of guides, he spends the first winter after his return to America in the country of the Hurons, and, a knight errant among the forests, carries his language, religion, and influence, even to the villages of Algonquins, near Lake Nipissing.

In the summer of 1620, the persevering founder of an empire began a fort. The merchants grudged the expense. "It is not best to yield to the passions of men," was his reply; "they sway but for a season; it is a duty to respect the future;" and, in a few years, the castle St. Louis, so long the place of council against the Iroquois and against New England, was durably founded on "a commanding cliff." The colony was also strengthened by a religious influence, and, in 1625, just a year after Jesuits had reached the sources of the Ganges and Thibet, the banks of the St. Lawrence received priests of the order which was destined to carry the cross to Lake Superior and the south-west.

Disasters, capitulations, and captivity intervened; but Champlain successfully established the authority of the French on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the territory which became his country. "The father of New France" lies buried in the land which he colonized. Thus the humble industry of the fishermen of Normandy and Brittany promised their country the acquisition of an empire.

CHAPTER II.

EXPEDITION OF FERDINAND DE SOTO.

Not satisfied with possessing Acadia and Canada, France laid claim to large and undefined regions at the southern extremity of our republic. But the discoveries of Verrazzani had been anticipated.

Extraordinary success had kindled in the Spanish nation an equally extraordinary enthusiasm. No sooner had the New World revealed itself to their enterprise, than the valiant men, who had won laurels under Ferdinand among the mountains of Andalusia, sought a new career of glory in more remote adventures. The weapons that had been tried in the battles with the Moors, and the military skill that had been acquired in the romantic conquest of Granada, were now turned against the feeble occupants of America. The passions of avarice and religious zeal were strangely blended; and the heroes of Spain sailed to the west, as if they had been bound on a new crusade, where infinite wealth was to reward their piety. The Spanish nation had become infatuated with a fondness for novelties; the "chivalry of the ocean" despised the range of Europe, as offering to their extravagant ambition nothing beyond mediocrity. America was the region of romance, where the heated imagination could indulge in the boldest delusions; where the simple natives ignorantly wore the most precious ornaments; and, by the side of the clear runs of water, the sands sparkled with gold. What way soever, says the historian of the ocean, the Spaniards are called, with a beck only, or a whispering voice, to anything rising above water, they speedily prepare themselves to fly, and forsake certainties under the hope of more brilliant success. To carve out provinces with the sword; to divide the wealth of empires; to plunder the accumulated treasures of some ancient Indian dynasty; to return from a roving expedition with a crowd of enslaved captives and a profusion of spoils,—soon became the ordinary dreams in which the excited minds of the Spaniards delighted to revel.

Juan Ponce de Leon was the discoverer of Florida. His

youth had been passed in military service in Spain; and, during the wars in Granada, he had shared in the wild exploits of predatory valor. No sooner had the return from the first voyage across the Atlantic given an assurance of a New World, than he hastened to participate in the dangers and the spoils of adventure in America. He was a fellow-voyager of Columbus in his second expedition. In the wars of Hispaniola, he had been a gallant soldier, and had been rewarded with the government, first of the eastern province of that island, and afterwards of Porto Rico. Displaced from his station, he longed to retrieve his fortunes by the conquest of a kingdom. Besides, the veteran soldier, whose cheeks had been furrowed by hard service, as well as by years, had heard, and had believed the tale, of a fountain which possessed virtues to renovate the life of those who bathed in its stream or drank of its ever-flowing waters. Nature was to discover the secrets for which alchemy had toiled in vain; and the elixir of life was to flow from a perpetual fountain of the New World, in the midst of a country glittering with gems and gold.

Ponce embarked at Porto Rico, in March, 1512, with a squadron of three ships, fitted out at his own expense, for his voyage to fairy land. He touched at Guanahani; he sailed among the Bahamas; but the laws of nature remained inexorable. On Easter Sunday, land was seen, which, from the day on which it was discovered, and from the aspect of the forests, brilliant with profuse blossoms and fresh verdure, received the name of Florida. Bad weather would not allow the squadron to approach land; at length the aged soldier was able to go on shore, in the latitude of thirty degrees and eight minutes; some miles, therefore, to the north of St. Augustine. The territory was claimed for Spain. Ponce remained for many weeks, to investigate the coast which he had discovered; though the currents of the Gulf Stream, and the islands, between which the channel was yet unknown, threatened shipwreck. He doubled Cape Florida; he sailed among the group which he named Tortugas; and, despairing of entire success, he returned to Porto Rico, leaving a trusty follower to continue the research. Thus did Spanish commerce acquire a new channel through the Gulf of Florida, and Spain a new province, which imagination could esteem immeasurably rich, since its interior was unknown.

The government of Florida was the reward which Ponce received from the king of Spain; but the dignity was accompanied with the onerous condition, that he should colonize the country which he was appointed to rule. Preparations in Spain, and

an expedition against the Caribbee Indians, delayed his return to Florida. When, after a long interval, in 1521, he proceeded with two ships to take possession of his province and select a site for a colony, his company was attacked by the Indians with implacable fury. Many Spaniards were killed; the survivors were forced to hurry to their ships; Ponce de Leon himself, mortally wounded by an arrow, returned to Cuba to die. So ended the adventurer, who had coveted immeasurable wealth, and had hoped for perpetual youth. The discoverer of Florida had desired immortality on earth, and gained its shadow.

Meantime, commerce may have discovered a path to Florida. In 1516, Diego Miruelo, a careless sea-captain, sailing from Havana, is said to have approached the coast, and trafficked with the natives, though he could not tell distinctly in what harbor he had anchored; and, two years afterwards, while Grijalva was opening the way to the conquest of Mexico, the line of the American coast, from the Tortugas to Panuco, is said to have been examined, yet not with care, by an expedition which was planned, if not conducted, by Francisco Garay, the governor of Jamaica.

A voyage for slaves, in 1520, brought the Spaniards still farther upon the northern coast. A company of seven, of whom the most distinguished was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, fitted out two slave ships from St. Domingo, in quest of laborers for their plantations and mines. From the Bahama Islands, they passed to the coast of South Carolina, a country which was called Chicora. The Combahee River received the name of Jordan; the name of St. Helena, given to a cape, now belongs to the sound. The natives of this region had not yet had cause to fear Europeans; their natural fastnesses had not yet been invaded; and, if they fled at the approach of men from the slave ships, it was rather from timid wonder than from a sense of peril. Gifts were interchanged; a liberal hospitality was offered to the strangers; confidence was established. At length the natives were invited to visit the ships; they came in cheerful throngs; the decks were covered. Immediately the ships weighed anchor; the sails were unfurled, and the prows turned towards St. Domingo. Husbands were torn from their wives, and children from their parents. The crime was unprofitable. One of the returning ships foundered at sea, and the guilty and guiltless perished; many of the captives in the other sickened and died.

Repairing to Spain, Vasquez boasted of his expedition, as if it entitled him to reward, and the emperor, Charles V., ac-

knowledged his claim. In those days, countries were distributed to be subdued; and Lucas Vasques de Ayllon begged to be appointed to the conquest of Chicora. After long entreaty, he obtained his suit; but it was only to waste his fortune in preparations. His largest ship was, in 1525, stranded in the River Jordan; many of his men were killed by the natives, whom wrongs had quickened to active resistance; he himself, conscious of having done nothing worthy of being remembered, escaped, only to suffer from wounded pride; and the sense of humiliation is said to have hastened his death.

The love of adventure did not wholly extinguish the desire for maritime discovery. In 1525, a voyage to the north-west was undertaken by Stephen Gomez, an experienced naval officer, who had been with Magellan in the first memorable passage into the Pacific Ocean. His ship entered the bays of New York and New England: on old Spanish maps, that portion of our territory is marked as the Land of Gomez. Failing to discover a passage, and fearful to return without success, and without a freight, he filled his vessel with robust Indians, to be sold as slaves. Brilliant expectations had been raised; and the conclusion was esteemed despicably ludicrous. The Spaniards scorned to repeat their voyages to the cold and frozen north; in the south, and in the south only, they looked for "great and exceeding riches."

But neither the fondness of the Spanish monarch for extensive domains, nor the desire of the nobility for new governments, nor the passion of adventurers for undiscovered wealth, would permit the abandonment of the conquest of Florida. Permission to invade that territory was next sought for by Pamphilo de Narvaez, a man of no great virtue or reputation; and the country, as far west as the River of Palms, was placed at his mercy.

His expedition, which took place in 1528, is memorable for its disasters. Of three hundred men, of whom eighty were mounted, but four or five returned. The valor of the natives; thirst, famine, and pestilence; the want of concert between the ships and the men set on shore; the errors of judgment in the commanders, rapidly melted away the unsuccessful company. It is not possible to ascertain with exactness the point where Narvaez first landed in Florida; probably it was at a bay a little east of the meridian of Cape St. Anthony, in Cuba; it may have been, therefore, not far from the bay now called Appalachee.

The party soon struck into the interior, following the direc-

tions of the natives: these, careful to free themselves from troublesome guests, described the distant territory as full of gold. The town of Appalachee, which was thought to contain immense accumulations of wealth, proved to be an inconsiderable collection of wigwams. It was probably in the region of the Bay of Pensacola, that the remnant of the party, after a ramble of eight hundred miles, finally came again upon the sea, in a condition of extreme penury. Here they manufactured rude boats, in which none but desperate men would have embarked; and Narvaez and most of his companions, after having passed nearly six months in Florida, perished in a storm near the mouth of the Mississippi. One ship's company was wrecked upon an island; most of those who were saved died of famine; the four who ultimately reached Mexico by land, succeeded only after years of hardships, and rambles extending across Louisiana and the northern part of Mexico to the shores of the Pacific Ocean in Sonora. The knowledge of the bays and rivers of Florida, on the Gulf of Mexico, was not essentially increased; the strange tales of natural prodigies were harmless falsehoods; the wanderers, on their return, persevered in the more fatal assertion, that Florida was the richest country in the world.

To no one was belief in the assertion more disastrous than to Ferdinand de Soto, the favorite companion of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru. Having assisted in arresting the unhappy Atahualpa, and shared in the immense ransom with which the credulous inca purchased the promise of freedom, he had repaired to Spain, to enjoy his reputation and display his opulence. Desiring to rival Cortes in glory, to surpass Pizarro in wealth, he solicited permission to conquer Florida at his own cost; and Charles V. readily conceded to so renowned a commander the government of the Isle of Cuba, with absolute power over the immense territory to which the name of Florida was still vaguely applied.

No sooner was the design of the new expedition published in Spain, than the wildest hopes were indulged. How brilliant must be the prospect, since even the conqueror of Peru was willing to hazard his fortune and the greatness of his name! Adventurers assembled as volunteers, many of them people of noble birth and good estates. Houses and vineyards, lands for tillage, and rows of olive-trees, were sold, as in the times of the crusades, to obtain the means of military equipments; even soldiers of Portugal desired to be enrolled for the service. From the numerous aspirants, Soto selected for his companions six hundred men in the bloom of life, the flower of the Peninsula,

The fleet sailed as gayly as if it had been but a holiday excursion of a bridal party. The precaution was used to send vessels to Florida to explore a harbor; and two Indians, brought as captives to Havana, conversed by signs, which were interpreted as affirming that Florida abounded in gold.

After long and brilliant festivals and rejoicings in Cuba, when all preparations were completed, Soto and his company, full of unbounded expectations, embarked for Florida, in May, 1539; and, in about a fortnight, anchored in the Bay of Spiritu Santo. The soldiers went on shore; the horses, between two and three hundred in number, were disembarked; and the men of the expedition stood upon the soil which they had so eagerly desired to tread. Soto would listen to no augury but that of success; and, like Cortes, he refused to retain his ships, lest they should afford a temptation to retreat: most of them were sent to Havana.

And now began the nomadic march of the adventurers—a numerous body of horsemen, besides infantry, completely armed; a force exceeding in number and equipments the famous expeditions against the empires of Mexico and Peru. Every thing was provided that experience in former invasions and the cruelty of avarice could suggest;—chains for captives, and the instruments of a forge; arms of all kinds then in use, and bloodhounds, as auxiliaries against the feeble natives; ample stores of food, and, as a last resort, a drove of hogs, which would soon swarm in a favoring climate, where the forests and the Indian maize furnished abundant sustenance. It was a roving expedition of gallant freebooters in quest of fortune. It was a romantic stroll of men whom avarice rendered ferocious, through unexplored regions, over unknown paths, wherever rumor might point to the residence of some chieftain with more than Peruvian wealth, or the ill-interpreted signs of the ignorant natives promise a harvest of gold. Priests, also, accompanied the expedition: Florida was to become Catholic during scenes of robbery and carnage. As the troop marched through the wilderness, the solemn processions, which the usages of the church enjoined, were scrupulously instituted.

The wanderings of the first season brought the company from the Bay of Spiritu Santo to the country of the Appalachians, east of the Flint River, and not far from the head of the Bay of Appalachee. The names of the intermediate places cannot be identified. The march was tedious and full of dangers. The Indians were always hostile; the two captives of the former expedition escaped; a Spaniard, who had been kept in

COLUMBUS' FLEET.

slavery from the time of Narvaez, could give no accounts of any country where there was silver or gold. The whole company grew dispirited, and desired the governor to return, since the country opened no brilliant prospects. "I will not turn back," said Soto, "till with my own eyes I have seen its poverty." An exploring party discovered Ochus, the harbor of Pensacola; and a message was sent to Cuba, desiring that, in in the ensuing year, supplies for the expedition might be sent to that place.

Early in the spring of 1540, the wanderers renewed their march, with an Indian guide, who promised to lead to a country governed, as it was said, by a woman, and where gold so abounded, that the art of melting and refining it was understood. The adventurers, therefore, eagerly hastened to the north-east; they passed the Alatamaha; they admired the fertile valleys of Georgia, rich, productive, and full of good rivers, and came upon the Ogechee itself, which, in April, flowed with a full channel and a strong current. Much of the time, the Spaniards were in wild solitudes; they suffered for want of salt and meat. Their Indian guide affected madness; but "they said a gospel over him, and the fit left him." Again he involved them in pathless wilds. At a small Indian settlement, of which the name was Cutifa-Chiqui, a dagger and a rosary were found; the story of the Indians traced them to the expedition of Vasquez de Ayllon; and a two days' journey would reach, it was believed, the harbor of St. Helena. The soldiers thought of home, and desired either to make a settlement on the fruitful soil around them, or to return; but the governor, "a stern man, and of few words," though willingly hearing the opinions of others, was inflexible, and his followers "condescended to his will."

The direction of the march was now to the north, to the comparatively sterile country of the Cherokees, and in part through a district in which gold is now found. The inhabitants were poor, but gentle; they liberally offered such presents as their habits of life permitted—deer-skins and wild hens. Soto could hardly have crossed the mountains, so as to enter the basin of the Tennessee River; it seems, rather, that he passed from the head-waters of the Savannah, or the Chattahouchee, to the head-waters of the Coosa. The name of Canasauga, a village at which he halted, is still given to a branch of the latter stream. For several months, the Spaniards were in the valleys which send their waters to the Bay of Mobile. Chiaha was an island distant about a hundred miles from Canasauga.

An exploring party, which was sent to the north, were appalled by the aspect of the Appalachain chain, and pronounced the mountains impassable. They had looked for mines of copper and gold, and their only plunder was a buffalo robe.

In the latter part of July, the Spaniards were at Coosa. In the course of the season, they had occasion to praise the wild grape of the country,—the same, perhaps, which has since been thought worthy of culture,—and to admire the luxuriant maize, springing from the fertile plains of Alabama. A southerly direction led the train to Tuscaloosa ; nor was it long before the wanderers reached a considerable town on the Alabama, above the junction of the Tombecbee, and about one hundred miles, or six days' journey, from Pensacola. The town was called Mavilla, or Mobile—a name which is still preserved, and applied, not to the bay only, but to the river, after the union of its numerous tributaries. The Spaniards, tired of lodging in the fields, desired to occupy the town ; the Indians rose to resist the invaders, whom they distrusted and feared. A battle ensued : the terrors of their cavalry gave the victory to the Spaniards ; the town was set on fire, and hundreds of Indians were slain, suffocated, or burned. "Of the Christians, eighteen died ;" one hundred and fifty were wounded with arrows ; twelve horses were slain, and seventy hurt. The flames had not spared the baggage of the Spaniards ; it was within the town, and was entirely consumed.

Meanwhile, ships from Cuba had arrived at Ochus, now Pensacola ; but Soto, too proud to confess his failure, determined to send no news of himself, until, like Cortes, he had found some rich country.

The region above the mouth of the Mobile was too poor to promise plunder. Soto retreated towards the north, his troops already reduced, by sickness and warfare, to five hundred men ; a month passed away before he reached winter quarters at Chicaça, in the upper part of the state of Mississippi, probably on the western bank of the Yazoo. The weather, in December, was severe, and snow fell ; but maize was yet standing in the open fields. When the spring of 1541 opened, Soto, as he had usually done with other tribes, demanded of the chieftain of the Chickasas two hundred men to carry the burdens of his company. The Indians hesitated ; and, unwilling to see strangers and enemies occupy their homes, in the dead of night, deceiving the sentinels, they set fire to their own village, in which the Castilians were encamped. On a sudden, half the houses were in flames ; and the loudest notes of the war-whoop

rung through the air. The Indians, could they have acted with calm bravery, might have gained an entire victory; but they trembled at their own success, and feared the unequal battle against weapons of steel. In the respite, given to the enemy, of a week, forges were erected, swords newly tempered, and good ashen lances made, equal to the best of Biscay. When the Indians attacked the camp, they found "the Christians" prepared.

Disasters served only to confirm obstinacy by wounding pride. Should he, who had promised greater booty than Mexico or Peru had yielded, now return as a defeated fugitive? The search for some wealthy region was renewed; the caravan marched still farther to the west. For seven days, it struggled through a wilderness of forests and marshes, and, at length, came to Indian settlements in the vicinity of the Mississippi. Soto was the first of Europeans to behold the magnificent river, rolling its immense mass of waters through the splendid vegetation of a wide alluvial soil. The lapse of three centuries has not changed its character: it was then described as more than a mile broad; flowing with a strong current, and, by the weight of its waters, forcing a channel of great depth. The water was always muddy; trees and timber were continually floating on its bosom.

The Spaniards were guided to the Mississippi by natives, and were directed to one of the usual crossing places, probably at the lowest Chickasa Bluff, not far from the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude. The arrival of the strangers awakened curiosity and fear. A multitude of people from the western banks of the river, painted and gayly decorated with great plumes of white feathers, the warriors standing in rows with bow and arrows in their hands, the chieftains sitting under awnings as magnificent as their artless manufactures could weave, came rowing down the stream, in a fleet of canoes, seeming to the admiring Spaniards "like a fair army of galleys." They brought gifts of fish, and loaves made of the fruit of the persimmon. The boats of the natives were too weak to transport horses; but, in barges of their own construction, the Spaniards soon embarked upon the Mississippi; and Europeans were borne to its western bank.

In ascending the Mississippi, the party was often obliged to wade through morasses, till at length they reached, as it would seem, the dry and elevated lands which extend towards New Madrid. Here the religions of the invader and the natives came in contrast. The Spaniards were adored as children of

the sun, and the blind were brought into their presence, to be healed by the sons of light. "Pray only to God, who is in heaven, for whatsoever ye need," said Soto in reply; and the sublime doctrine, which, thousands of years before, had been proclaimed in the deserts of Arabia, now first found its way into the prairies of the Far West. The wild fruits of that region were abundant; the pecan, the mulberry, and the two kinds of wild plums, furnished the natives with articles of food. At Pacaha, the northernmost point which Soto reached near the Mississippi, he remained forty days. The spot cannot be identified; but the accounts of the amusements of the Spaniards confirm the truth of the narrative of their ramblings. Fish were taken, such as are now found in the fresh waters of that region, one of them, the spade fish, the strangest and most whimsical production of the muddy streams of the west, is accurately described by the best historian of the expedition.

An exploring party which was sent to examine the regions of the north, reported that they were almost a desert. The country still nearer the Missouri was said by the Indians to be thinly inhabited; the bison abounded there so much, that no maize could be cultivated; and the few inhabitants were hunters. Soto turned, therefore, to the west and north-west, and plunged still more deeply into the interior of the continent. The highlands of White River, more than two hundred miles from the Mississippi, were probably the limit of his ramble in this direction. The mountains offered neither gems nor gold; and the disappointed adventurers marched to the south. They passed through a succession of towns, of which the position cannot be fixed, till at length we find them near the hot springs and saline tributaries of the Washita. It was at Autiamque, a town on the same river that they passed the winter; they had arrived at the settlement through the country of the Kappaws.

In the spring of 1542, Soto determined to descend the Washita to its junction, and to get tidings of the sea. As he advanced, he was soon lost among the bayous and marshes which are found along the Red River and its tributaries. At last, he arrived at the province where the Washita, already united with the Red River, enters the Mississippi. The province was called Guachoya. Soto anxiously inquired the distance to the sea; the chieftain of Guachoya could not tell. Were there settlements extending along the river to its mouth? It was answered that its lower banks were an uninhabited waste. Unwilling to believe so disheartening a tale, Soto sent a party of nine men to descend the banks of the Mississippi, and explore the country.

They traveled eight days ; and, impeded by frequent bayous, impassable cane-brakes, and dense woods, they were able to advance not much more than thirty miles. The governor received the intelligence with gloomy forebodings. His horses and men were dying around him. He attempted to overawe a tribe of Indians near Natchez by claiming a supernatural birth, and demanding obedience and tribute. "You say you are the child of the sun," replied the undaunted chief. "Dry up the river, and I will believe you. Do you desire to see me? Visit the town where I dwell. If you come in peace, I will receive you with special good-will ; if in war, I will not shrink one foot back." The stubborn pride of Soto changed by long disappointments into a wasting melancholy. A malignant fever ensued, during which he had little comfort, and was neither visited nor attended as the last hours of life demand. Believing his death near at hand, he held a solemn interview with his faithful followers ; and, yielding to the wishes of his companions, who obeyed him to the last, he named a successor. On the next day, which was the twenty-first of May, 1542, he died. Thus perished Ferdinand de Soto, the governor of Cuba, the successful associate of Pizarro. His miserable end was the more observed, from the greatness of his former prosperity. His soldiers pronounced his eulogy by grief at their loss ; the priests chanted over his body the first requiems that were ever heard on the waters of the Mississippi. To conceal his death, his body was wrapped in a mantle, and, in the stillness of midnight, was silently sunk in the middle of the stream. The discoverer of the Mississippi slept beneath its waters. He had crossed a large part of the continent in search of gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burial-place.

No longer guided by the energy and pride of Soto, the company resolved on reaching New Spain without delay. Should they descend the river in such miserable boats as they could construct? or seek a path to Mexico through the forests? They were unanimous in the opinion, that it was less dangerous to go by land ; the hope was still cherished that some wealthy state, some opulent city, might yet be discovered, and all fatigues be forgotten in the midst of victory and spoils. Again they penetrated the western wilderness ; in July, they found themselves in the country of the Natchitoches ; but the Red River was so swollen that it was impossible for them to pass. As they proceeded, the Indian guides purposely led them astray ; "they went up and down through very great woods," without making any progress. The wilderness into which they had at

last wandered, was sterile and scarcely inhabited ; they reached the great buffalo prairies of the west, the hunting grounds of the Pawnees and Comanches, the migratory tribes on the confines of Mexico. Desperate as the resolution seemed, it was determined to return once more to the banks of the Mississippi, and follow its current to the sea. There were not wanting men whose hopes and whose courage were not yet exhausted, who wished rather to die in the wilderness than to leave it in poverty ; but Moscoso, the new governor, had long "desired to see himself in a place where he might sleep his full sleep."

In December, they came upon the Mississippi, a few leagues above the mouth of Red River, often wading through deep waters, and grateful to God if, at night, they could find a dry resting-place. Nor was it an easy task for men in their condition to build the means of escape. Erecting a forge, they struck off the fetters from the slaves ; and, gathering every scrap of iron in the camp, they wrought it into nails. Timber was sawed by hand with a large saw, which they had always carried with them. They calked their vessels with a weed like hemp ; barrels capable of holding water were with difficulty made ; to obtain supplies of provision, all the hogs, and even the horses, were killed, and their flesh preserved by drying ; and the neighboring townships of Indians were so plundered of their food, that the miserable inhabitants would come about the Spaniards begging for their own maize. In early summer of 1543, the rising of the Mississippi assisted the launching of the seven brigantines ; they were frail barks, which had no decks, and constructed of so thin planks that a little shock would have broken them in pieces. Thus provided, in seventeen days the fugitives reached the Gulf of Mexico ; the distance seemed to them two hundred and fifty leagues, and was not much less than five hundred miles. Following, for the most part, the coast, it was more than fifty days before the men who finally escaped, now no more than three hundred and eleven in number, entered the River Panuco.

CHAPTER III.

COLONIZATION OF FLORIDA.

THERE were not wanting adventurers who desired to make one more attempt to possess Florida by force of arms; their request was refused. Religious zeal was more persevering. Louis Cancello, a missionary of the Dominican order, gained, through Philip, then heir apparent in Spain, permission to visit Florida, and attempt a peaceful conversion of the natives. Christianity was to conquer the land against which so many expeditions had failed. In 1549, a ship was fitted out with much solemnity; but the priests, who sought the first interview with the natives, were feared as enemies, and, being immediately attacked, Louis and two others fell martyrs to their zeal.

Florida was abandoned. It seemed as if death guarded the avenues to the country. The coast of our republic, on the Gulf of Mexico, was not, at this time, disputed by any other nation with Spain; while that power claimed the whole sea-coast, even to the remotest north. In Spanish geography, Canada was a a part of Florida. Yet, within that whole extent, not a Spanish fort was erected, not a harbor was occupied. The first permanent establishment of the Spaniards in Florida was the result of jealous bigotry.

For France had begun to settle the region with a colony of Protestants; and Calvinism, which under the auspices of Coligny, with the special coöperation of Calvin himself, had, for a short season, occupied the coasts of Brazil and the harbor of Rio Janeiro, was now to be planted within the borders of our republic. The expedition, which Coligny planned, was intrusted to the command of John Ribault, of Dieppe, a brave Huguenot, of maritime experience, and was attended by some of the best of the young French nobility, as well as by veteran troops. The feeble Charles IX. conceded an ample commission, and the squadron set sail for the shores of North America. Land was first made in the latitude of St. Augustine; the river which we call the St. John's was discovered, and named the River of May. It is the St. Matheo of the Spaniards. In searching for the Jordan or Combahee, they came upon Port Royal entrance, which seemed the outlet of a magnificent stream. The greatest

ships of France, and the argosies of Venice could ride securely in the deep water of the harbor. On the shore, within that entrance, a monumental stone, engraved with the arms of France, was proudly raised ; and, as the company looked round upon the immense oaks, which were venerable from the growth of centuries, the profusion of wild fowls, the groves of pine, the flowers perfuming the whole air, they exulted as they called the country a province of their native land. Ribault determined to leave a colony ; twenty-six composed the whole party, which was to keep possession of the continent ; and Fort Carolina, so called in honor of Charles IX. of France, gave an abiding name to the region.

Ribault and the ships arrived safely in France. But the fires of civil war had been kindled in all the provinces of the kingdom ; and the promised reënforcements for Carolina were never levied. The situation of the French became precarious. Their commandant lost his life in a mutiny which his own ungovernable passion had provoked. His successor restored order ; but the love of his native land is a passion easily revived in the breast of a Frenchman ; and the company resolved to embark in such a brigantine as they could themselves construct. Intoxicated with joy at the thought of returning home, they neglected to provide sufficient stores ; and they were overtaken by famine at sea, with its attendant crimes. A small English bark at length boarded their vessel, and, setting the most feeble on shore upon the coast of France, carried the rest to the queen of England. Carolina was still a desert.

After the treacherous peace between Charles IX. and the Huguenots, Coligny, in 1564, renewed his solicitations for colonizing America. The king gave consent ; three ships were conceded for the service ; and Laudonniere, who, in the former voyage, had been upon the American coast,—a man of great intelligence, though a seaman rather than a soldier,—was appointed to lead forth the colony. Emigrants readily appeared ; for the climate of Florida was so celebrated, that, according to rumor, the duration of human life was doubled under its genial influences ; and men still dreamed of rich mines of gold in the interior. In June, a voyage of sixty days brought the fleet, by the way of the Canaries and the Antilles, to our shores. The harbor of Port Royal, rendered gloomy by recollections of misery, was avoided ; and, after searching the coast, and discovering places which were so full of amenity, that melancholy itself could not but change its humor as it gazed, the followers of Calvin planted themselves on the banks of the River May.

They sung a psalm of thanksgiving, and gathered courage from acts of devotion. The fort now erected was also named Carolina.

The French were hospitably welcomed by the natives; a monument, bearing the arms of France, was crowned by them with laurels, and its base encircled with baskets of corn. By degrees the confidence of the natives was exhausted; they had welcomed powerful guests, who promised to become their benefactors, and who now robbed their humble granaries.

But the worst evil in the new settlement was the character of the emigrants, of whom the inferior class was a motley group of dissolute men. Mutinies were frequent. The men were mad with the passion for sudden wealth; and a party, under the pretence of escaping from famine, equipped two vessels, and began a career of piracy against the Spaniards. Meantime, the scarcity became extreme. Of the new year, March was gone, and there were no supplies from France; April passed away, and the expected recruits had not arrived; May came, but it brought nothing to sustain the hopes of the exiles. It was resolved to return to Europe in such miserable brigantines as despair could build. Just then, Sir John Hawkins, the slave merchant, arrived from the West Indies. He came fresh from the sale of a cargo of Africans, whom he had kidnapped with signal ruthlessness; and he now displayed the most generous sympathy, not only furnishing a liberal supply of provisions, but relinquishing a vessel from his own fleet. The colony was on the point of embarking when sails were descried. Ribault had arrived to assume the command, bringing with him supplies of every kind, emigrants with their families, garden seeds, implements of husbandry, and the various kinds of domestic animals. The French, now wild with joy, seemed about to acquire a home, and Calvinism to become fixed in the inviting regions of Florida.

But Spain had never relinquished her claim to that territory, where, if she had not planted colonies, she had buried hundreds of her bravest sons. And should the proud Philip II. suffer his commercial monopoly to be endangered by a rival settlement in the vicinity of the West Indies? Should the bigoted Romanist permit the heresy of Calvinism to be planted near his Catholic provinces? There had appeared at the Spanish court a bold commander, well fitted for acts of reckless hostility. Pedro Melendez de Avilès, as a naval commander, often encountering pirates, had become inured to acts of prompt and unsparing vengeance, and had acquired wealth in Spanish

America, which was no school of benevolence. To him the king, who knew him well, and esteemed his bravery, suggested the conquest and colonization of Florida; and a compact for that purpose was soon framed and confirmed.

Intelligence also arrived that the Huguenots had made a plantation in Florida, and that Ribault was preparing to set sail with reënforcements. The cry was raised that the heretics must be extirpated; and Melendez readily obtained all the forces which he required. Soldiers, sailors, priests, Jesuits, married men with their families, laborers and mechanics, and, with the exception of three hundred soldiers, all at the cost of Melendez, engaged in the invasion. The trade-winds soon bore them rapidly across the Atlantic. It was on the day which the customs of Rome have consecrated to the memory of one of the most eloquent sons of Africa, and one of the most venerated of the fathers of the church, that he came in sight of Florida. For four days, he sailed along the coast, uncertain where the French were established; on the fifth he landed, and gathered from the Indians accounts of the Huguenots. At the same time, he discovered a fine haven and beautiful river; and, remembering the saint, on whose day he came upon the coast, he gave to the harbor, and to the stream, the name of St. Augustine. Sailing, then, to the north, he discovered a portion of the French fleet, and observed the nature of the road where they were anchored. The French demanded his name and objects. "I am Melendez of Spain," replied he, "sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic, I will spare; every heretic shall die." The French fleet, unprepared for action, cut its cables; the Spaniards, for some time, continued an ineffectual chase.

It was at the hour of vespers, on the evening preceding the festival of the nativity of Mary, that the Spaniards returned to the harbor of St. Augustine. At noonday of the festival itself, the governor went on shore, to take possession of the continent in the name of his king. The bigoted Philip II. was proclaimed monarch of all North America. The solemn mass of Our Lady was performed, and the foundation of St. Augustine was immediately laid. It is, by more than forty years, the oldest town in the United States; houses in it are yet standing, which are said to have been built many years before Virginia was colonized.

By the French it was debated whether they should improve their fortifications, and await the approach of the Spaniards, or

proceed to sea, and attack their enemy. Against the advice of his officers, Ribault resolved upon the latter course. Hardly had he left the harbor for the open sea, before there arose a fearful storm, which continued till October, and wrecked the French fleet on the Florida coast; the vessels were dashed against the rocks about fifty leagues south of Fort Carolina; most of the men escaped with their lives.

The Spanish ships also suffered, but not so severely; and the troops at St. Augustine were entirely safe. They knew that the French settlement was left in a defenceless state. With a fanatical indifference to toil, Melendez led his men through the lakes, and marshes, and forests, that divided the St. Augustine from the St. John's, and, with a furious onset, surprised the weak garrison, who had looked only towards the sea for the approach of danger. After a short contest the Spaniards were masters of the fort. A scene of carnage ensued: of soldiers, women, children, the aged, the sick, nearly two hundred persons were massacred. A few escaped into the woods,—among them Laudonniere, Challus, and Le Moyne, who have related the horrors of the scene. But whither should they fly? Death met them in the woods; and the heavens, the earth, the sea, and men, all seemed conspired against them. Should they surrender, appealing to the sympathy of their conquerors? "Let us," said Challus, "trust in the mercy of God, rather than of these men." A few gave themselves up, and were immediately murdered. The others, after the severest sufferings, found their way to the sea-side, and were received on board two small French vessels which had remained in the harbor. The victory had been gained on the twenty-first of September, 1565, the day of the festival of St. Matthew; and hence the Spanish name of the River May. After the carnage was completed, mass was said, a cross was raised, and the site for a church selected, on ground still smoking with the blood of a peaceful colony!

The shipwrecked men were, in their turn, soon discovered. They were in a state of helpless weakness, wasted by their fatigues at sea, half famished, destitute of water and of food. Melendez invited them to rely on his compassion; the French capitulated, and were received among the Spaniards in such successive divisions as a boat could at once ferry across the intervening river. As the captives stepped upon the bank which their enemies occupied, their hands were tied behind them; and in this way they were marched towards St. Augustine, like a flock of sheep driven to the slaughter-house. As they approached the fort, a signal was given; and, amidst the sound

of trumpets and drums, the Spaniards fell upon the unhappy men, who had confided in their humanity, and who could offer no resistance. A few Catholics were spared; some mechanics were reserved as slaves; the rest were massacred, "not as Frenchmen, but as Calvinists."

Melendez returned to Spain, impoverished, but triumphant. The French government heard of the outrage with indifference; the Huguenots and the French nation did not share the apathy of the court. Dominic de Gourgues, a bold soldier of Gascony, whose life had been a series of adventures,—now employed in the army against Spain, now a prisoner among the Spaniards; taken by the Turks, with the vessel in which he rowed, and redeemed by the commander of the knights of Malta,—burned with a desire to avenge his own wrongs and the honor of his country. The sale of his property, and the contributions of his friends, furnished the means of equipping three ships, in which with one hundred and fifty men, in August, 1567, he embarked for Florida, desiring only revenge. He was able to surprise two forts near the mouth of the St. Matheo; and, as terror magnified the number of his followers, the consternation of the Spaniards enabled him to get possession of the larger fort near the spot which the French colony had fortified. Too weak to maintain his position, he hastily weighed anchor for Europe, having, on the third of May, 1568, hanged his prisoners upon the trees, and placed over them the inscription, "I do not this as unto Spaniards or mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers." The natives, who had been ill treated both by the Spaniards and the French, enjoyed the savage consolation of seeing their enemies butcher one another.

The attack of the fiery Gascon was but a passing storm. France disavowed the expedition, and relinquished all pretensions to Florida. Spain grasped at it, as a portion of her dominions; and, if discovery could confer a right, her claim was founded in justice. Cuba now formed the centre of her West Indian possessions, and everything around it was included within her empire. Sovereignty was asserted, not only over the archipelagos within the tropics, but over the whole continent round the inner seas. From the remotest south-eastern cape of the Carribbean, along the whole shore to the Cape of Florida, and beyond it, all was hers; the Gulf of Mexico lay embosomed within her territories.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND PREPARES TO COLONIZE THE UNITED STATES.

About the time of the return of De Gourgues, Walter Raleigh, a young Englishman, had abruptly left the university of Oxford, and, with the prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., was learning the art of war under the veteran Coligny. The Huguenots, at that time, glowed with indignation at the massacre which De Gourgues had avenged; and Raleigh could not but gather from his associates and his commander intelligence respecting Florida. Some of the miserable men, who escaped from the first expedition, had been conducted to Elizabeth, and had kindled the desire of possessing the southern coast of our republic. The reports of Hawkins, who had been the benefactor of the French on the River May, increased the excitement; and De Morgues, the painter, who had sketched in Florida the most remarkable appearances of nature, ultimately found the opportunity of finishing his designs, through the munificence of Raleigh.

The progress of English maritime enterprise had prepared the way for colonization. The second expedition of the Cabots was, as we have seen, connected with plans for settlements. In a patent issued in 1501, the design of establishing emigrants in the New World is distinctly proposed. Where no profits followed adventure, navigation soon languished; yet the connection between England and the New-Found Land was never abandoned. Documentary evidence exists of voyages favored by the English, till the time when the Normans, the Biscayans, and the Bretons, began to frequent the fisheries on the American coast.

Nor was the reign of Henry VIII. unfavorable to the mercantile interests of his kingdom; and that monarch, considering the discovery of the north as his "charge and duty," made such experiments as the favorable situation of England appeared to demand. The English never abandoned the hope of planting a colony on the Continent which Cabot had discovered.

The statute books of England for 1541 give proof that the "new land" of America had engaged the attention of parliament; and, after the accession of Edward, the fisheries of Newfoundland obtained the protection of a special act.

But India was still esteemed the great region of wealth. Thrice, at least, perhaps thrice by Cabot alone, the attempt at a northwestern passage to Southern Asia had been made, and always in vain. In 1553, a northeast passage was proposed; the fleet of Willoughby and Chancellor was to reach the rich lands of Cathay by doubling the northern promontory of Lapland. The ships parted company; and the admiral was driven, by the severity of the polar autumn, to seek shelter in a Lapland harbor. When search was made for him, in the spring of 1554, Willoughby himself was found dead in his cabin. His journal, detailing his sufferings from the polar winter, was complete, probably, to the day when his senses were suspended by the intolerable cold. His ship's company lay dead in various parts of the vessel, some alone, some in groups. The other ship reached the harbor of Archangel; this was "the discovery of Russia," or, as a Spanish writer calls it, "a discovery of new Indies."

The marriage of Mary with the king of Spain tended to excite the emulation which it was designed to check. Religious restraints, the thirst for rapid wealth, the desire of strange adventure, had driven the boldest spirits of Spain to the New World; their deeds had been commemorated by the copious and accurate details of the Spanish historians; and the English, through the alliance of their sovereign, made familiar with the Spanish language and literature, became emulous of Spanish success beyond the ocean.

The firmness of Elizabeth seconded the enterprise of her subjects. She strengthened her navy, filled her arsenals, and encouraged the building of ships in England: she animated the adventurers to Russia and to Africa by her special protection; and, while her subjects were endeavoring to penetrate into Persia by land, and enlarge their commerce with the East by combining the use of ships and caravans, the harbors of Spanish America were, at the same time, visited by their privateers, in pursuit of the rich galleons of Spain; and at least from thirty to fifty English ships came annually to the bays and banks of Newfoundland. The press teemed with books of travels, maps and descriptions of the earth; and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, reposing from the toils of war, prepared a judicious and well-written argument in favor of the possibility of a north-western passage.

The same views were entertained by one of the boldest men who ever ventured upon the ocean. For fifteen years, Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, well versed in various navigation,

had revolved the design of accomplishing the discovery of the north-western passage, esteeming it "the only thing of the world, that was yet left undone, by which a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate." Too poor himself to provide a ship, after years of vain desire, his representations found a hearing at court; and Dudley, earl of Warwick, liberally promoted his design. Two small barks, of twenty-five and of twenty tons', with a pinnace of ten tons' burden, composed the whole fleet, which, in the summer of 1576, was to enter gulfs that none but Cabot had visited. During a storm on the voyage, the pinnace was swallowed up by the sea; the mariners in the Michael became terrified, and turned their prow homewards; but Frobisher, in a vessel not much surpassing in tonnage the barge of a man-of-war, made his way, fearless and unattended, to the shores of Labrador, and to a passage or inlet north of the entrance of Hudson's Bay. A strange perversion has transferred the scene of his discoveries to the eastern coast of Greenland; it was among a group of American islands, in the latitude of sixty-three degrees and eight minutes, that he entered what seemed to be a strait. To land upon an island, and perhaps on the main; to gather up stones and rubbish, in token of having taken possession of the country for Elizabeth; to seize one of the natives of the north for exhibition to the gaze of Europe;—this was all he accomplished.

A stone, which Frobisher had brought from the frozen regions, was pronounced by the refiners of London to contain gold. The news excited the wakeful avarice of the city. A fleet was immediately, in 1577, fitted out to procure gold; and the queen, who had contributed nothing to the voyage of discovery, sent a large ship of her own to join the search for infinite opulence. The mariners, having received the communion, embarked for the arctic El Dorado, "and with a merrie wind" soon arrived at the Orkneys. As they reached the north-eastern coast of America, mountains of ice encompassed them: the mariners were alternately agitated with fears of shipwreck and joy at escape: at one moment they expected death, and at the next they looked for gold. The fleet made no discoveries; it did not advance so far as Frobisher alone had done. But it found large heaps of earth, which, even to the incredulous, seemed plainly to contain the coveted wealth; besides, spiders abounded; and, in those days, "spiders were true signs of great store of gold." What bolder maritime enterprise, than, in that day, a voyage to lands lying north of Hudson's Straits?

What folly more egregious than to have gone there for a lading of useless earth?

But credulity is apt to be self-willed. The passion for gold, unrelenting in its purpose, can penetrate the prairies of Arkansas, and covet the moss-grown barrens of the Esquimaux. A magnificent fleet of fifteen sail was assembled, in 1578, in part at the expense of Elizabeth; the sons of the English gentry embarked as volunteers; one hundred persons were chosen to form the colony, which was to secure to England a country more desirable than Peru,—a country too inhospitable to produce a tree or a shrub, yet where gold lay, not charily concealed in mines, but glist ning in heaps upon the surface. Twelve vessels were to return immediately, with cargoes of the ore; three were ordered to remain and aid the settlement. The north-west passage was now become of less consideration; Asia itself could not vie with the riches of this hyperborean archipelago.

But the entrance to these wealthy islands was rendered difficult by frost, and the fleet of Frobisher was bewildered among icebergs: one vessel was crushed and sunk, though the men on board were saved. In the dangerous mists, the ships lost their course. After encountering peril of every kind; "getting in at one gap, and out at another;" escaping only by miracle from hidden rocks and unknown currents, ice, and a lee shore, which was, at one time, avoided only by a prosperous breath of wind in the very moment of extreme danger; the admiral at last arrived at the haven in the Countess of Warwick's Sound. The ship laden with provisions for the colony deserted and returned. The plan of the settlement was abandoned; it only remained to freight the home-bound ships with a store of minerals. The adventurers and the historians of the voyage are silent about the disposition which was made of the cargo. The knowledge of the seas was not extended; but there remained a firm conviction that a passage to the Pacific Ocean might yet be threaded among the icebergs and northern islands of America.

While Frobisher was thus attempting to obtain wealth and fame on the north-east coast of America, Francis Drake, after acquiring immense treasures as a freebooter in the Spanish harbors on the Pacific, determined to explore the north-western coast of America, in the hope of discovering the strait which connects the oceans. With this view, in 1579, he crossed the equator, sailed beyond the peninsula of California, and followed the continent to the latitude of forty-three degrees. Despairing of success, he retired to a harbor within the limits of Mexico, and, having refitted his ship, and named the country

TRAPPING.

New Albion, sailed for England through the seas of Asia. Thus was the southern part of Oregon first visited by Englishmen, yet not till after a voyage of the Spanish from Acapulco, commanded by Cabrillo, a Portuguese, had, in 1542, traced the American continent to within two and a half degrees of the mouth of Columbia River; while, thirteen years after the voyage of Drake, John de Fuca, a mariner from the Isles of Greece, then in the employ of the viceroy of Mexico, is thought to have sailed into the bay now known as the Gulf of Georgia.

While the queen of England and her adventurers were dazzled by the glittering prospects of mines of gold in the frozen regions of the remote north, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with a sounder judgment and a better knowledge, watched the progress of the fisheries, and formed healthy plans for colonization. He was one of those who alike despise fickleness and fear: danger never turned him aside from the pursuit of honor or the service of his sovereign; for he knew that death is inevitable, and the fame of virtue immortal. It was not difficult for him to obtain a patent, conferring on himself or his assigns the soil which he might discover, and the sole jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, of the territory within two hundred leagues of the settlement to be formed.

Under this patent, Gilbert began to collect a company of volunteer adventurers, contributing largely from his own fortune to the preparation. Jarrings and divisions ensued, before the voyage of 1579 was begun; many abandoned what they had inconsiderately undertaken; the general and a few of his assured friends—among them, perhaps, his step-brother, Walter Raleigh—put to sea: one of his ships was lost; and misfortune compelled the remainder to return.

But the pupil of Coligny was possessed of an active genius, which delighted in hazardous adventure. Before the limit of the charter had expired, Gilbert, assisted by his brother, equipped and sent forth a new squadron. Two days after leaving Plymouth, the largest ship in the fleet, which had been furnished by Raleigh, who himself remained in England, deserted, under a pretence of infectious disease, and returned into harbor. Gilbert was incensed but not intimidated. He sailed for Newfoundland, and, entering St. John's, summoned the Spaniards and Portuguese, and other strangers, to witness the ceremonies by which he took possession of the country for his sovereign.

Having abandoned one of their barks, the English, now in

three vessels only, sailed on further discoveries, intending to visit the coast of the United States. But they had not proceeded towards the south beyond the latitude of Wiscasset, when, in August, 1583, the largest ship, from the carelessness of the crew, struck and was wrecked, and nearly a hundred men perished.

It seemed necessary to hasten to England. Gilbert had sailed in the Squirrel, a bark of ten tons only, convenient for entering harbors and approaching the coast. On the homeward voyage, the brave admiral would not forsake his little company, with whom he had encountered so many storms and perils. A desperate resolution! The weather was extremely rough; the oldest mariner had never seen "more outrageous seas." The little frigate, not more than twice as large as the long-boat of a merchantman, "too small a bark to pass through the ocean sea at that season of the year," was nearly wrecked. With a voice louder than the storm, the general, holding a book, cried out to those in the Hind, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land!" That same night, about twelve o'clock, the lights of the Squirrel suddenly disappeared; and neither the vessel nor any of its crew was ever again seen. The Hind reached Falmouth in safety.

The bold spirit of Raleigh was not disheartened by the sad fate of his step-brother; but he revolved a settlement in those milder countries from which Huguenots had been expelled. Having presented a memorial, he readily obtained from Elizabeth a patent as ample as that which had been conferred on Gilbert. It was drawn according to the principles of feudal law, and with strict regard to the Christian faith, as professed in the Church of England.

Expectations rose high, since the balmy regions of the south were now to be colonized. Two vessels, well laden with men and provisions, under the command of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, buoyant with hope, set sail for the New World. They pursued the circuitous route by the Canaries and the islands of the West Indies: after a short stay in those islands, they sailed for the north, and, in July, 1584, were opposite the shores of Carolina. As they drew near land, the fragrance was "as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers." They ranged the coast for a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, in search of a convenient harbor; and, entering the first which offered, after thanks to God for their safe arrival, they landed to take possession of the country for the queen of England.

The spot on which this ceremony was performed, was in the Island of Wocoken, the southernmost of the islands forming Ocracock Inlet. The shores of North Carolina, at some periods of the year, cannot safely be approached by a fleet, from the hurricanes which sweep the air in those regions, and against which the formation of the coast offers no secure roadsteads and harbors. But in the month of July the sea was tranquil; the skies were bright; the air was agitated by none but the gentlest breezes; and the English commanders were in raptures with the beauty of the ocean, seen in the magnificence of repose, gemmed with islands, and expanding in the clearest transparency from cape to cape. The vegetation of that southern latitude struck the beholders with admiration; the trees had not their paragons in the world; the luxuriant vines, as they clambered up the loftiest cedars, formed graceful festoons; grapes were so plenty upon every little shrub, that the surge of the ocean, as it lazily rolled in upon the shore with the quiet winds of summer, seemed to dash its spray upon the clusters; and natural arbors formed an impervious shade, that not a ray of the suns of July could penetrate. The forests were filled with birds; and, at the discharge of an arquebuse, whole flocks would arise, uttering a cry, which the many echoes redoubled, till it seemed as if an army of men had shouted together.

The gentleness of the native inhabitants appeared in harmony with the loveliness of the scene. On the Island of Roanoke, the English were entertained by the wife of Granganimeo, father of Wingina, the king, with Arcadian hospitality. "The people were most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age." And yet it was added, that the wars of these guileless men were cruel and bloody; that dissensions had almost exterminated tribes.

The adventurers, having made but a short stay in America, arrived in September in the west of England, accompanied by Manteo and Wanchese, two natives of the wilderness; and the returning voyagers gave such glowing descriptions of their discoveries, as might be expected from men who had done no more than sail over the smooth waters of a summer's sea, among "the hundred islands" of North Carolina. Elizabeth, as she heard their reports, esteemed her reign signalized by the discovery of the enchanting regions, and, as a memorial of her state of life, named them Virginia.

CHAPTER V.

COLONIES ATTEMPTED IN CAROLINA AND NEW ENGLAND.

ELECTED to represent in parliament the county of Devon, Raleigh obtained a bill confirming his patent of discovery; and, while he received the honor of knighthood, a lucrative monopoly enabled him to continue with vigor his schemes of colonization. The prospect of becoming the proprietary of a delightful territory, with a numerous tenantry, who should yield him not only a revenue, but allegiance, inflamed his ambition; and, as the English nation listened with credulity to the descriptions of Amidas and Barlow, it was not difficult to gather a numerous company of emigrants.

The new expedition was composed of seven vessels, and carried one hundred and eight colonists to the shores of Carolina. Ralph Lane, afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth, was willing to act for Raleigh as their governor, while Sir Richard Grenville assumed the command of the fleet. It sailed from Plymouth, in April, 1585, accompanied by several men of merit, whom the world remembers;—by Cavendish, who soon after circumnavigated the globe; Hariot, the inventor of the system of notation in modern Algebra, the historian of the expedition; and With, an ingenious painter, whose sketches of the natives, their habits and modes of life, were famed for beauty and exactness.

In June, the fleet fell in with the main land of Florida; it was in great danger of being wrecked on the cape which was then first called the Cape of Fear, and, after encountering perils on the shoals of that coast, made its way through Ocracock Inlet to Roanoke.

Manteo, the friend of the English, who returned with the fleet from a visit to England, was at once sent to the main to announce their arrival; while Grenville, accompanied by Lane, Hariot, Cavendish, and others, in an excursion of eight days, explored the coast as far as Secotan. At one of the Indian towns, a silver cup had been stolen; its restoration was delayed; with hasty cruelty, Grenville ordered the village to be burnt, and the standing corn to be destroyed. Not long after this action of inconsiderate revenge, the ships, having landed the colony, sailed for England.

The employments of Lane and his colonists, after the departure of Grenville, could be none other than to examine the country. "It is the goodliest soil"—such were his words—"under the cope of heaven; the most pleasing territory of the world: the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so wholesome, that we have not one sick since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it."

The keenest observer was Hariot; and he was often employed in dealing with "the natural inhabitants." He carefully examined the productions of the country—those which would furnish commodities for commerce, and those which were in esteem among the natives. He watched the culture of tobacco, accustomed himself to its use, and was a firm believer in its healing virtues. The culture of maize, and the extraordinary productiveness of that grain, especially attracted his admiration; and the tuberous roots of the potato, when boiled, were found to be very good food. The inhabitants are described as too feeble to inspire terror; clothed in mantles and aprons of deer-skins; having no weapons but wooden swords, and bows of witch-hazel, with arrows of reeds; no armor but targets of bark and sticks wickered together with thread. Their towns were small, the largest containing but thirty dwellings. The walls of the houses were made of bark, fastened to stakes; and sometimes consisted of poles fixed upright, one by another, and at the top bent over and fastened, as arbors are sometimes made in gardens. But the great peculiarity of the Indians consisted in the want of political connection. A single town often constituted a government; a collection of ten or twenty wigwams was an independent state. The greatest chief in the whole country could not muster more than seven or eight hundred fighting men. The dialect of each government seemed a language by itself. The country which Hariot explored was on the boundary of the Algonquin race, where the Lenni-Lenape tribes melted into the widely differing nations of the south. The wars among themselves rarely led them to the open battle-field; they were accustomed rather to sudden surprises at daybreak or by moonlight, to ambushes, and the subtle devices of cunning falsehood. Destitute of the arts, they yet displayed excellency of wit in all which they attempted. Nor were they entirely ignorant of religion; but to the credulity of polytheism they joined a confused belief in the existence

of one supreme Power. It is natural to the human mind to desire immortality; the natives of Carolina believed in continued existence after death, and in retributive justice. The mathematical instruments, the burning-glassse, guns, clocks, and the use of letters, seemed the works of gods, rather than of men; and the English were reverenced as the pupils and favorites of Heaven. In every town which Hariot entered, he displayed the Bible, and explained its truths; the Indians revered the volume rather than its doctrines; and, with a fond superstition, they embraced the book, kissed it, and held it to their breasts and heads, as if it had been an amulet. As the colonists enjoyed uniform health, and had no women with them, there were some among the Indians who imagined the English were not born of woman, and therefore not mortal; that they were men of an old generation, risen to immortality. The terrors of fire-arms the natives could neither comprehend nor resist; every sickness which now prevailed among them, was attributed to wounds from invisible bullets, discharged by unseen agents, with whom the air was supposed to be peopled. They prophesied, that "there were more of the English generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places;" and some believed that the purpose of extermination was already matured, and its execution begun.

Was it strange, then, that the natives desired to be delivered from the presence of guests by whom they feared to be supplanted? The colonists were mad with the passion for gold; and a wily savage invented, respecting the River Roanoke and its banks, extravagant tales, which nothing but cupidity could have credited. Lane was so credulous, that he attempted to ascend the rapid current of the Roanoke; but he hardly advanced higher up the river than some point near the present village of Williamstown.

Meantime, the English believed that a general conspiracy was forming to destroy them in one massacre. Perhaps they were precipitate in giving faith to the whispers of jealousy; it is certain that, in the contest of dissimulation, they proved themselves the more successful adepts. Desiring an audience of Wingina, the most active among the native chiefs, Lane and his attendants were quickly admitted to his presence. No hostile intentions were displayed by the Indians; their reception of the English was proof of their confidence. Immediately a preconcerted watchword was given; and the Christians, falling upon the unhappy king and his principal followers, put them without mercy to death.

It was evident that Lane did not possess the qualities suited to his station. His discoveries were inconsiderable: to the south they had extended only to Secotan, in the present county of Craven, between the Pamlico and the Neuse; to the north they reached no farther than the small River Elizabeth, which joins the Chesapeake Bay below Norfolk; in the interior, besides the short excursion up the Roanoke, the Chowan had been examined beyond the junction of the Meherrin and the Nottaway. Yet some general results of importance were obtained. The hope of finding good harbors was confirmed; and the Bay of Chesapeake was already regarded as the fit theatre for early colonization. But in the Island of Roanoke, the men began to despond; they looked in vain towards the ocean for supplies from England; when, of a sudden, in June, 1586, it was rumored that the sea was white with the sails of three-and-twenty ships; and Sir Francis Drake soon anchored his fleet in "the wild road" outside of Roanoke Inlet.

He had come, on his way from the West Indies to England, to visit the domain of his friend. With the celerity of genius, he prepared to supply the wants of Lane to the uttermost.

But a storm suddenly arose, and nearly wrecked the fleet, which found no security but in weighing anchor and standing away from the shore. When the tempest was over, the humanity of Drake again devised measures for continuing discoveries; but Lane shared the despondency of his men; and Drake yielded to their unanimous desire of permission to embark in his ships for England. Thus ended the first actual settlement of the English in America. The exiles of a year had grown familiar with the favorite amusement of the lethargic Indians; and they introduced into England the familiar use of tobacco.

A few days after the precipitate departure of Lane, a ship arrived laden with all the stores needed by the infant settlement. It had been despatched by Raleigh; but, finding "the paradise of the world" deserted, it could only return to England. Another fortnight had hardly elapsed, when Sir Richard Grenville appeared off the coast with three well-furnished ships, and renewed the vain search for the departed colony. Unwilling that the English should lose possession of the country, he left fifteen men on the Island of Roanoke, to be guardians of English rights.

The decisive testimony of Hariot to the excellence of the country, still rendered it easy to collect a new colony for America. Raleigh now determined to plant an agricultural state; to send emigrants with wives and families, who should at once

make their homes in the New World; and, that life and property might be secured, he granted a charter of incorporation for the settlement, and established a municipal government for "the city of Raleigh." John White was appointed its governor; and to him, with eleven assistants, the administration of the colony was intrusted. A fleet of transport ships was prepared at the expense of the proprietary; for Queen Elizabeth refused all aid. The company, as it embarked, in April, 1587, was cheered by the presence of women; and an ample provision of the implements of husbandry gave a pledge for successful industry. In July, they arrived on the coast of North Carolina; they were saved from the dangers of Cape Fear; and, passing Cape Hatteras, they hastened to the Isle of Roanoke, to search for the handful of men whom Grenville had left there as a garrison. They found the tenements deserted, and overgrown with weeds; human bones lay scattered on the field; wild deer were reposing in the untenanted houses, or were feeding on the productions which a rank vegetation still forced from the gardens. The fort was in ruins. No vestige of surviving life appeared. The miserable men whom Grenville had left, had been murdered by the Indians.

The instructions of Raleigh had designated the place for the new settlement on the Bay of the Chesapeake. But Fernando, the naval officer, eager to renew a profitable traffic in the West Indies, refused his assistance in exploring the coast; and White was compelled to remain on Roanoke. In July, at the northern extremity of the island, the foundations of the city of Raleigh were laid. There the inquisitive stranger may yet discern the ruins of the fort, round which the cottages of the new settlement were erected.

The mother and the kindred of Manteo welcomed the English to the Island of Croatan; and a mutual friendship was continued, although the alliance was not unclouded. The vanities of life, too, were not forgotten; and Manteo, the faithful Indian chief, "by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh," received Christian baptism, and was invested with the rank of a feudal baron, as the lord of Roanoke.

As the time for the departure of the ship for England drew near, the emigrants became gloomy with apprehensions; they were conscious of their dependence on Europe; and they, with one voice, women as well as men, urged the governor to return, and use his vigorous intercession for the prompt despatch of reënforcements and supplies. Yet, previous to his departure, his daughter, Eleanor Dare, the wife of one of the assistants,

gave birth to a female child, the first offspring of English parents on the soil of the United States. The infant was named from the place of its birth. The colony, now composed of eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and two children, whose names are all preserved, might reasonably hope for the speedy return of the governor, who, as he sailed for England, left with them, as hostages, his daughter and his grandchild, Virginia Dare.

And yet even those ties were insufficient. The colony received no seasonable relief; and the further history of this neglected plantation is involved in gloomy uncertainty. The inhabitants of "the city of Raleigh," the emigrants from England, and the first-born of America, failed, like their predecessors, in establishing an enduring settlement; but, unlike their predecessors, they awaited death in the land of their adoption. If America had no English town, it soon had English graves.

For when White reached England, he found its whole attention absorbed by the threats of an invasion from Spain. Yet Raleigh found means to despatch two vessels with supplies; but they were driven back by the enemy. Nor could the poor colonists of Roanoke be again remembered till after the discomfiture of the Invincible Armada.

Having already incurred a fruitless expense of forty thousand pounds, Sir Walter Raleigh, no longer able himself to continue the enterprise, used the privilege of his patent to form a company of merchants and adventurers, who, it was hoped, would replenish Virginia with settlers. Among the men who thus, in March, 1589, obtained an assignment of the proprietary's rights in Virginia, is found the name of Richard Hakluyt; it connects the first efforts of England in North Carolina with the final colonization of Virginia. The colonists at Roanoke had emigrated with a charter; the new instrument was not an assignment of Raleigh's patent, but extended a grant, already held under its sanction, by increasing the number to whom the rights conferred by that charter belonged.

Yet more than another year elapsed before White could return to search for his colony and his daughter; and then the Island of Roanoke was a desert. An inscription on the bark of a tree pointed to Croatan; but the season of the year and the dangers from storms were pleaded as an excuse for an immediate return. Had the emigrants already perished? or had they escaped with their lives to Croatan, and, through the friendship of Manteo, became familiar with the Indians? The conjecture had been hazarded, that the deserted colony, neglected by their own countrymen, were hospitably adopted into the tribe of Hatteras

Indians, and became amalgamated with the sons of the forest. Raleigh long cherished the hope of discovering some vestiges of their existence; and, though he had abandoned the design of colonizing Virginia, he yet sent, at his own charge, and, it is said, at five several times, to search for his liegemen. But imagination received no help, in its attempts to trace the fate of the colony of Roanoke.

The name of Raleigh stands highest among the statesmen of England who advanced the colonization of the United States, and his fame belongs to American history. No Englishman of his age possessed so various or so extraordinary qualities. Courage which was never daunted, mild self-possession, and fertility of invention, insured him glory in his profession of arms. In every danger, his life was distinguished by valor; and his death was ennobled by true magnanimity. Admirable in active life, he was also an accomplished scholar. No statesman in retirement ever expressed the charms of tranquil leisure more beautifully than Raleigh; and it was not entirely with the language of grateful friendship that Spenser described his "sweet verse as sprinkled with nectar," and rivalling the melodies of the "summer's nightingale." When an unjust verdict, contrary to probability and the evidence, "against law and against equity," on a charge which seems to have been a pure invention, left him to languish for years in prison, with the sentence of death suspended over his head, his active genius plunged into the depths of erudition; and he who had been a soldier, a courtier, and a seaman, became the elaborate author of a learned History of the World.

His career as a statesman was honorable to the pupil of Coligny and the contemporary of L'Hôpital. In his public policy, he was thoroughly an English patriot, jealous of the honor, the prosperity, and the advancement of his country. In parliament, he defended the freedom of domestic industry; and, while he pertinaciously used his influence with his sovereign to mitigate the severity of the judgments against the non-conformists, as a legislator he resisted the sweeping enactment of persecuting laws.

In the career of discovery, his perseverance was never baffled by losses. His sagacity early enjoined a settlement within the Chesapeake Bay; the publications of Hariot and Hakluyt, which he countenanced, diffused over England a knowledge of America, as well as an interest in its destinies, and sowed the seeds, of which the fruits were to ripen during his lifetime, though not for him.

The judgments of the tribunals of the Old World are often reversed at the bar of public opinion in the New. The family of the chief author of early colonization in the United States was reduced to beggary by the government of England, and he himself was beheaded. After a lapse of nearly two centuries, the state of North Carolina, by a solemn act of legislation, revived in its capital "THE CITY OF RALEIGH," and thus expressed its grateful respect for the memory of the extraordinary man who united in himself as many kinds of glory as were ever combined in an individual.

Some traffic with Virginia may perhaps have been continued. But with the north, the connection of the English merchants was become so intimate, that, in 1593, Sir Walter Raleigh, in the house of commons, declared the fishing of Newfoundland to be the stay of the west countries. It had also trained men for the career of discovery; and Bartholomew Gosnold, with the concurrence of Raleigh, had well nigh secured to New England the honor of the first permanent English colony. Steering, in a small bark, directly across the Atlantic, in seven weeks he reached the continent of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts, not far to the north of Nahant. He failed to observe a good harbor, and, standing for the south, discovered the promontory which he called Cape Cod—a name which would not yield to that of the next monarch of England. Here, on the fourteenth of May, 1602, he and four of his men landed. Cape Cod was the first spot in New England ever trod by Englishmen. Doubling the cape, and passing Nantucket, they again landed on a little island, now called No Man's Land, and afterwards passed round the glittering promontory of Gay Head, naming it Dover Cliff. At length they entered Buzzard's Bay—a stately sound, which they called Gosnold's Hope. The westernmost of the islands was named Elizabeth, from the queen—a name which has been transferred to the whole group. Here they beheld the rank vegetation of a virgin soil; the noble forests; the wild fruits and the flowers, bursting from the earth. Within a pond on the island lies a rocky islet; here the adventurers built their storehouse and their fort; and here the foundations of the first New England colony were to be laid. The natural features remain unchanged; the island, the pond, the islet, are all yet visible; but the forests are gone; and the ruins of the fort can no longer be discerned.

After a traffic with the natives on the main land, and gathering sassafras root, then greatly esteemed in pharmacy as a sovereign panacea, the design of leaving a little garrison on the

Elizabeth Islands was wisely abandoned; and the whole party soon set sail and bore for England. The return voyage lasted but five weeks; and the expedition was completed in less than four months, during which entire health had prevailed.

Gosnold and his companions spread the most favorable reports of the regions which he had visited. Could it be that the voyage was so safe, the climate so pleasant, the country so inviting? The merchants of Bristol, with the ready assent of Raleigh, and at the instance of Richard Hakluyt, the enlightened friend and able documentary historian of these commercial enterprises, —a man whose fame should be vindicated and asserted in the land which he helped to colonize,—determined to pursue the career of investigation. The Speedwell, a small ship of fifty tons and thirty men, the Discoverer, a bark of twenty-six tons and thirteen men, under the command of Martin Pring, set sail for America in April, 1603, a few days after the death of the queen. It was a private undertaking, and therefore not retarded by that event. The ship was well provided with trinkets and merchandise, suited to a traffic with the natives; and this voyage was also successful. It reached the American coast among the islands which skirt the harbors of Maine. The mouth of the Penobscot offered good anchorage and fishing. Pring made a discovery of the eastern rivers and harbors—the Saco, the Kennebunk, and the York; and the channel of the Piscataqua was examined for three or four leagues. Meeting no sassafras, he steered for the south, doubled Cape Ann, and went on shore in Massachusetts; but, being again unsuccessful, he again pursued a southerly track, and finally anchored in Old Town harbor, on Martha's Vineyard. The whole absence lasted about six months, and was completed without disaster or danger. In 1606, Pring repeated his voyage, and made a more accurate survey of Maine.

Enterprises for discovery were now continuous. Bartholomew Gilbert, returning from the West Indies, made an unavailing search for the colony of Raleigh. It was the last attempt to trace the remains of those unfortunate men. But as the testimony of Pring had confirmed the reports of Gosnold, the career of navigation was vigorously pursued. An expedition in 1605, promoted by the earl of Southampton, and commanded by George Weymouth, left England in March, and, in about six weeks, came in sight of the American continent near Cape Cod. Turning to the north, Weymouth approached the coast of Maine, and ascended the western branch of the Penobscot beyond Belfast Bay. Five natives were decoyed on board the

ship, and Weymouth, returning to England, gave three of them to Sir Ferdinand Gorges, a friend of Raleigh, and governor of Plymouth.

Such were the voyages which led the way to the colonization of the United States. The daring and skill of these earliest adventurers upon the ocean deserve the highest admiration. The difficulties of crossing the Atlantic were new, and it required the greater courage to encounter hazards which ignorance exaggerated. The character of the prevalent winds and currents was unknown. The possibility of making a direct passage was but gradually discovered. The imagined dangers were infinite; the real dangers exceedingly great. The ships at first employed for discovery were generally of less than one hundred tons' burthen; Forbisher sailed in a vessel of but twenty-five tons; two of those of Columbus were without a deck; and so perilous were the voyages deemed, that the sailors were accustomed, before embarking, by solemn acts of devotion, to prepare for eternity. The anticipation of disasters was not visionary; Columbus was shipwrecked twice, and once remained for eight months on an island, without any communication with the civilized world; Hudson was turned adrift in a small boat by a crew whom suffering had rendered mutinous; Willoughby perished with cold; Roberval, Parmenius, Gilbert,—and how many others?—went down at sea; and such was the state of the art of navigation, that intrepidity and skill were unavailing against the elements without the favor of Heaven.

CHAPTER VI.

COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA.

THE period of success in planting colonies in Virginia had arrived; yet not till changes had occurred, affecting the character of European politics and society, and moulding the forms of colonization. The reformation had interrupted the harmony of religious opinion in the west of Europe; and differences in the church began to constitute the basis of political parties. Commercial intercourse equally sustained a revolution. It had been conducted on the narrow seas and by land; it now launched out upon the broadest waters; and, after the East Indies had been reached by doubling the southern promontory of Africa,

the great commerce of the world was performed upon the ocean. The art of printing had become known; and the press diffused intelligence and multiplied the facilities of instruction. The feudal institutions, which had been reared in the middle ages, were already undermined by the current of time and events, and, swaying from their base, threatened to fall. Productive industry had, on the one side, built up the fortunes and extended the influence of the active classes; while habits of indolence and of expense had impaired the estates and diminished the power of the nobility. These changes also produced corresponding results in the institutions which were to rise in America.

A revolution had equally occurred in the purposes for which voyages were undertaken. The hope of Columbus, as he sailed to the west, had been the discovery of a new passage to the East Indies. The passion for rapidly amassing gold soon became the prevailing motive. Next, the islands and countries near the equator were made the tropical gardens of the Europeans for the culture of such luxuries as the warmest regions only can produce. At last, the higher design was matured, not to plunder, nor to destroy, nor to enslave; but to found states, to plant permanent Christian colonies, to establish for the oppressed and the enterprising places of refuge and abode, with all the elements of independent national existence.

The condition of England favored adventure in America. In times of peace, gallant men, who had served under Elizabeth by sea and land, were willing to incur the hazards of "seeking a New World." The minds of many persons of intelligence, rank, and enterprise, were directed to Virginia; and Gosnold at last prevailed with Edward Maria Wingfield, a groveling merchant of the West of England, Robert Hunt, a clergyman of modest worth, and John Smith, the adventurer of rare genius and undying fame, to consent to risk their lives and hopes of fortune in an expedition. For more than a year, this little company revolved the project of a plantation. At the same time, Sir Ferdinand Gorges was gathering information which filled him with the desire of becoming a proprietary of domains beyond the Atlantic; and he readily persuaded Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England, to share his intentions. Nor had the assigns of Raleigh become indifferent to "western planting;" the most distinguished of them all, Richard Hakluyt, the historian of maritime enterprise, still counseled the establishment of a colony.

The king of England, too timid to be active, yet too vain to

be indifferent, favored the design of enlarging his dominions. When, therefore, a company of men of business and men of rank, formed by the experience of Gosnold, the enthusiasm of Smith, the perseverance of Hakluyt, the hopes of profit and the extensive influence of Popham and Gorges, applied to James I. for leave "to deduce a colony into Virginia," the monarch, in April, 1606, promoted the noble work by readily issuing an ample patent.

By this first colonial charter, under which the English were planted in America, a belt of twelve degrees on the American coast, embracing the soil from Cape Fear to Halifax, excepting, perhaps, the little spot in Acadia then actually possessed by the French, was set apart to be colonized by two rival companies. Of these, the first was composed of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, in and about London; the second, of knights, gentlemen, and merchants, in the West. The London adventurers, who alone succeeded, had an exclusive right to occupy the regions from thirty-four to thirty-eight degrees of north latitude, that is, from Cape Fear to the southern limit of Maryland; the western men had equally an exclusive right to plant between forty-one and forty-five degrees. The intermediate district, from thirty-eight to forty-one degrees, was open to both companies; yet, as each was to possess the soil extending fifty miles north and south of its first settlement, neither could plant within one hundred miles of a colony of its rival. The conditions of tenure were homage and rent; the rent was no other than one fifth of the net produce of gold and silver, and one fifteenth of copper. The right of coining money was conceded. The natives, it was hoped, would receive Christianity and the arts of civilized life. The superintendence of the whole was confided to a council in England; the local administration of each colony was intrusted to a council residing within its limits. The members of the superior council in England were appointed exclusively by the king; and the tenure of their office was his good pleasure. Over the colonial councils the king likewise preserved a control; for the members of them were from time to time to be ordained and removed, according to royal instructions. Supreme legislative authority, extending alike to the general condition and the most minute regulations of the colonies, was likewise expressly reserved to the monarch. A duty, to be levied on vessels trading to its harbors, was, for one-and-twenty years, to be wholly employed for the benefit of the plantation; at the end of that time, it was to be taken for the king. To the emigrants it was promised, that they and their children should

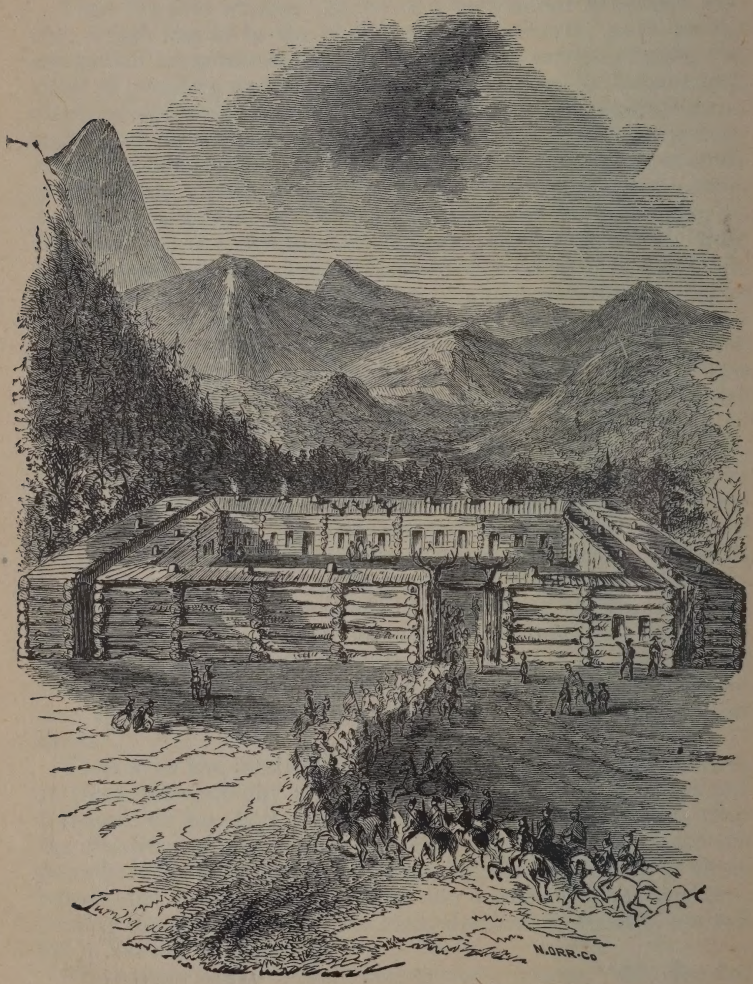
continue to be Englishmen—a concession which secured them rights on returning to England, but offered no barrier against colonial injustice. Lands were to be held by the most favorable tenure.

Thus the first written charter of a permanent American colony, which was to be the chosen abode of liberty, gave to the mercantile corporation nothing but a desert territory, with the right of peopling and defending it, and reserved to the monarch absolute legislative authority, the control of all appointments, and a hope of a revenue. To the emigrants themselves it conceded not one elective franchise, not one of the rights of self-government. They were subjected to the ordinances of a commercial corporation, of which they could not be members; to the dominion of a domestic council, in appointing which they had no voice; to the control of a superior council in England, which had no sympathies with their rights; and, finally, to the arbitrary legislation of the sovereign.

The summer was spent by the patentees in preparations for planting a colony, by the king in framing a code of laws. The superior council in England was permitted to name the colonial council, which had power to elect or remove its president, to remove any of its members, and to supply its own vacancies. Not an element of popular liberty was introduced into the form of government. Religion was specially enjoined to be established according to the doctrine and rites of the Church of England. Tumults and seditions were punishable by death. All civil causes, requiring corporal punishment, fine, or imprisonment, might be summarily determined by the president and council. Kindness to the savages was enjoined, with the use of all proper means for their conversion. It was further ordered, that the industry and commerce of the respective colonies should for five years, at least, be conducted in a joint stock.

Thus were the political forms of the colony established, when, on the nineteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and six, one hundred and nine years after the discovery of the American continent by Cabot, forty-one years from the settlement of Florida, the little squadron of three vessels, the largest not exceeding one hundred tons' burthen, bearing one hundred and five men, destined to remain, set sail for a harbor in Virginia.

The voyage began under inauspicious omens. Of the one hundred and five, on the list of emigrants, there were but twelve laborers, and very few mechanics. They were going to a wil-



A [illegible]R BLOCK HOUSE.

derness, in which, as yet, not a house was standing; and there were forty-eight gentlemen to four carpenters. Neither were there any men with families. It was evident, a commercial, and not a colonial, establishment was designed by the projectors. Dissensions sprung up during the voyage; as the names and instructions of the council had, by the folly of James, been carefully concealed in a box, which was not to be opened till after the arrival in Virginia, no competent authority existed to check the progress of envy and disorder. The genius of Smith excited jealousy; and hope, the only power which can still the clamors and allay the feuds of the selfish, early deserted the colonists.

Newport, who commanded the ships, was acquainted with the old passage, and, consuming the whole of the early spring in a navigation which should have been completed in February, sailed by way of the Canaries and the West India Islands. As he turned to the north, in April, 1607, a severe storm carried his fleet beyond the settlement of Raleigh, into the magnificent Bay of the Chesapeake. The head lands received and retain the names of Cape Henry and Cape Charles, from the sons of King James; the deep water for anchorage, "putting the emigrants in good Comfort," gave a name to the Northern Point; and within the capes a country opened, which appeared to the emigrants to "claim the prerogative over the most pleasant places in the world." Hope revived for a season, as they advanced. "Heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation." A noble river was soon entered, which was named from the monarch; and, after a search of seventeen days, during which they encountered the hostility of one little savage tribe, and at Hampton smoked the calumet of peace with another, on the thirteenth day of May, 1607, they moored their vessels to the trees on the peninsula of Jamestown, and, on the next day, began the foundation of a colony.

While the men were busy in felling timber, and providing freight for the ships, Smith, Newport, and twenty others, ascended the James River to the falls. They visited the native chieftain Powhatan, who has been styled "the emperor of the country," at his principal seat, just below the present site of Richmond. The imperial residence was a village of twelve wigwams! The savages murmured at the intrusion of strangers into the country; but Powhatan disguised his fear, and would only say, "They hurt you not; they take but a little waste land."

About the middle of June, Newport set sail for England. What condition could be more pitiable than that of the English whom he had left in Virginia? The proud hopes which the beauty of the country had excited, vanished; and, as the delusion passed away, they awoke and beheld that they were in the wilderness. Weak in numbers, and still weaker from want of industry, they were exposed to the hostility and distrust of the natives; the summer heats were intolerable to their laborers; the moisture of the climate generated disease; and the fertility of the soil, covered with a rank luxuriance of forest, increased the toil of culture. Their scanty provisions had become spoiled on the long voyage. Despair of mind ensued; so that, in less than a fortnight after the departure of the fleet, "hardly ten of them were able to stand;" the labor of completing some simple fortifications was exhausting; and no regular crops could be planted. During the summer, there were not, on any occasion, five able men to guard the bulwarks; the fort was filled, in every corner, with the groans of the sick, whose outcries, night and day, for six weeks, rent the hearts of those who could minister no relief. Many times, three or four died in a night; in the morning, their bodies were trailed out of the cabins, like dogs, to be buried. Fifty men, one half of the colony, perished before autumn—among them, Bartholomew Gosnold, the projector of the settlement, a man of rare merits, worthy of a perpetual memory in the plantation, and whose influence had alone thus far preserved some degree of harmony in the council.

Disunion completed the scene of misery. It became necessary to depose Wingfield, the avaricious president, who was charged with engrossing the choicest stores, and who was on the point of escaping to the West Indies. Ratcliffe, the new president, possessed neither judgment nor industry; so that the management of affairs fell into the hands of Smith, whose deliberate enterprise and cheerful courage alone diffused light amidst the general gloom. He possessed by nature the buoyant spirit of heroic daring. In boyhood, he had sighed for the opportunity of "setting out on brave adventures;" and, though not yet thirty years of age, he was already a veteran in the service of Christendom. In the Low Countries, he had fought for the independence of the Batavian republic. Again, as a traveller, he had roamed over France; had visited the shores of Egypt; had returned to Italy; and, panting for glory, had sought the borders of Hungary, where there had long existed an hereditary warfare with the followers of Mahomet. It was

there that the young English Cavalier distinguished himself by the bravest feats of arms, in the sight of Christians and infidels. Overpowered in a sudden skirmish, among the glens of Wallachia, as a prisoner of war he had been offered for sale, "like a beast in a market place," and sent to Constantinople as a slave. Removed to a fortress in the Crimea, and there subjected to the harshest usage among half-savage serfs, he rose against his taskmaster, whom he slew in the struggle, and, mounting a horse, escaped through forest paths to the confines of Russia. Travelling across the country to Transylvania, and there bidding farewell to his companions in arms, he resolved to return "to his own sweet country." But, as he crossed the continent, he heard the rumors of civil war in Northern Africa, and hastened, in search of untried dangers, to the realms of Morocco. At length, returning to England, his mind did not so much share as appropriate to itself the general enthusiasm for planting states in America; and now the infant commonwealth of Virginia depended for its existence on his firmness. His experience in human nature under all its forms, and the cheering vigor of his resolute will, made him equal to his duty. He inspired the natives with awe, and quelled rebellion among the emigrants. He was more wakeful to gather provisions than the covetous to find gold, and strove to keep the country more than the faint-hearted to abandon it. As autumn approached, the Indians, from the superiority of their harvest, made a voluntary offering; and supplies were also collected by expeditions into the interior. But the conspiracies that were still formed to desert the settlement, first by the selfish Wingfield, and again by the imbecile Ratcliffe, could be defeated only after a skirmish, in which one of the leaders was killed; and the danger of a precipitate abandonment of Virginia continued imminent, till the approach of winter not only made the homeward navigation perilous, but removed the fear of famine by the abundance of wild-fowl and game. Nothing then remained but to examine the country.

Leaving the colonists to enjoy the abundance which winter had brought, Smith not only ascended the Chickahominy as far as he could advance in boats, but struck into the interior. His companions disobeyed his instructions, and, being surprised by the Indians, were put to death. Smith himself preserved life by the calmness of self-possession. Displaying a pocket compass, he amused the savages by an explanation of its powers, and by imparting some vague conceptions of the form of the earth and the nature of the planetary system. He

was allowed to send a letter to the fort of Jamestown; and wonder was increased; for he seemed, by some magic, to endow the paper with intelligence. To gratify the curiosity of all the neighborhood, he was conducted in triumph from the settlements on the Chickahominy to the Indian villages on the Rappahannock and the Potomac, and thence, through other towns, to the residence of Opechancanough, at Pamunkey. There, for the space of three days, they practised incantations and ceremonies, in the hope of obtaining some insight into the mystery of his character and his designs. The decision of his fate was referred to Powhatán, who was then residing at a village in what is now Gloucester county, on York River; and his immediate death would have been inevitable, but for the timely intercession of Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatán, a girl "of tenne or twelve years old, the nonpareil of the country," who clung firmly to his neck, as his head was bowed to receive the strokes of the tomahawk. The gentle feelings of humanity are the same in every race, and in every period of life; they bloom, though unconsciously, even in the bosom of a child. The fearlessness and the entreaties of the Indian maiden persuaded the council to spare the agreeable stranger, who might make hatchets for her father, and rattles and strings of beads for herself, the favorite child; and the barbarians dismissed their prisoner with mutual promises of friendship. Thus the captivity of Smith itself became a benefit to the colony; for he had not only observed with care the country between the James and the Potomac, and had gained some knowledge of the language and manners of the natives, but he had established a peaceful intercourse between the English and the tribes of Powhatán; and the child who had rescued him from death came, every few days, to the fort, with her "wild traine of" companions, bringing baskets of corn for the garrison.

Returning to Jamestown, Smith found the colony reduced to forty men; and of these the strongest were again preparing t escape with the pinnace. This third attempt at desertion he repressed at the hazard of his life. Thus passed the first few months of colonial existence, in discord and misery—despair relieved, and ruin prevented, by the fortitude of one man and the benevolence of an Indian girl.

Meantime, the council in England, having received an increase of its numbers and its powers, determined to send out new recruits and supplies; and Newport had hardly returned from his first voyage, before he was again despatched with one hundred and twenty emigrants. Yet the joy in Virginia on

their arrival was of short continuance; for the new-comers were chiefly vagabond gentlemen and goldsmiths, who believed they had discovered grains of gold in a glittering earth which abounded near Jamestown; and "there was now no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold." The refiners were enamored of their skill: Martin, one of the council, promised himself honors in England as the discoverer of a mine; and Newport, having made an unnecessary stay of fourteen weeks, and having, in defiance of the assurances of Powhatán, expected to find the Pacific just beyond the falls in James River, believed himself immeasurably rich, as he embarked for England with a freight of worthless earth.

Disgusted at the follies which he had vainly opposed, Smith undertook the perilous and honorable office of exploring the vast Bay of the Chesapeake, and the numerous rivers which are its tributaries. Two voyages, made in an open boat, with a few companions, over whom his superior courage, rather than his station as a magistrate, gave him authority, occupied him about three months of the summer, and embraced a navigation of nearly three thousand miles. The slenderness of his means has been contrasted with the dignity and utility of his discoveries; and his name has been placed in the highest rank with the distinguished men who have enlarged the bounds of geographical knowledge, and opened the way, by their investigations, for colonies and commerce. He surveyed the Bay of the Chesapeake to the Susquehanna, and left only the borders of that remote river to remain, for some years longer, the fabled dwelling-place of a giant progeny. He was the first to make known to the English the fame of the Mohawks, "who dwelt upon a great water, and had many boats and many men," and, as it seemed to the feebler Algonquin tribes, "made war upon all the world." In the Chesapeake Bay, he encountered a little fleet of their canoes. The Patapsco was discovered and explored, and Smith probably entered the harbor of Baltimore. The majestic Potomac, which, at its mouth, is seven miles broad, especially invited curiosity; and, passing beyond the heights of Vernon and the city of Washington, he ascended to the falls above Georgetown. Nor did he merely explore the rivers and inlets. He penetrated the territories, established friendly relations with the native tribes, and laid the foundation for future beneficial intercourse. The map which he prepared, and sent to the company in London, is still extant, and delineates correctly the great outline of nature. The expedition was worthy the romantic age of American history.

Three days after his return, Smith was made president of the council. Order and industry began to be diffused by his energetic administration, when Newport, with a second supply, entered the river. About seventy new emigrants arrived; two of them, it merits notice, were females. The angry covetousness of a greedy but disappointed corporation was now fully displayed. As if their command could transmute minerals, narrow the continent, and awaken the dead, they demanded a lump of gold, or a certain passage to the South Sea, or, a feigned humanity added, one of the lost company sent by Sir Walter Raleigh. The charge of the voyage was two thousand pounds: unless the ships should return full freighted with commodities, corresponding in value to the costs of the adventure, the colonists were threatened that "they should be left in Virginia as banished men." Neither had experience taught the company to engage suitable persons for Virginia. "When you send again," Smith was obliged to write, "I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have."

After the departure of the ships, in 1609, Smith employed his authority to enforce industry. Six hours in the day were spent in work; the rest might be given to pastime. The gentlemen had been taught the use of the axe, and had become accomplished woodcutters. "He who would not work, might not eat;" and Jamestown assumed the appearance of a regular place of abode. Yet so little land had been cultivated—not more than thirty or forty acres in all—that it was still necessary for Englishmen to solicit food from the indolent Indians; and Europeans, to preserve themselves from starving, were billeted among the sons of the forest. Thus the season passed away: of two hundred in the colony, not more than seven died.

The golden anticipations of the London company had not been realized. But the cause of failure appeared in the policy which had grasped at sudden emoluments; and more vast and honorable plans were conceived, which were to be effected by more numerous and opulent associates. At the request of the corporation, which was become a very powerful body, without any regard to the rights or wishes of those who had already emigrated under the sanction of existing laws, the constitution of Virginia was radically changed.

The new charter transferred to the company the powers which had before been reserved to the king. The supreme council in England was now to be chosen by the stockholders

themselves; and the lives, liberty, and fortune of the colonists were placed at the arbitrary will of a governor who was to be appointed by a commercial corporation. As yet not one valuable civil privilege was conceded to the emigrants.

Splendid as were the auspices of the new charter, unlimited as were the powers of the patentees, the next events in the colony were still more disastrous.

Lord De La Ware, distinguished for his virtues as well as rank, received the appointment of governor and captain-general for life. The condition of the public mind favored colonization; swarms of people desired to be transported; and the widely-diffused enthusiasm soon enabled the company to despatch a fleet of nine vessels, containing more than five hundred emigrants. The admiral of the fleet was Newport, who, with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, was authorized to administer the affairs of the colony till the arrival of Delaware.

The three commissioners had embarked on board the same ship. When near the coast of Virginia, a hurricane separated the admiral from the rest of his fleet; and his vessel was stranded on the rocks of the Bermudas. A small ketch perished; and seven ships only arrived in Virginia.

A new dilemma ensued. The old charter was abrogated; and, as there was in the settlement no one who had any authority from the new patentees, anarchy seemed at hand. The emigrants of the last arrival were "dissolute gallants, packed off to escape worse destinies at home, broken tradesmen, gentlemen impoverished in spirit and fortune, rakes and libertines, men more fitted to corrupt than to found a commonwealth." It was not the will of God that the new state should be formed of these materials. Hopeless as the determination appeared, Smith resolutely maintained his authority over the unruly herd, and devised new expeditions and new settlements, to furnish them occupation and support. At last, an accidental explosion of gunpowder disabled him, by inflicting wounds which the surgical skill of Virginia could not relieve. Delegating his authority to Percy, he embarked for England. Extreme suffering from his wounds, and the ingratitude of his employers, were the fruits of his services. He, the Father of Virginia, the true leader who first planted the Saxon race within the borders of the United States, received no reward but the applause of his conscience and the world. Uniting the highest spirit of adventure with consummate powers of action, his courage and self-possession accomplished what others esteemed desperate. Fruitful in expedients, he was prompt in execu-

tion. Harassed by the persecutions of malignant envy, he never revived the memory of the faults of his enemies. There was nothing counterfeit in his nature. He clearly discerned that it was the true interest of England not to seek in Virginia for gold and sudden wealth, but to establish regular industry. "Nothing," said he, "is to be expected thence, but by labor."

CHAPTER VII.

THE VIRGINIANS ACQUIRE HOMES.

THE colonists, no longer controlled by an acknowledged authority, were soon abandoned to improvident idleness. Their ample stock of provisions was rapidly consumed; and further supplies were refused by the Indians, who regarded the English with a fatal contempt. Stragglers from the town were cut off; parties which begged food in the Indian cabins were deliberately murdered; and plans were laid to starve and destroy the whole company. The horrors of famine ensued; while a band of about thirty, seizing a ship, escaped to become pirates, and to plead desperate necessity as an excuse for crimes. Smith, at his departure, had left more than four hundred and ninety persons in the colony; in six months, indolence, vice, and famine reduced the number to sixty; and these were so feeble and dejected, that, if relief had been delayed but ten days longer, they also must have utterly perished.

Sir Thomas Gates and the passengers, whose ship had been wrecked on the rocks of the Bermudas, had reached the shore without the loss of a life. The liberal fertility of the uninhabited island for nine months sustained them in affluence. From the cedars which they felled, and the wrecks of their old ship, they constructed two vessels, in which they embarked for Virginia. How great, then, was their horror, as they came among the scenes of death and famine! Four pinnaces remained in the river; nor could the extremity of distress listen to any other course than to sail for Newfoundland, and seek safety by dispersing the company among the ships of English fishermen. The colonists—such is human nature—desired to burn the town in which they had been so wretched; and the exercise of their infantile vengeance was prevented only by the ener-

gy of Gates, who was himself the last to desert the settlement. "None dropped a tear, for none had enjoyed one day of happiness." They fell down the stream with the tide; but, the next morning, as they drew near the mouth of the river, they encountered the long-boat of Lord Delaware, who had arrived on the coast with emigrants and supplies. The fugitives bore up the helm, and, favored by the wind, were that night once more at Jamestown.

It was on the 10th day of June, 1610, that the restoration of the colony was solemnly begun by supplications to God. The firmness of their resolution repelled despair. "It was the arm of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people pass the Red Sea and the wilderness, and then possess the land of Canaan." Dangers avoided inspire trust in Providence. "Doubt not," said the emigrants to the people of England, "God will raise our state and build his church in this excellent clime." After solemn exercises of religion, Lord Delaware caused his commission to be read; and the government was organized with mildness, but decision. The evils of faction were healed by the unity of the administration and the virtues of the governor; and the colonists, excited by mutual emulation, peformed their tasks with alacrity. At the beginning of the day, they assembled in the little church, which was kept neatly trimmed with the wild flowers of the country; next, they returned to their houses to receive their allowance of food. The settled hours of labor were from six in the morning till ten, and from two in the afternoon till four. The houses were warm and secure, covered above with strong boards, and matted on the inside after the fashion of the Indian wigwams. Security and affluence were returning. But the health of Lord Delaware sunk under the cares of his situation and the diseases of the climate; and, after a lingering sickness, he was compelled to leave the administration with Percy, and return to England. The colony, at this time, consisted of about two hundred men; but the departure of the governor produced despondency at Jamestown; in England "the plantation underwent the reproofs of the base world; the scum and dregs of the earth mocked such as helped to build up the walls of that Jerusalem."

Fortunately, in 1611, the adventurers, before the ill success of Lord Delaware was known, had despatched Sir Thomas Dale, "a worthy and experienced soldier in the Low Countries," with liberal supplies. He arrived safely in the colony, and assumed the government, which he soon afterwards admin-

istered upon the basis of martial law. The code, written in blood, and printed and sent to Virginia by the treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, without the order of the company, was chiefly a translation from the rules of war of the United Provinces. The Episcopal church, coeval in Virginia with the settlement of Jamestown, was, like the infant commonwealth, subjected to military rule; and courts-martial had authority to punish indifference with stripes, infidelity with death. The introduction of this arbitrary system excited no indignation in the colonists, who had never obtained any franchises, and no surprise in the adventurers in England, who regarded the Virginians but as the garrison of a distant citadel.

The letters of Dale to the council confessed the small number and weakness of the colonists, but kindled hope in the hearts of these adventurers. "If anything otherwise than well betide me," said he, "let me commend unto your carefulness the pursuit and dignity of this business, than which your purses and endeavors will never open nor travel in a more meritorious enterprise. Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country, either for commodities or goodness of soil." Lord Delaware and Sir Thomas Gates earnestly confirmed what Dale had written, and, without any delay, Gates, who has the honor, to all posterity, of being the first named in the original patent for Virginia, conducted to the New World six ships, with three hundred emigrants. A wise liberality sent also a hundred kine, as well as suitable provisions.

In May, Dale had written from Virginia, and the last of August, the new recruits were already at Jamestown. Gates assumed the government amidst the thanksgivings of the colony. "Lord bless England, our sweet native country," was the morning and evening prayer of the grateful emigrants. The colony now numbered seven hundred men; Dale, with the consent of Gates, went far up the river to found the new plantation, which, in honor of Prince Henry, a general favorite with the English people, was named Henrico; and there, on the remote frontier, Alexander Whitaker, the self-denying "apostle of Virginia," assisted in "bearing the name of God to the gentiles." But the greatest change in the condition of the colonists resulted from the incipient establishment of private property. To each man a few acres of ground were assigned for his orchard and garden, to plant at his pleasure and for his own use. The sanctity of private property was recognized as the surest guaranty of order and abundance. Yet the rights of the Indians

were little respected; nor did the English disdain to appropriate, by conquest, the soil, the cabins, and the granaries of the tribes of the Appomattocks.

While the colony was advancing in strength and happiness, the third patent for Virginia granted to the adventurers in England the Bermudas and all islands within three hundred leagues of the Virginia shore—a concession of no ultimate importance in American history, since the new acquisitions were soon transferred to a separate company. At the same time, it was ordered that weekly or even more frequent meetings of the whole company might be convened for the transaction of affairs of less weight; while all questions respecting government, commerce, and the disposition of lands, should be reserved for the four great and general courts, at which all officers were to be elected, and all laws established. Thus power was transferred from the council to the company, and its sessions became the theatre of bold and independent discussion. Lotteries, too, were authorized for the benefit of the colony; and they produced to the company twenty-nine thousand pounds.

While the new charter enlarged the powers of the company, the progress of the colony confirmed its stability. Tribes, even, of the Indians submitted to the English, and, by a formal treaty, declared themselves the tributaries of King James. A marriage was the immediate cause of this change of relations.

A foraging party of the colonists, headed by Argall, having stolen the daughter of Powhatán, demanded of her father a ransom. The indignant chief prepared rather for hostilities. But John Rolfe, "an honest and discreet" young Englishman, an amiable enthusiast, who had emigrated to the forests of Virginia, daily, hourly, and, as it were, in his very sleep, heard a voice crying in his ear, that he should strive to make her a Christian. After a great struggle of mind, and daily and believing prayers, in the innocence of pious zeal, he resolved "to labor for the conversion of the unregenerated maiden;" and, winning the favor of Pocahontas, he desired her in marriage. Quick of comprehension, the youthful princess received instruction with docility; and, in the little church of Jamestown, —which rested on rough pine columns, fresh from the forest, and was in a style of rugged architecture as wild, if not as frail, as an Indian's wigwam,—she stood before the font, that, out of the trunk of a tree, "had been hewn hollow like a canoe," "openly renounced her country's idolatry, professed the faith of Jesus Christ, and was baptized." "The gaining of this one soul," "the first fruits of Virginian conversion," was fol-

lowed by her nuptials with Rolfe. In April, 1613, to the joy of Sir Thomas Dale, with the approbation of her father and friends, Opachisco, her uncle, gave the bride away; and she stammered before the altar her marriage vows, according to the rites of the English service.

Every historian of Virginia commemorates the union with approbation; distinguished men trace from it their descent. In 1616, the Indian wife, instructed in the English language, and bearing an English name, "the first Christian ever of her nation," sailed with her husband for England. The daughter of the wilderness possessed the mild elements of female loveliness, half concealed, as if in the bud, and rendered the more beautiful by the childlike simplicity with which her education in the savannas of the New World had invested her. How could she fail to be caressed at court, and admired in the city? As a wife, and as a young mother, her conduct was exemplary. She had been able to contrast the magnificence of European life with the freedom of the western forests; and now, as she was preparing to return to America, at the age of twenty-two, she fell a victim to the English climate,—saved, as if by the hand of Mercy, from beholding the extermination of the tribes from which she sprung, leaving a spotless name, and dwelling in memory under the form of perpetual youth.

The immediate fruits of the marriage to the colony were a confirmed peace, not with Powhatán alone, but also with the powerful Chickahominies, who sought the friendship of the English, and demanded to be called Englishmen. It might have seemed that the European and the native races were about to become blended; yet the English and the Indians remained at variance, and the weakest gradually disappeared.

The colony seemed firmly established; and its governor asserted for the English the sole right of colonizing the coast to the latitude of forty-five degrees. In 1613, sailing in an armed vessel, as a protector to the fishermen off the coast of Maine, Samuel Argall, a young sea-captain, of arbitrary temper, discovered that the French were planting a colony near the Penobscot, on Mount Desert Isle; and, hastening to the spot, he gained possession of the infant hamlet of St. Sauveur. The cross round which the faithful had gathered was thrown down; and the cottages and the ship in the harbor were abandoned to pillage.

The news of French encroachments roused the jealousy of Virginia. Immediately Argall sailed once more to the north, threw down the fortifications of De Monts on the Isle of St. Croix,

and set on fire the deserted settlement of Port Royal. Thus did England vindicate her claim to Maine and Acadia.

Returning from Acadia, Argall entered the port of New York, to assert the sovereignty of England; but there is no room to believe he ascended the Hudson.

Meantime the people of England exulted in the anticipated glories of the rising state in Virginia. The theatre rung with its praise; and Shakspeare, whose friend, the "popular" earl of Southampton, was a leader in the Virginia company, echoed the general enthusiasm.

In March, 1614, Sir Thomas Gates, embarking for England, where he might infuse new courage into the London company, left the government with Sir Thomas Dale. During the administration of Dale, the laws of Virginia, though imperfect and unequal, gave the cultivator the opportunity of becoming a proprietor of the soil; and private industry, directed to the culture of a valuable staple, enriched Virginia. It was found that tobacco might be profitably cultivated; and at once the fields, the gardens, the public squares, and even the streets of Jamestown, were planted with it; and the colonists dispersed, unmindful of security in their eagerness for gain. Tobacco became the staple and the currency of the colony.

When, in 1616, after a residence of five years in the colony, Sir Thomas Dale, who has gained praise for vigor and judgment, returned to his native country, imbittered parties contended for the posts of emolument and honor; and, in the next year, the influence of a faction conferred the office of deputy-governor on Argall. Martial law was at that time the common law of the country: that the despotism of the new deputy, who was both self-willed and avaricious, might be complete, he was further invested with the place of admiral of the country and the adjoining seas.

The return of Lord Delaware to America might have restored tranquillity; the health of that nobleman was not equal to the voyage; and he never again reached Virginia. The tyranny of Argall was, therefore, left unrestrained; but his indiscriminate rapacity and vices were destined to defeat themselves, and procure for the colony an inestimable benefit; for they led him to defraud the company as well as to oppress the colonists. The condition of Virginia became intolerable; the labor of the settlers was perverted to the benefit of the governor; servitude, for a limited period, was the common penalty annexed to trifling offences; and, in a colony where martial law still continued in force, life itself was insecure against his capricious passions.

The first appeal ever made from America to England, directed, not to the king, but to the company, was in behalf of one whom Argall had wantonly condemned to death, and whom he had with great difficulty been prevailed upon to spare. The colony was falling into disrepute, and the report of the tyranny established beyond the Atlantic checked emigration. A reformation was demanded, and was conceded, with guaranties for the future, because the interests of the colonists and the company coincided in requiring a redress of their common wrongs. After a strenuous contest on the part of rival factions for the control of the company, the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys prevailed; Argall was displaced, and, in 1619, the mild and popular Yeardley was appointed captain-general of the colony.

The administration of Yeardley began with acts of benevolence. The ancient planters were fully released from all further service to the colony, and were confirmed in the possession of their estates, both personal and real, as amply as the subjects of England. The burdens imposed by his predecessor were removed, and martial law gradually disappeared. But these were not the only benefits conferred through Yeardley; his administration marks an era in the progress of American liberty; the colonists themselves were received to a share in legislation. In June, 1619, the first colonial assembly that ever met in Virginia was convened at Jamestown. The governor, the newly-appointed council, and two representatives from each of the eleven boroughs,—hence called burgesses,—constituted the first representative body of the western hemisphere. All matters were debated which were thought expedient for the good of the colony; former griefs were buried in oblivion; and the representatives of the colony expressed their "greatest possible thanks" for the care of the company in settling the plantation.

The patriot party in England, now possessed of the control of the London company, engaged with earnestness in schemes to advance the population and establish the liberties of Virginia. At the accession of Sir Edwin Sandys to the office of treasurer, after twelve years' labor, and an expenditure of eighty thousand pounds by the company, there were in the colony no more than six hundred persons, men, women, and children; and now, in one year, he provided a passage to Virginia for twelve hundred and sixty-one persons. Nor must the character of the emigration be overlooked. "The people of Virginia had not been settled in their mind;" and as, before the recent changes, they had

gone there with the design of ultimately returning to England, it was necessary to multiply attachments to the soil. Few women had as yet dared to cross the Atlantic; but, in 1619, the promise of prosperity induced ninety agreeable persons, young and incorrupt, to listen to the wishes of the company, and the benevolent advice of Sandys, and to embark for the colony, where they were assured of a welcome. They were transported at the expense of the corporation, and were married to the tenants of the company, or to men who were well able to support them, and who willingly defrayed the costs of their passage, which were rigorously demanded. The adventure, which had been in part a mercantile speculation, succeeded so well, that it was designed to send the next year another consignment of one hundred; but, before these could be collected, the company found itself so poor, that its design could be accomplished only by a subscription. After some delays, sixty were actually despatched, maids of virtuous education, young, handsome, and well recommended. The price rose from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, or even more, so that all the original charges might be repaid. The debt for a wife was a debt of honor, and took precedence of any other; and the company, in conferring employments, gave a preference to the married men. Domestic ties were formed; virtuous sentiments and habits of thrift ensued; the tide of emigration swelled; within three years, fifty patents for land were granted, and three thousand five hundred persons found their way to Virginia, which was a refuge even for Puritans.

The deliberate and formal concession of legislative liberties was an act of the deepest interest. When Sandys, after a year's service, resigned his office as treasurer, a struggle ensued on the election of his successor; and, against the nomination of King James, the choice of the crowded meeting fell upon the earl of Southampton. Having thus vindicated their own rights, the company proceeded to endow colonial liberty with written guaranties.

On an appeal to the London company from a sentence of death pronounced by Argall, the friends of that officer had assembled, with the earl of Warwick at their head, and had voted that trial by martial law is the noblest kind of trial, because soldiers and men of the sword were the judges. This opinion was now reversed, and the right of the colonists to trial by jury asserted.

The colonial assembly, which had been convened by Sir

George Yeardley, though silently approved, had never been expressly sanctioned. On the twenty-fourth day of July, 1621, a memorable ordinance established for the colony a written constitution. The form of government prescribed for Virginia was analogous to the English constitution, and was, with some modifications, the model of the systems which were afterwards introduced into the various royal provinces. Its purpose was declared to be "the greatest comfort and benefit to the people, and the prevention of injustice, grievances, and oppression." Its terms are few and simple;—a governor, to be appointed by the company; a permanent council, likewise to be appointed by the company; a general assembly, to be convened yearly, and to consist of the members of the council, and of two burgesses to be chosen from each of the several plantations by their respective inhabitants. The assembly might exercise full legislative authority, a negative voice being reserved to the governor; but no law or ordinance would be valid, unless ratified by the company in England. After the government of the colony should have once been framed, no orders of the court in London could bind the colony, unless ratified by the general assembly. The courts of justice were required to conform to the laws and manner of trial used in the realm of England.

Such was the constitution which Sir Francis Wyatt, the successor of the mild but inefficient Yeardley, was commissioned to bear to the colony. Henceforward, the supreme power was held to reside in the hands of the colonial parliament, and of the king, as king of Virginia. The privileges now conceded could never be wrested from the Virginians; and, as new colonies arose at the south, their proprietaries could hope to win emigrants only by bestowing franchises as large as those enjoyed by their elder rival. The London company was the pioneer of liberty in America; and it reflects glory on the earl of Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, and the patriot party of England, who, unable to establish guaranties of a liberal administration at home, were careful to connect popular freedom so intimately with the life, prosperity, and state of society of Virginia, that they never could be separated.

AN INDIAN ENCAMPMENT.

CHAPTER VIII.

SLAVERY. DISSOLUTION OF THE LONDON COMPANY.

WHILE Virginia, by the concession of a representative government, was constituted the asylum of liberty, it also became the abode of hereditary bondsmen.

At the epoch of the discovery of America, the moral opinion of the civilized world had abolished the traffic in Christian slaves, and was fast demanding the emancipation of the serfs; but bigotry had favored a compromise with avarice; and the infidel was not yet included within the pale of humanity.

Yet negro slavery was not an invention of the white man. As Greeks enslaved Greeks, as the Hebrew often consented to make the Hebrew his absolute lord, as Anglo-Saxons trafficked in Anglo-Saxons, so the negro race enslaved its own brethren. The oldest accounts of the land of the negroes, like the glimmering traditions of Egypt and Phœnicia, of Greece and of Rome, bear witness to the existence of domestic slavery and caravans of dealers in negro slaves. The oldest Greek historian commemorates the traffic. Negro slaves were seen in classic Greece, and were known at Rome and in the Roman empire. From about the year 990, regular accounts of the negro slave trade exist. Long before the genius of Columbus had opened the path to a new world, the negro slave trade had been reduced to a system by the Moors, and had spread from the native regions of the Ethiopian race to the heart of Egypt on the one hand, and to the coasts of Barbary on the other.

But the danger for America did not end here. The traffic of Europeans in negro slaves was fully established before the colonization of the United States, and had existed a half century before the discovery of America.

The Portuguese ships which, in 1441, sailed so far south as Cape Blanco, returned, not with negroes, but with Moors. Antony Gonzalez, who had brought them to Portugal, was commanded to restore them to their ancient homes. He did so; and the Moors gave him as their ransom, not gold only, but "black Moors" with curled hair. Thus, in 1443, negro slaves came into Europe. New ships were despatched without delay. Spain also engaged in the traffic; and negro slavery was estab-

lished in Andalusia, and "abounded in the city of Seville," before the enterprise of Columbus was conceived.

The maritime adventurers of those days, joining the principles of bigots with the bold designs of pirates and heroes, esteemed the wealth of the countries which they might discover as their rightful plunder, and the inhabitants, if Christians, as their subjects,—if infidels, as their slaves. Even Indians of Hispaniola were imported into Spain. Cargoes of the natives of the north were early and repeatedly kidnapped. The glory of Columbus himself did not escape the stain; enslaving five hundred native Americans, he sent them to Spain, that they might be publicly sold at Seville. The commissions for making discoveries reserved for Isabella and Ferdinand a fourth part of the slaves which the new kingdoms might contain. The slavery of Indians was recognized as lawful.

The practice of selling the natives of North America into foreign bondage continued for nearly two centuries; and even the sternest morality pronounced the sentence of slavery and exile on the captives whom the field of battle had spared.

It was not Las Casas who first suggested the plan of transporting African slaves to Hispaniola; Spanish slaveholders, as they emigrated, were accompanied by their negroes; and, in 1501, the royal ordinances of Spain authorized negro slavery in America. Within two years, there were such numbers of Africans in Hispaniola, that Ovando, the governor of the island, entreated that the importation might no longer be permitted. But the culture of sugar was successfully begun: it was said, too, that one negro could do the work of four Indians in the mines; and the direct traffic in slaves between Guinea and Hispaniola was, in 1511, enjoined by a royal ordinance, and deliberately sanctioned by repeated decrees. Was it not natural that Charles V., a youthful monarch, surrounded by rapacious courtiers, should readily grant licenses to the Flemings to transport negroes to the colonies? The benevolent Las Casas,—who had seen the native inhabitants of the New World vanish away, like dew, before the cruelties of the Spaniards, who felt for the Indians all that an ardent charity and the purest missionary zeal could inspire, and who had seen the African thriving in robust health under the sun of Hispaniola,—returning from America to plead the cause of the feeble Indians, in 1517,—the year which saw the dawn of the reformation in Germany,—suggested the expedient, that negroes might still further be employed to perform the severe toils which they alone could endure. The avarice of the Flemings greedily seized on the

expedient; the board of trade at Seville was consulted, to learn how many slaves would be required. It had been proposed to allow four for each Spanish emigrant; deliberate calculation fixed the number esteemed necessary at four thousand. The very year in which Charles V. sailed with a powerful expedition against Tunis, to check the piracies of the Barbary states, and to emancipate Christian slaves in Africa, he gave an open legal sanction to the African slave trade. The sins of the Moors were to be revenged on the negroes; and the monopoly, for eight years, of annually importing four thousand slaves into the West Indies, was eagerly seized by La Bresa, a favorite of the Spanish monarch, and was sold to the Genoese, who purchased their cargoes of Portugal. Reason, policy, and religion alike condemned the traffic. The spirit of the Roman church was against it. Even Leo X. declared, that "not the Christian religion only, but Nature herself, cries out against the state of slavery;" and Paul III., in two separate briefs, imprecated a curse on the Europeans who should enslave Indians or any other class of men. The legislation of independent America has been emphatic in denouncing the hasty avarice which entailed the anomaly of negro slavery in the midst of liberty.

The odious distinction of having first interested England in the slave trade belongs to Sir John Hawkins. In 1562, he had fraudulently transported a large cargo of Africans to Hispaniola: the rich returns of sugar, ginger, and pearls attracted the notice of Queen Elizabeth; and, when a new expedition was prepared, in 1567, she was induced not only to protect, but to share the traffic. Yet the commerce, on the part of the English, in the Spanish ports, was by the laws of Spain illicit, as well as by the laws of morals detestable; and when the sovereign of England participated in its hazards, its profits, and its crimes, she became at once a smuggler and a slave merchant.

Conditional servitude, under indentures or covenants, had from the first existed in Virginia. The servant stood to his master in the relation of a debtor, bound to discharge the costs of emigration by the entire employment of his powers for the benefit of his creditor. Oppression early ensued: men who had been transported into Virginia at an expense of eight or ten pounds were sometimes sold for forty, fifty, or even threescore pounds. The furnishing of white servants became a regular business; and a class of men, nicknamed *spirits*, used to delude young persons, servants, and idlers into embarking for America, as to a land of spontaneous plenty. White servants came to be a usual article of traffic. They were sold in England to

be transported, and in Virginia were resold to the highest bidder; like negroes, they were to be purchased on shipboard, as men buy horses at a fair.

The condition of apprenticed servants in Virginia differed from that of slaves chiefly in the duration of their bondage; and the laws of the colony favored their early enfranchisement. But this state of labor easily admitted the introduction of perpetual servitude. The commerce of Virginia had been at first monopolized by the company; but as its management for the benefit of the corporation led to frequent dissensions, it was, in 1620, laid open to free competition. In the month of August of that year,—more than a century after the last vestiges of hereditary slavery had disappeared from English society and the English constitution, and six years after the commons of France had petitioned for the emancipation of every serf in every fief,—a Dutch man-of-war entered James River, and landed twenty negroes for sale. This was, indeed, the sad epoch of the introduction of negro slavery into the English colonies; but the traffic would have been checked in its infancy, had its profits remained with the Dutch. Thirty years after this first importation of Africans, the increase had been so inconsiderable, that, to one black, Virginia contained fifty whites; and, at a later period, after seventy years of its colonial existence, the number of its negro slaves was proportionably much less than in several of the free states at the time of the war of independence. Had no other form of servitude been known in Virginia than such as had been tolerated in Europe, every difficulty would have been promptly obviated by the benevolent spirit of colonial legislation. But a new problem in the history of man was now to be solved. For the first time, the Ethiopian and Caucasian races were to meet together in nearly equal numbers beneath a temperate zone. Who could foretell the issue?

Wyatt found the evil of negro slavery already engrafted on the social system, when, in 1621, he arrived in Virginia with the memorable ordinance on which the fabric of colonial liberty was to rest. Justice was established on the basis of the laws of England, and an amnesty of ancient feuds proclaimed. As Puritanism had appeared in Virginia, "needless novelties" in the forms of worship were prohibited. The order to search for minerals betrays the lingering hope of finding gold; while the injunction to promote certain manufactures was ineffectual, because labor could otherwise be more profitably employed.

The business of the first session under the written constitu-

tion, held in November and December, 1621, related chiefly to domestic industry; and the cultute of silk engaged the attention of the assembly. But silk-worms could not be cared for where every comfort of household existence required to be created. Vine-dressers had also been set to work under the terrors of martial law; and the toil was equally in vain. In a new country under the temperate zone, corn and cattle will be raised, rather than silk or wine.

The first culture of cotton in the United States deserves commemoration. This year the seeds were planted as an experiment; and their "plentiful coming up" was, at that early day, a subject of interest in America and England.

Nor did the benevolence of the company neglect to establish places of education, and provide for the support of religious worship. The bishop of London collected and paid a thousand pounds towards a university, which, like the several churches of the colony, was liberally endowed with domains.

Between the Indians and the English there had been quarrels, but no wars. From the first landing of colonists in Virginia, the power of the natives was despised; their strongest weapons were such arrows as they could shape without iron, such hatchets as could be made from stone; and an English mastiff was to them a terrible adversary. Nor were their numbers considerable. The whole territory of the clans which listened to Powhatán as their leader or their conqueror, comprehended about eight thousand square miles, thirty clans, and hardly twenty-four hundred warriors; so that, in a region most favorable to Indian life, the population amounted to less than one inhabitant to a square mile. The natives, naked and feeble compared with the Europeans, were nowhere concentrated in considerable villages, but dwelt dispersed in hamlets, with from forty to sixty in each company. Few places had more than two hundred; and many had less. It was also unusual for any large portion of these tribes to be assembled together. The tale of an ambuscade of three or four thousand is perhaps an error for three or four hundred, or is an extravagant fiction. Smith once met a party that seemed to amount to seven hundred; and, so complete was the superiority conferred by the use of fire-arms, that with fifteen men he was able to withstand them all. The savages were therefore regarded with contempt or compassion. No uniform care had been taken to conciliate their good-will; although their condition had been improved by some of the arts of civilized life. When Wyatt arrived, the natives expressed a fear lest his intentions should be hostile: he

assured them of his wish to preserve inviolable peace; and the emigrants had no use for fire-arms, except against a deer or a fowl. The old law, which made death the penalty for teaching the Indians to use a musket, was forgotten; and they were employed as fowlers and huntsmen. The plantations of the English were extended, in unsuspecting confidence, along the James River, and towards the Potomac, wherever rich grounds invited to the culture of tobacco.

Powhatán, the father of Pocahontas, remained, after the marriage of his daughter, the firm friend of the English. He died in 1618; and his younger brother was heir to his influence. The desire of self-preservation, the necessity of self-defence, seemed to demand an active resistance: to preserve their dwelling-places, the natives must exterminate the English; and, powerless in open battle, timid, and therefore treacherous, they could not hope to accomplish their end, except by surprise. The attack was prepared with impenetrable secrecy. To the very last hour the Indians preserved the language of friendship; they borrowed the boats of the English to attend their own assemblies, and, on the morning of the massacre, were in the houses and at the tables of those whose death they were plotting. "Sooner," said they, "shall the sky fall, than peace be violated on our part." At length, on the twenty-second of March, 1622, at mid-day, at one and the same instant of time, the Indians fell upon an unsuspecting population, which was scattered through distant villages, extending one hundred and forty miles, on both sides of the river. The onset was so sudden, that the blow was not discerned till it fell. None were spared: children and women, as well as men; the missionary, who had cherished the natives with untiring gentleness; the liberal benefactors, from whom they had received daily kindnesses,—all were murdered with indiscriminate barbarity, and every aggravation of cruelty. The savages fell upon the dead bodies, as if it had been possible to commit on them a fresh murder.

In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off. Yet the carnage was not universal; and Virginia was saved from so disastrous a grave. The night before the execution of the conspiracy, it was revealed by a converted Indian to an Englishman whom he wished to rescue; Jamestown and the nearest settlements were well prepared against an attack; and the savages fled precipitately from the appearance of wakeful resistance. Thus the larger part of the colony was saved. A year after the massacre, there still remained two thousand five hundred men; the total number of the emigrants had exceeded

four thousand. The immediate consequences of this massacre were disastrous. Public works were abandoned; and the settlements were reduced from eighty plantations to less than eight. Sickness prevailed among the dispirited colonists, now crowded into narrow quarters; some returned to England. But plans of industry were eventually succeeded by schemes of revenge; and a war of extermination ensued. There were in the colony much loss and much sorrow, but never any serious apprehensions of discomfiture from the Indians. The midnight surprise, the ambuscade by day, might be feared; the Indians promptly fled on the least indications of watchfulness and resistance. There were not wanting advocates for the entire subjection of those whom lenity could not win; and the example of Spanish cruelties was cited with applause. Besides, a natural instinct had led the Indians to select for their villages the pleasantest places, along the purest streams, and near the soil that was most easily cultivated. Their rights of property were no longer much respected; their open fields and villages were now appropriated by the colonists, who could plead the laws of war in defence of their covetousness. In July, 1623, the inhabitants of the several settlements, in parties, under commissioned officers, fell upon the adjoining savages; and a law of the general assembly commanded that in the next summer the attack should be repeated. Even six years later, it was sternly enacted, that no peace should be concluded with the Indians.

Meantime, a change was preparing in the relations of the colony with the parent state. The Virginia colony had been unsuccessful. A settlement had been made; but only after a vast expenditure of money, and a great sacrifice of human life. Angry factions distract unsuccessful institutions; and the London company was now rent by two parties, which were growing more and more imbittered. The contests were not so much the wranglings of disappointed merchants, as the struggle of political leaders. The meetings of the company, which now consisted of a thousand adventurers, of whom two hundred or more usually appeared at the quarter courts, were the scenes where the patriots, who in parliament advocated the cause of liberty, triumphantly opposed the decrees of the privy council on subjects connected with the rights of Virginia. The unsuccessful party could hope for success only by establishing the supremacy of the royal prerogative; and the monarch, dissatisfied at having intrusted to others the control of the colony, desired to recover the influence of which he was deprived by a charter of his own concession. Besides, he disliked the freedom

of debate in "the Virginia courts," which were "but a seminary to a seditious parliament."

At the meeting for the choice of officers, in 1622, the nominations made by King James were again disregarded, and a great majority reëlected the earl of Southampton. Unable to get the control of the company by overawing its assemblies, the monarch resolved to sequester the patent; and raised no other question, than how the law of England could be made the instrument of his purpose. The allegation of grievances, set forth by the court faction in a petition to the king, was fully refuted by the company. Yet commissioners were appointed to engage in a general investigation of the concerns of the corporation; the records were seized, the deputy-treasurer imprisoned, and private letters from Virginia intercepted for inspection. Smith was particularly examined: his honest answers plainly exposed the defective arrangements of previous years, and favored the cancelling of the charter as an act of benevolence to the colony.

The result surprised every one: the king, by an order in council, made known that he had resolved, by a new charter, to reserve to himself the appointment of the officers in England, a negative on appointments in Virginia, and the supreme control of all colonial affairs. Should the company resist the change, its patent would be recalled.

The corporation was inflexible. The privy council peremptorily demanded a decisive answer within three days; and, at the expiration of that time, the surrender of the charter was strenuously refused. But the decision of the king was already taken; John Harvey, and Samuel Matthews, and others, were appointed to proceed to Virginia, and examine into the state of the plantation; while a writ of quo warranto was issued against the company.

While these things were transacting in England, the commissioners, early in 1624, arrived in the colony. A meeting of the general assembly was immediately convened; and, as the company had refuted the allegations of King James, as opposed to their interests, so the colonists replied to them, as contrary to their honor and good name. The principal prayer was, that the governors might not have absolute power, and that the liberty of popular assemblies might be retained; "for," say they, "nothing can conduce more to the public satisfaction and the public utility." In vain was it attempted, by means of intimidation and promises of royal favor, to obtain a petition for the revocation of the charter. It was under that charter that the

assembly was itself convened; and, after prudently rejecting a proposition which might have endangered its own existence, it proceeded to memorable acts of independent legislation.

The rights of property were strictly asserted against arbitrary taxation. "The governor shall not lay any taxes or ymposi-tions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, other way than by the authority of the general assembly, to be levyed and ymployed as the said assembly shall appoynt." The rights of personal liberty were likewise asserted, and the power of the executive circumscribed; free trade was favored. The reports of controversies in England rendered it necessary to base the administration of Virginia on a popular decree; and it was expressly enacted, "that no person within the colony, upon the rumor of supposed change and alteration, presume to be disobedient to the present government." These laws, so judiciously framed, show how readily, with the aid of free discussion, men become good legislators on their own concerns.

The commissioners, promptly returning and making their report to the king, eulogized the fertility of the soil and the salubrity of the climate; aggravated the neglect of the company, in regard to the encouragement of staple commodities; and they promised prosperity only by a recurrence to the original instructions of the monarch.

Now, therefore, nothing but the judicial decision remained. The decree, which was to be pronounced by judges who held their office by the tenure of the royal pleasure, could not long remain doubtful; at the Trinity term, judgment was given against the treasurer and company, and the patents were cancelled.

Thus the company was dissolved. It had fulfilled its high destinies; it had confirmed the colonization of Virginia, and had conceded a liberal form of government to Englishmen in in America. Its fate found little sympathy in the English parliament or nation; in the domestic government and franchises of the colony, it produced no immediate change. Sir Francis Wyatt, though he had been an ardent friend of the London company, was confirmed in office; and he and his council, far from being rendered absolute, were only empowered to govern "as fully and amplye as any governor and council resident there, at any time within the space of five years now last past." This term of five years was precisely the period of representative government; and the limitation could not but be interpreted as sanctioning the continuance of popular assemblies. The king, in appointing the council in Virginia, rejected the imbittered

partisans of the court faction, and formed the administration on the principles of accommodation. His vanity claimed the opportunity of establishing for the colony a code of fundamental laws; but death prevented the indulgence of his self-complacency in so grateful an occupation.

CHAPTER IX.

RESTRICTIONS ON COLONIAL COMMERCE.

ASCENDING the throne in his twenty-fifth year, Charles I. inherited the principles, and was governed by the favorite of his father. The rejoicings in consequence of his recent nuptials, the reception of his bride, and preparations for a parliament, left him little leisure for American affairs. Virginia was to the monarch the country of tobacco; its inhabitants were prized according to the revenue derived from their staple. As the plantation was become a royal province, and professed conformity to the Church of England, it won the favor of the clergy and the court. Franchises were neither conceded nor restricted; for royal pride could not discern in an American province anything like the vigorous life of political liberty. His first Virginian measure was a proclamation on tobacco, confirming to Virginia and the Somer Isles the exclusive supply of the British market, under penalty of the censure of the star-chamber for disobedience. In a few days, a new proclamation announced his fixed resolution of becoming, through his agents, the sole factor of the planters. Zealous only to monopolize the profits of their industry, he left the political rights of Virginia to be established as usages.

For some months the organization of the government was not changed; and, in 1626, when Wyatt, on the death of his father, obtained leave to return to Scotland, Sir George Yeardley was appointed his successor. In the commission now issued, the power of the governor and council was limited, as it had before been, in the commission of Wyatt, by a reference to the usages of the last five years. In that period, representative liberty had become the custom of Virginia; and the words were interpreted as favoring the wishes of the colonists. The colony prospered; Virginia rose rapidly in public estimation; in one

year, a thousand emigrants arrived; and there was an increasing demand for all the products of the soil.

In November, 1627, the career of Yeardley was closed by death. Posterity will ever retain a grateful recollection of the man who first convened a representative assembly in the western hemisphere; the colonists, announcing his decease, in a letter to the privy council, gave, at the same time, a eulogy on his virtues. The day after his burial, Francis West was elected his successor; for the council was authorized to elect the governor, "from time to time, as often as the case shall require."

But if any doubts existed of the royal assent to the continuance of colonial assemblies, they were soon removed by a letter of instructions, which the king, in June, 1628, addressed to the governor and council. After much cavilling, in the style of a purchaser who undervalues the wares which he wishes to buy, the monarch arrives at his main purpose, and offers to contract for the whole crop of tobacco; desiring, at the same time, that an assembly might be convened to consider his proposal. This is the first recognition, on the part of a Stuart, of a representative assembly in America. The assembly, in its answer, firmly protested against the monopoly, and rejected the conditions which they had been summoned to approve. The independent reply of the assembly was signed by the governor, by five members of the council, and by thirty-one burgesses.

No sooner had the news of the death of Yeardley reached England, than the king proceeded to issue a commission to John Harvey, and, at the same time, gave permission to the council in Virginia to supply all vacancies occurring in their body.

It was during the period which elapsed between the appointment of Harvey and his appearance in America, that Lord Baltimore visited Virginia. Nor should we forget that the people of New Plymouth were, by the planters, invited to abandon the cold and sterile clime of New England for the milder regions on the Delaware Bay—a plain indication that Puritans were not then molested in Virginia.

It was probably in the autumn of 1629 that Harvey arrived in Virginia. Till October, the name of Pott appears as governor; Harvey met his first assembly of burgesses in the following March. The Virginians, during the whole period of his administration, enjoyed the benefit of independent colonial legislation. Through the agency of their representatives, they levied and appropriated all taxes; secured the free industry of their citizens; guarded the forts with their own soldiers, at

their own charge; and gave to their statutes the greatest possible publicity. When the defects and inconveniences of infant legislation were remedied by a revised code, which was published with the approbation of the governor and council, all the privileges which the assembly had ever claimed were carefully confirmed; indeed, they seem never to have been questioned. De Vries, who visited Virginia in 1632–3, had reason to praise the advanced condition of the settlement, the abundance of its products, and the liberality of its governor. But the whole colony of Virginia was excited and alarmed, on the dismemberment of its territory, by the cession to Lord Baltimore. Questions about land titles were agitated with passion; and there was reason to apprehend the increase of extravagant grants, that would again include the soil on which plantations had already been made, without the acquisition of an indisputable legal claim. In Maryland, the first occupants had refused to submit; a skirmish had ensued, in which the blood of Europeans was shed, for the first time, on the waters of the Chesapeake; and Clayborne, defeated, and banished from Maryland, as a murderer and an outlaw, sheltered himself in Virginia, where he had long been a member of the council. There the contest was renewed; and Harvey, far from attempting to enforce the claims of Virginia against the royal grant, sent Clayborne to England to answer for the crimes with which he was charged. The colonists were indignant that their governor should thus, as it seemed to them, betray their interests; and, as the majority of the council favored their wishes, "Sir John Harvey was thrust out of his government, and Captain John West appointed to the office, till the king's pleasure be known." An assembly was summoned in May, to receive complaints against Harvey; but he had, in the meantime, consented to go to England, and there meet his accusers.

The commissioners appointed by the council to manage the impeachment of Harvey met with no favor in England, and were not even admitted to a hearing. In January, 1636, Harvey reappeared to occupy his former station, and was followed by a new commission, by which his powers were still limited to such as had been exercised during the period of legislative freedom. General assemblies continued to be held; but the vacancies in the council, which had been filled in Virginia, were henceforward to be supplied by appointment in England.

Harvey remained in office till 1639, when he was superseded by Sir Francis Wyatt, whose administration was so suited to the tastes and habits of the planters, that it passed silently away,

leaving almost no impression on Virginia history, except in its statutes.

It was in February, 1642, that Sir William Berkeley, arriving in the colony, assumed the government. He found the American planters in possession of a large share of the legislative authority, and he confirmed them in the enjoyment of franchises which a long and uninterrupted succession had rendered familiar. Immediately after his arrival, he convened the colonial legislature. The utmost harmony prevailed; the memory of factions was lost in a general amnesty of ancient griefs. George Sandys, an agent of the colony, and an opponent of the royal party in England, had presented a petition to the commons, praying for the restoration of the ancient patents: the royalist assembly promptly disavow the design, and, after a full debate, oppose it by a solemn protest. They assert the necessity of the freedom of trade; "for freedom of trade," say they, "is the blood and life of a commonwealth;" and they defend their preference of self-government, through a colonial legislature, by a conclusive argument:—"There is more likelyhood, that such as are acquainted with the clime and its accidents may upon better grounds prescribe our advantages, than such as shall sit at the helm in England." In reply to their urgent petition, the king immediately declared his purpose not to change a form of government in which they "received so much content and satisfaction."

The Virginians, aided by Sir William Berkeley, could now deliberately perfect their civil condition. Condemnations to service had been a usual punishment: these were abolished. In the courts of justice, a near approach was made to the laws and customs of England. Religion was provided for, the law about land titles adjusted, an amicable treaty with Maryland successfully matured, and peace with the Indians confirmed. Taxes were assessed, not in proportion to numbers, but to men's abilities and estates. The spirit of liberty displayed in the English parliament was transmitted to America; and the rights of property, the freedom of industry, the solemn exercise of civil franchises seemed to be secured to the colonists and their posterity. "A future immunity from taxes and impositions," except such as should be freely voted for their own wants, "was expected as the fruits of the endeavors of their legislature." As the restraints with which colonial navigation was threatened were not enforced, they attracted no attention; and Virginia enjoyed nearly all the liberties which a monarch could concede and retain his supremacy.

Believing themselves secure of all their privileges. the triumph of the popular party in England did not alter the condition or the affections of the Virginians. The commissioners appointed by parliament, with unlimited authority over the plantations, found no favor in Virginia. They promised, indeed, freedom from English taxation; but this immunity was already enjoyed. They gave the colony liberty to choose its own governor; but it had no dislike to Berkeley; and though there was a party for the parliament, yet the king's authority was maintained. The sovereignty of Charles had ever been mildly exercised.

The condition of contending parties in England soon gave the opportunity of legislation independent of European control; and the act, restraining religious liberty, proves conclusively the attachment of the representatives of Virginia to the Episcopal church and the cause of royalty. There had been Puritans in the colony almost from the beginning. "Here," said the tolerant Whitaker, "neither surplice nor subscription is spoken of;" and several Puritan families, and perhaps some even of the Puritan clergy, emigrated to Virginia. But now the democratic revolution in England had given an immediate political importance to religious sects: to tolerate Puritanism was to nurse a republican party. It was, therefore, specially ordered that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity to the constitutions of the Church of England; and non-conformists were banished from the colony. It was in vain that ministers, invited from Boston by the Puritan settlements in Virginia, carried letters from Winthrop, written to Berkeley and his council by order of the general court of Massachusetts. Sir William Berkeley was "a courtier, and very malignant towards the way of the churches" in New England.

While Virginia thus displayed the intolerance which for centuries had prevailed throughout the Christian world, a scene of distress was prepared by the vindictive ferocity of the natives. In 1643, it was enacted by the assembly, that no terms of peace should be entertained with the Indians, whom it was usual to distress by sudden marches against their settlements; and the red men, in despair, resolved on one more attempt at a general massacre. On the eighteenth day of April, 1644, the time appointed for the carnage, the unexpected onset was begun upon the frontier settlements. But hardly had the Indians steeped their hands in blood, before they were checked by dismay at their own weakness. The number of their victims had

been three hundred. Measures were promptly taken by the English for protection and defence; and a war was vigorously conducted. The aged Opechancanough was easily made prisoner, and died in miserable captivity.

So little was apprehended, when the English were once on their guard, that, two months after the massacre, Berkeley embarked for England, leaving Richard Kemp as his successor. A border warfare continued; marches up and down the Indian country were ordered; yet so weak were the natives, that, though the careless traveller and the straggling huntsman were long in danger of being intercepted, ten men were considered a sufficient force to protect a place of danger.

In October, 1646, about fifteen months after Berkeley's return from England, articles of peace were established between the inhabitants of Virginia and Necotowance, the successor of Opechancanough. Submission and a cession of lands were the terms on which the treaty was purchased; and the original possessors of the soil began to vanish away from the vicinity of their too formidable invaders. Of the labors of the Indians on the soil of Virginia, there remains nothing so respectable as would be a common ditch for the draining of lands; the memorials of their former existence are found only in the names of the rivers and the mountains. Unchanging nature retains the appellations which were given by those whose villages have disappeared, and whose tribes have become extinct.

Thus the colony of Virginia acquired the management of all its concerns; war was levied, and peace concluded, and territory acquired, in conformity to the acts of the representatives of the people. Possessed of security and quiet, abundance of land, a free market for their staple, and, practically, all the rights of an independent state, having England for its guardian against foreign oppression, rather than its ruler, the colonists enjoyed all the prosperity which a virgin soil, equal laws, and general uniformity of condition and industry, could bestow. Their numbers increased; the cottages were filled with children, as the ports were with ships and emigrants. At Christmas, 1648, there were trading in Virginia ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve Hollanders, and seven from New England. The number of the colonists was already twenty thousand; and they, who had sustained no griefs, were not tempted to engage in the feuds by which the mother country was divided. After the death of Charles I., though some favored republicanism, the government recognized his son. The disasters of the Cavaliers in England strengthened their party in the New

World. Men of consideration "among the nobility, gentry, and clergy," struck "with horror and despair" at the execution of their king, and desiring no reconciliation with the unrelenting "rebels," made their way to the shores of the Chesapeake, where every house was for them a "hostelry," and every planter a friend. The mansion and the purse of Berkeley were open to all; and at the hospitable dwellings that were scattered along the rivers and among the wilds of Virginia, the Cavaliers, exiles like their monarch, met in frequent groups to recount their toils, to sigh over defeats, and to nourish loyalty and hope. The faithfulness of the Virginians did not escape the attention of the royal exile; from his retreat in Breda he transmitted to Berkeley a new commission; he still controlled the distribution of offices, and, amidst his defeats in Scotland, still remembered with favor the faithful Cavaliers in the western world. Charles the Second, a fugitive from England, was yet the sovereign of Virginia. "Virginia was whole for monarchy, and the last country, belonging to England, that submitted to obedience of the commonwealth."

But the parliament did not long permit its authority to be denied. Having, by the vigorous energy and fearless enthusiasm of republicanism, triumphed over all its enemies in Europe, a memorable ordinance, in October, 1650, empowered the council of state to reduce the rebellious colonies to obedience, and, at the same time, established it as a law, that foreign ships should not trade at any of the ports "in Barbadoes, Antigua, Bermudas, and Virginia." The lovers of monarchy indulged the hope, that the victories of their friends in the Chesapeake would redeem the disgrace that had elsewhere fallen on the royal arms; many partisans of Charles had come over as to a place of safety; and the honest Governor Berkeley, than whom "no man meant better," was so confirmed in his confidence, that he wrote to the king, almost inviting him to America. The approach of the day of trial was watched with the deepest interest.

But while the preparations were yet making for the reduction of the colonies which still preserved an appearance of loyalty, the commercial policy of England underwent a revision, and the English government resolved to protect the English merchant. Cromwell desired to confirm the maritime power of his country; and St. John, a Puritan and a republican in theory, though never averse to a limited monarchy, devised the first act of navigation, which the politic Whitelocke introduced and carried through parliament. Henceforward, the commerce between

England and her colonies, as well as between England and the rest of the world, was to be conducted in ships solely owned and principally manned by Englishmen. Foreigners might bring to England nothing but the products of their own respective countries, or those of which their countries were the established staples. The act contained not one clause relating to a colonial monopoly, or specially injurious to an American colony. Of itself it inflicted no wound on Virginia or New England. It was but a protection of British shipping against Dutch competition.

A naval war soon followed, which Cromwell eagerly desired, and Holland as earnestly endeavored to avoid. The spirit of each people was kindled with the highest national enthusiasm; the commerce of the world was the prize contended for; the ocean was the scene of the conflict; and the annals of recorded time had never known so many great naval actions in such quick succession. This was the war in which Blake, and Ayscue, and De Ruyter, gained their glory; and Tromp fixed a broom to his mast in bravado, as if to sweep the English flag from the seas.

It is as the rival of Holland, the successful antagonist of Spain, the protector of English shipping, that Cromwell has claims to glory. The Crown passed from the brow of his sons; his wide plan for the possession of commercial places on the continent were defeated; Dunkirk was restored; the monarchy, which he subverted, was reëstablished; the nobility, which he humbled, recovered its pride; Jamaica and the Act of Navigation are the permanent monuments of Cromwell.

The protection of English shipping was thus permanently established as a part of the British commercial policy. English merchants next insisted upon the entire monopoly of colonial commerce.

It is the ancient fate of colonies to be planted by the daring of the poor and the hardy; to struggle into being through the severest trials; to be neglected by the parent country during the season of poverty and weakness; to thrive by the unrestricted application of their powers and enterprise; and by their consequent prosperity to tempt oppression.

The first charter for Virginia expressly admitted strangers to trade with the colony on payment of a small discriminating duty. On the enlargement of the company, the intercourse with foreigners was still permitted; nor were any limits assigned to the commerce in which they might engage. The last charter was equally free from unreasonable restrictions on trade;

and, by a confirmation of all former privileges, it permitted to foreign nations the traffic which it did not expressly sanction.

It was in the reign of King Charles I., on the appointment of Sir William Berkeley, that the expedient which was destined to become so celebrated, was devised. No vessel laden with colonial commodities might sail from the harbors of Virginia for any ports but those of England, that the staple of those commodities might be made in the mother country; and all trade with foreign vessels, except in case of necessity, was forbidden. This system, which the instructions of Berkeley commanded him to introduce, was ultimately successful; for it sacrificed no rights but those of the colonists, while it identified the interests of the English merchant and the English government, and leagued them together for the oppression of those who, for more than a century, were too feeble to offer effectual resistance.

The Long Parliament was more just; it attempted to secure to English shipping the whole carrying trade of the colonies, but with the free consent of the colonies themselves; offering an equivalent, which the legislatures in America were at liberty to reject.

The memorable ordinance of 1650 was a war measure, and extended only to the colonies which had adhered to the Stuarts. All intercourse with them was forbidden, except to those who had a license from parliament or the council of state. Foreigners were rigorously excluded; and this prohibition was designed to continue in force even after the suppression of all resistance. While, therefore, the navigation act secured to English ships the entire carrying trade with England, in connection with the ordinance of the preceding year, it conferred a monopoly of colonial commerce.

But this state of commercial law was essentially modified by the manner in which the authority of the English commonwealth was established in the Chesapeake.

No sooner had the Guinea frigate anchored in the waters of the Chesapeake, than "thoughts of resistance were laid aside," and the colonists, having no motive to contend for a monarch, whose fortunes seemed irretrievable, were earnest only to assert the freedom of their own institutions. It marks the character of the Virginians, that they refused to surrender to force, but yielded by a voluntary deed and a mutual compact. It was agreed, upon the surrender, that the "PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA" should have all the liberties of the freeborn people of England; should intrust their business, as formerly, to their own grand

assembly; should remain unquestioned for their past loyalty; and should have "as free trade as the people of England." No taxes, no customs, might be levied, except by their own representatives; no forts erected, no garrisons maintained, but by their own consent. In the settlement of the government, harmony prevailed between the burgesses and the commissioners; it was the governor and council only who had any apprehensions for their safety, and who scrupulously provided a guaranty for the security of their persons and property, which there evidently had existed no design to injure.

These terms, so favorable to liberty, and almost conceding independence, were faithfully observed till the restoration. The colony of Virginia enjoyed liberties as large as the favored New England; displayed an equal degree of aptitude for popular sovereignty, and fearlessly exercised political independence. There had long existed a republican party; and, now that monarchy had fallen, on whom could the royalists rely so safely as on themselves? The executive officers became elective; and Richard Bennett, himself a commissioner of the parliament, and, moreover, a merchant and a Roundhead, was, on the recommendation of the other commissioners, in April, 1652, unanimously chosen governor. The oath required of the burgesses made it their paramount duty to provide for "the general good and prosperity" of Virginia and its inhabitants. Under the administration of Berkeley, Bennett had been driven from Virginia; and now not the slightest effort at revenge was attempted.

The act which constituted the government claimed for the assembly the privilege of defining the powers which were to belong to the governor and council; and the public good was declared to require "that the right of electing all officers of this colony should appertain to the burgesses," as to "the representatives of the people."

Nor was this an accidental and transient arrangement. Cromwell never made any appointments for Virginia; not one governor acted under his commission. When Bennett, in 1655, retired from office, the assembly itself elected his successor; and Edward Diggs, who had before been chosen of the council, and who "had given a signal testimony of his fidelity to Virginia, and to the commonwealth of England," received the suffrages. The commissioners in the colony were rather engaged in settling the affairs and adjusting the boundaries of Maryland, than in controlling the destinies of Virginia.

The right of electing the governor continued to be claimed

by the representatives of the people, and "Samuel Matthews, an old planter, of nearly forty years' standing," who had been "a most deserving commonwealth's man, kept a good house, lived bravely, and was a true lover of Virginia," was, in 1658, advanced to the office. The burgesses enlarged their power by excluding the governor and council from their sessions, and then voted an adjournment. The governor, sustained by the council, asserted his prerogatives, and declared the dissolution of the assembly. The dissolution was proclaimed illegal; the right of appeal to the Protector was firmly denied by a committee, of which John Carter, of Lancaster, was the chief; and a declaration of popular sovereignty was solemnly made. The burgesses now decreed the former election of governor and council to be void. Having thus exercised, not merely the right of election, but the more extraordinary right of removal, they reëlected Matthews, "who by us," they add, "shall be invested with all the just rights and privileges belonging to the governor and captain-general of Virginia." The governor submitted, and confessed the validity of his ejection by taking the new oath, which had just been prescribed.

The death of Cromwell made no change in the constitution of the colony. The message of the governor, early in 1659, announced the event to the legislature, and the burgesses unanimously resolved that Richard Cromwell should be acknowledged. But it was a more interesting question, whether the change of protector in England would endanger liberty in Virginia. The letter from the council had left the government to be administered according to former usage. That there might be no reason to question the existing usage, the governor was summoned to come to the house; where he admitted the supreme power of electing officers to be resident in the assembly. The reason for this proceeding is assigned—"that what was their privilege now might be the privilege of their posterity."

On the death of Matthews, in March, 1660, the Virginians were without a chief magistrate, just at the time when the resignation of Richard had left England without a government. The burgesses immediately came together, and enacted, "that the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly; and all writs shall issue in its name, until there shall arrive from England a commission which the assembly itself shall adjudge to be lawful." This being done, Sir William Berkeley was elected governor; and, owning the validity of the acts of the burgesses, whom, it was expressly agreed, he could in no event dissolve, he accepted the office,

and recognized the authority to which he owed his elevation. Virginia did not lay claim to absolute independence, but, awaiting the settlement of affairs in England, hoped for the restoration of the Stuarts.

The legislation of the colony had taken its character from the condition of the people; Virginia possessed not one considerable town, and her statutes favored the independence of the planter, rather than the security of trade. The representatives of colonial landholders voted "the total ejection of mercenary attornies." By a special act, emigrants were safe against suits designed to enforce engagements that had been made in Europe; and colonial obligations might be easily satisfied by a surrender of property. Tobacco was generally used instead of coin. Theft was hardly known, and the spirit of the criminal law was mild. The highest judicial tribunal was the assembly, which was convened once a year, or oftener. Already large landed proprietors were frequent; and plantations of two thousand acres were not unknown.

During the suspension of the royal government in England, Virginia attained unlimited liberty of commerce, which she regulated by independent laws. The ordinance of 1650 was rendered void by the act of capitulation; the navigation act of Cromwell was not designed for her oppression, and was not enforced within her borders. If an occasional confiscation took place, it was done by the authority of the colonial assembly. The war between England and Holland did not wholly interrupt the intercourse of the Dutch with the English colonies; and if, after the treaty of peace, the trade was considered contraband, the English restrictions were entirely disregarded. A remonstrance, addressed to Cromwell, demanded an unlimited liberty; and we may suppose that it was not refused—for, in March, 1658, some months before Cromwell's death, the Virginians "invited the Dutch and all foreigners" to trade with them, on payment of no higher duty than that which was levied on such English vessels as were bound for a foreign port. Proposals of peace and commerce between New Netherlands and Virginia were discussed, without scruple, by the respective colonial governments; and, in 1660, a special statute of Virginia extended to every Christian nation, in amity with England, a promise of liberty to trade and equal justice. At the restoration, Virginia enjoyed freedom of commerce with the whole world.

Religious liberty advanced under the influence of independent domestic legislation. No churches had been erected, except in the heart of the colony, and there were so few ministers that a

bounty was offered for their importation. Conformity had, in the reign of Charles, been enforced by measures of disfranchisement and exile. By the people, under the commonwealth, though they were attached to the church of their fathers, all things respecting parishes and parishioners were referred to their own ordering; and religious liberty would have been perfect, but for an act by which Quakers were banished.

Virginia was the first state in the world, composed of separate boroughs, diffused over an extensive surface, where the government was organized on the principle of universal suffrage. All freemen, without exception, were entitled to vote. An attempt was once made to limit the right to housekeepers, but the public voice reproved the restriction; the very next year, it was decided to be "hard, and unagreeable to reason, that any person shall pay equal taxes, and yet have no votes in elections;" and the electoral franchise was restored to all freemen.

Thus Virginia established upon her soil the freedom of trade, the independence of religious societies, the security from foreign taxation, and the universal elective franchise. She already preferred her own sons for places of authority; the country felt itself honored by those who were "Virginians born;" and emigrants never again desired to live in England. Prosperity advanced with freedom; dreams of new staples and infinite wealth were indulged,—while the population of Virginia, at the epoch of the restoration, may have been about thirty thousand. Many of the recent emigrants had been royalists in England, good officers in the war, men of education, of property, and of condition. The revolution had not subdued their characters, but the waters of the Atlantic divided them from the political strifes of Europe; their industry was employed in making the best advantage of their plantations; and no bitterness existed between the firmest partisans of the Stuarts and the friends of republican liberty. Virginia had long been the home of its inhabitants. "Among many other blessings," said their statute-book, "God Almighty hath vouchsafed increase of children to this colony, who are now multiplied to a considerable number;" and the huts in the wilderness were as full as the bird's-nests of the woods.

Various were the employments by which the calmness of life was relieved: George Sandys beguiled the ennui of his seclusion by translating the whole of Ovid's Metamorphoses; to the man of leisure, the chase furnished a perpetual resource.

The hospitality of the Virginians was proverbial. Labor was valuable; land was cheap; competence promptly followed in-

dustry. There was no need of a scramble; abundance gushed from the earth for all. The morasses were alive with water-fowl; the creeks abounded with oysters, heaped together in inexhaustible beds; the rivers were crowded with fish; the forests were nimble with game; the woods rustled with coveys of quails and wild turkeys, while they rung with the merry notes of the singing-birds; and hogs, swarming like vermin, ran at large in troops. It was "the best poor man's country in the world." "If a happy peace be settled in poor England," it had been said, "then they in Virginia shall be as happy a people as any under heaven." But plenty encouraged indolence. No domestic manufactures were established; everything was imported from England. The chief branch of industry, for the purpose of exchanges, was tobacco-planting; and the spirit of invention was enfeebled by the uniformity of pursuit.

CHAPTER X.

COLONIZATION OF MARYLAND.

THE limits of Virginia, by its second charter, extended two hundred miles north of Old Point Comfort, and therefore included all the soil which subsequently formed the state of Maryland. It was not long before the country towards the head of the Chesapeake was explored; settlements in Accomack were extended; and commerce was begun with the tribes which Smith had been the first to visit. Porey, the secretary of the colony, in 1621, "made a discovery into the great bay" as far as the River Patuxent, which he ascended; but his voyage probably reached no farther to the north. The English settlement of a hundred men, which he is represented to have found already established, was rather a consequence of his voyage, and seems to have been on the Eastern Shore, perhaps within the limits of Virginia. The hope "of a very good trade of furs" animated the adventurers, and commerce with the Indians was pursued under the sanction of the colonial government.

An attempt was made to obtain a monopoly of this commerce by William Clayborne. His first appearance in America was as a surveyor, sent by the London company to make a map of the

country. At the fall of the corporation, he had been appointed by King James a member of the council, on the accession of Charles was continued in office, and, in repeated commissions, was nominated secretary of state. At the same time, he received authority from the governors of Virginia to discover the source of the Bay of the Chesapeake, and, indeed, any part of that province from the thirty-fourth to the forty-first degree of latitude. Upon his favorable representations, a company was formed in England for trading with the natives; and, through the agency of Sir William Alexander, the Scottish proprietary of Nova Scotia, a royal license was issued, in May, 1631, sanctioning the commerce, and conferring on Clayborne powers of government over the companions of his voyages. Harvey enforced the commands of his sovereign, and confirmed the license by a colonial commission. The Dutch plantations were esteemed to border upon Virginia. After long experience as a surveyor, and after years employed in discoveries, Clayborne, now acting under the royal license, formed establishments not only on Kent Island, in the heart of Maryland, but also near the mouth of the Susquehannah. Thus the colony of Virginia anticipated the extension of its commerce and its limits, and, as mistress of all the vast and commodious waters of the Chesapeake, and of the soil on both sides of the Potomac, indulged the hope of obtaining the most brilliant commercial success, and rising into powerful opulence, without the competition of a rival.

It was the peculiar fortune of the United States, that they were severally colonized by men in origin, religious faith, and purposes as various as the climes which are included within their limits. Before Virginia could complete its settlements, and confirm its claims to jurisdiction over the country north of the Potomac, a new government was erected on a foundation as extraordinary as its results were benevolent. Sir George Calvert had early become interested in colonial establishments in America. A native of Yorkshire, educated at Oxford, with a mind enlarged by extensive travel, on his entrance into life befriended by Sir Robert Cecil, advanced to the honors of knighthood, and at length employed as one of the two secretaries of state, he not only secured the consideration of his patron and his sovereign, but the good opinion of the world. In parliament, he represented his native county of Yorkshire. His capacity for business, his industry, and his fidelity, are acknowledged by all historians. In an age when increasing divisions among Protestants were spreading a general alarm, his mind sought relief from controversy in the bosom of the

Roman Catholic church; and, preferring the avowal of his opinions to the emoluments of office, in 1624, he resigned his place, and openly professed his conversion. King James was never bitter against the Catholics, who respected his pretensions as a monarch. Calvert retained his place in the privy council, and was advanced to the dignity of an Irish peerage. He had from early life shared in English enthusiasm in favor of American plantations; he had been a member of the great company for Virginia; and, while secretary of state, he had obtained a special patent for the southern promontory of Newfoundland. How zealous he was in selecting suitable emigrants; how earnest to promote domestic order and economical industry; how lavishly he expended his estate in advancing his settlement on the rugged shores of Avalon,—is related by those who have written of his life. He desired, as a founder of a colony, not present profit, but a reasonable expectation; and, perceiving the evils of a common stock, he cherished enterprise by leaving each one to enjoy the results of his own industry. But numerous difficulties prevented success in Newfoundland: parliament had ever asserted the freedom of the fisheries, which his grants tended to impair; the soil and the climate did not resemble the glowing pictures of his early agents; and the incessant danger of attacks from the French, who possessed the circumjacent continent, spread a gloom over the future. Twice, it is said, did Lord Baltimore visit his settlement; with ships manned at his own charge, he repelled the French, who were hovering round the coast, with the design of annoying the English fishermen; and, having taken sixty of them prisoners, he secured a temporary tranquillity to his countrymen and his colonists. But, notwithstanding this success, all hopes of a thriving plantation in Avalon were vain. Why should the English emigrate to mists and rocks in the vicinity of a hostile power, when a peaceful home might now be obtained in Virginia, without peril?

Lord Baltimore looked to Virginia, of which the advantages were so much extolled. Yet, as a Papist, he could hardly expect a welcome in a colony from which the careful exclusion of Roman Catholics had been originally avowed as a special object, and where the statutes of the provincial legislature, as well as the commands of the sovereign, aimed at a perpetual religious uniformity. When, in 1628, he visited Virginia, the zeal of the assembly tendered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. In vain did he propose a form which he was willing to subscribe; the government insisted upon that which had

been chosen by the English statutes, and which was purposely framed in such language as no Catholic could adopt. A letter from the assembly to the privy council explained the dispute, which had grown out of the intolerance of European legislation. Lord Baltimore could never hope to establish a colony within the jurisdiction of Virginia.

But the country beyond the Potomac appeared to be, as yet, unappropriated. The French, the Dutch, and the Swedes were preparing to occupy it; and a grant seemed the readiest mode of securing the soil by an English settlement. The cancelling of the Virginia patents had restored to the monarch his prerogative over the vast territory; and it was not difficult for Calvert—a man of such moderation that all parties were taken with him, sincere in his character, disengaged from all interests, and a favorite with the royal family—to obtain a charter for domains in that happy clime.

The ocean, the fortieth parallel of latitude, the meridian of the western fountain of the Potomac, the river itself from its source to its mouth, and a line drawn due east from Watkin's Point to the Atlantic,—these were the limits of the province. From Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV., and wife of Charles I., whose restless mind, disdaining contentment in domestic happiness, aspired to power and distinction, it received the name of Maryland. The country thus described was given to Lord Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, as to its absolute lord and proprietary, to be holden by the tenure of fealty only. The legislation of the province was to be established, with the advice and approbation of the majority of the freemen or their deputies. The authority of the absolute proprietary did not extend to the life, freehold, or estate of any emigrant. Sir George Calvert was a Roman Catholic; yet, far from guarding his territory against any but those of his persuasion, as he had divested himself and his successors of all arbitrary power, by establishing the legislative franchises of the people, so he took from them the means of being intolerant in religion, by securing to all present and future liege people of the English king, without distinction of sect or party, free leave to transport themselves and their families to Maryland. Christianity was, by the charter, made the law of the land, but no preference was given to any sect; and equality in religious rights, not less than in civil freedom, was assured. A monopoly of the fisheries was expressly renounced. As a Catholic, Calvert needed to be free from the jurisdiction of his neighbor. Maryland was carefully separated from Virginia; nor was he obliged to obtain the

royal assent to the appointments or the legislation of his province. The English monarch reserved not even the power to take cognizance of what transpired, and, by an express stipulation, covenanted that neither he, nor his heirs, nor his successors, should ever set any imposition, custom, or tax whatsoever upon the inhabitants of the province. Some other rights were conferred on the proprietary ;—the advowson of churches ; the power of creating manors and courts baron, and of establishing a colonial aristocracy on the system of sub-infeudation—but feudal institutions could not renew their youth in America. Sooner might the oldest oaks in Windsor Forest be transplanted across the Atlantic, than the antiquated social forms, which Europe itself was beginning to reject. But the seeds of popular liberty contained in the charter would find in the New World the soil best suited to quicken them into life and fruitfulness.

Calvert deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. He was the first, in the history of the Christian world, to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power ; to plan the establishment of popular institutions, with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience ; to advance the career of civilization, by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of Papists was the spot where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which as yet had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state.

Before the patent could be finally adjusted, and pass the great seal, Sir George Calvert died, leaving a name against which the breath of calumny has hardly whispered a reproach. His son, Cecil Calvert, succeeded to his honors and fortunes. For him, the heir of his father's intentions, not less than of his father's fortunes, the charter of Maryland was, in June, 1632, published and confirmed ; and he obtained the high distinction of successfully performing what the colonial companies had hardly been able to achieve. At a vast expense, he planted a colony, which for several generations descended as a patrimony to his heirs.

Virginia regarded the severing of her territory with apprehension, and, before any colonists had embarked under the charter of Baltimore, her commissioners had in England remonstrated against the grant, as an invasion of her commercial rights, an infringement on her domains, and a discouragement to her planters. In Strafford, Lord Baltimore found a friend,—

for Strafford had been the friend of the father,— and the remonstrance was in vain; the privy council sustained the proprietary charter, and, advising the parties to an amicable adjustment of all disputes, commanded a free commerce and a good correspondence between the respective colonies.

Nor was it long before gentlemen of birth and quality resolved to adventure their lives and a good part of their fortunes in the enterprise of planting a colony under so favorable a charter; and, on Friday, the twenty-second of November, 1633, with a small but favoring gale, Leonard Calvert, brother to Lord Baltimore, and about two hundred people, most of them Roman Catholic gentlemen and their servants, in the Ark and the Dove, a ship of large burden, and a pinnace, set sail for the northern bank of the Potomac. Having staid by the way in Barbadoes and St. Christopher, it was not till February of 1634, that they arrived at Point Comfort, in Virginia; where, in obedience to the express letters of King Charles, they were welcomed by Harvey with courtesy and humanity. Clayborne also appeared, but it was as a prophet of ill omen, to terrify the company by predicting the fixed hostility of the natives.

Leaving Point Comfort, Calvert sailed into the Potomac, and with the pinnace ascended the stream. A cross was planted on an island, and the country claimed for Christ and for England. At about forty-seven leagues above the mouth of the river, he found the village of Piscataqua, an Indian settlement nearly opposite Mount Vernon. The chieftain of the tribe would neither bid him go nor stay; "he might use his own discretion." It did not seem safe for the English to plant the first settlement so high up the river; Calvert descended the stream, examining, in his barge, the creeks and estuaries nearer the Chesapeake; he entered the river which is now called St. Mary's, and which he named St. George's; and, about four leagues from its junction with the Potomac, he anchored at the Indian town of Yoacomoco. The native inhabitants, having suffered from the superior power of the Susquehannahs, who occupied the district between the bays, had already resolved to remove into places of more security in the interior; and many of them had begun to migrate before the English arrived. To Calvert the spot seemed convenient for a plantation; it was easy, by presents of cloth and axes, of hoes and knives, to gain the good-will of the natives, and to purchase their rights to the soil which they were preparing to abandon. They readily gave consent that the English should immediately occupy one-half of their town, and, after the harvest, should become the exclu-

sive tenants of the whole. Mutual promises of friendship and peace were made; so that, upon the twenty-seventh day of March, the Catholics took quiet possession of the little place; and religious liberty obtained a home—its only home in the wide world—at the humble village which bore the name of St. Mary's.

Three days after the landing of Calvert, the Ark and the Dove anchored in the harbor. Sir John Harvey soon arrived on a visit; the native chiefs, also, came to welcome or to watch the emigrants, and were so well received, that they resolved to give perpetuity to their league of amity with the English. The Indian women taught the wives of the new-comers to make bread of maize; the warriors of the tribe instructed the huntsmen how rich were the forests of America in game, and joined them in the chase. And, as the season of the year invited to the pursuits of agriculture, and the English had come into possession of ground already subdued, they were able, at once, to possess cornfields and gardens, and prepare the wealth of successful husbandry. Virginia, from its surplus produce, could furnish a temporary supply of food, and all kinds of domestic cattle. No sufferings were endured; no fears of want were excited; the foundation of the colony of Maryland was peacefully and happily laid. Within six months, it had advanced more than Virginia had done in as many years. The proprietary provided everything that was necessary for its comfort and protection, and, to promote its interests, expended, in the first two years, upwards of forty thousand pounds sterling. But far more memorable was the character of the Maryland institutions. Every other country in the world had persecuting laws. "I will not,"—such was the oath for the governor of Maryland,—"I will not, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion." Under the mild institutions and munificence of Baltimore, the dreary wilderness soon bloomed with the swarming life and activity of prosperous settlements; the Roman Catholics, oppressed by the laws of England, were sure to find a peaceful asylum in the quiet harbors of the Chesapeake; and there, too, Protestants were sheltered against Protestant intolerance.

Twelve months had not elapsed before the colony of Maryland was, in February, 1635, convened for legislation. Probably all the freemen of the province were present in a strictly popular assembly. The laws of the session are no longer extant; but we know that the necessity of vindicating the jurisdiction of

the province against the claims of Clayborne was deemed a subject worthy of the general deliberation and of a decisive act; for he had resolved on maintaining his possessions by force of arms. The earliest annals of Maryland are defaced by the accounts of a bloody skirmish on one of the rivers near the Isle of Kent. Several lives were lost in the affray; but Clayborne's men were defeated and taken prisoners. Clayborne himself had fled to Virginia; and, when he was reclaimed by the government of Maryland, Harvey, who favored Baltimore, sent the fugitive with the witnesses to England.

When the whole affair came to be referred to the commissioners for the plantations, it was found that, on received principles, the right of the king to confer the soil and the jurisdiction of Maryland could not be controverted; that the earlier license to traffic did not vest in Clayborne any rights which were valid against the charter; and therefore that the Isle of Kent belonged absolutely to Lord Baltimore, who alone could permit plantations to be established, or commerce with the Indians to be conducted, within the limits of his territory.

Yet the people of Maryland were not content with vindicating the limits of their province: jealous of their liberties, they rejected the code which the proprietary, as if holding the exclusive privilege of proposing statutes, had prepared for their government; and, in their turn, enacted a body of laws. So uniformly active in America was the spirit of popular liberty. How discreetly it was exercised cannot now be known; for the laws which were then enacted were never ratified, and are not to be found in the provincial records.

In the early history of the United States, nothing is more remarkable than the uniform attachment of each colony to its franchises; and popular assemblies burst everywhere into life, with a consciousness of their importance, and an immediate capacity for efficient legislation. The first assembly of Maryland had vindicated the jurisdiction of the colony; the second had asserted its claims to original legislation; the third, which was now convened, established a system of representative government, and asserted for the general assemblies in the province all such powers as might be exercised by the commons of England. The constitution had not yet attained a fixed form; thus far it had been a species of democracy under an hereditary patriarch. The act constituting the assembly marks the transition to a representative government. At this session, any freeman, who had taken no part in the election, might attend in person; henceforward the governor might summon his friends by special

writ; while the people were to choose as many delegates as "the freemen should think good." As yet there was no jealousy of power, no strife for place. While these laws prepared a frame of government for future generations, we are reminded of the feebleness and poverty of the state, where the whole people where obliged to contribute to "the setting up of a water-mill."

It was not long before the inhabitants recognized Lord Baltimore's "great charge and solicitude in maintaining the government, and protecting them in their persons, rights, and liberties;" and therefore, "out of desire to return some testimony of gratitude," they freely granted "such a subsidy as the young and poor estate of the colony could bear."

A war of frontier aggressions with the Indians was marked by no decisive events. After hostilities for two years, peace was reëstablished, in 1644, on the usual terms of submission and promises of friendship, and rendered durable by the prudent legislation of the assembly and the firm humanity of the government. The preëmption of the soil was reserved to Lord Baltimore, kidnapping an Indian made a capital offence, and the sale of arms prohibited as a felony.

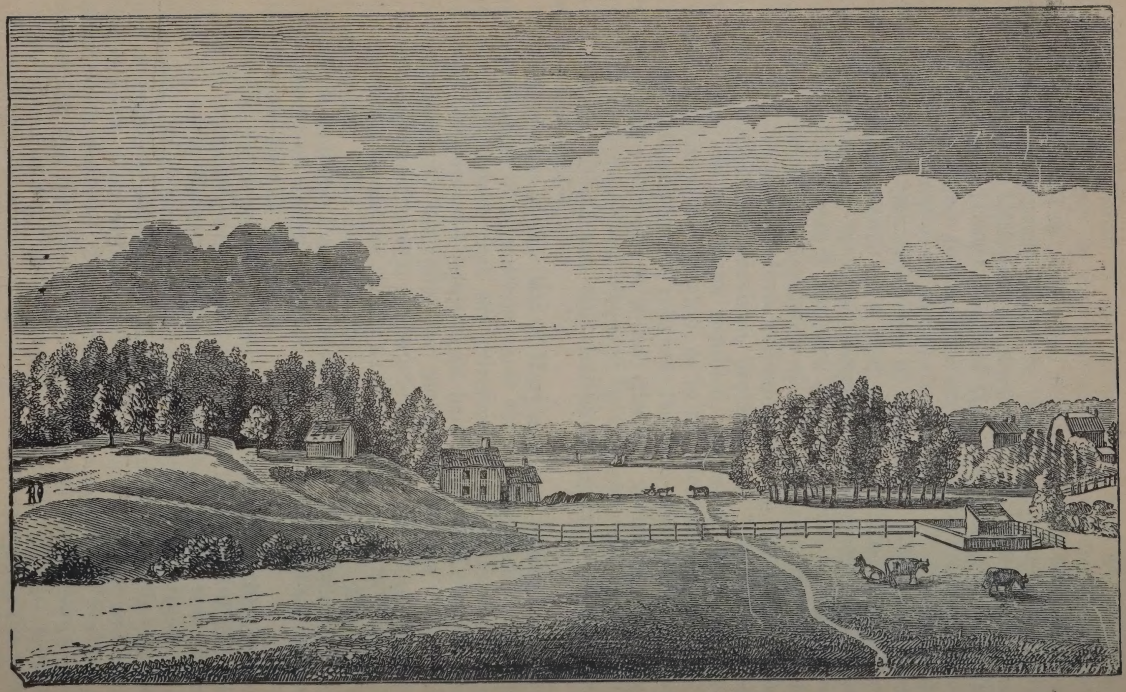
But the restless Clayborne, urged, perhaps, by the conviction of having been wronged, and still more by the hope of revenge, proved a far more dangerous enemy. While the commotions in England left every colony in America nearly unheeded, the power of the proprietary was almost as feeble as that of the king. The other colonies took advantage of the period to secure and advance their liberties: in Maryland, the effect was rather to encourage the insubordination of the restless; and Clayborne, declaring for the popular party, with the assistance of one Ingle, who obtained sufficient notoriety to be proclaimed a traitor to the king, was able to excite an insurrection. Early in 1645, the rebels were triumphant: unprepared for an attack, the governor was compelled to fly; and more than a year elapsed before the assistance of the well-disposed could enable him to resume his power and restore tranquillity. The insurgents distinguished the period of their dominion by disorder and misrule, and most of the records were then lost or embezzled. Peace was confirmed by the wise clemency of the government; the offences of the rebellion were concealed by a general amnesty; and the province was rescued, though not without expense, from the distresses and confusion which had followed a short but vindictive and successful insurrection.

The controversy between the king and the parliament ad-

vanced; the overthrow of the monarchy seemed about to confer unlimited power in England upon the imbittered enemies of the Romish church; and, as if with a foresight of impending danger, and an earnest desire to stay its approach, in April, 1649, the Roman Catholics of Maryland, with the earnest concurrence of their governor and of the proprietary, determined to place upon their statute-book an act for the religious freedom which had ever been sacred on their soil. "And whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion"—such was the sublime tenor of a part of the statute—"hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it has been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." Thus did the early star of religious freedom appear as the harbinger of day; though, as it first gleamed above the horizon, its light was colored and obscured by the mists and exhalations of morning. Death was still denounced against the blasphemer and the infidel.

But the design of the law of Maryland was, undoubtedly, to protect freedom of conscience; and the apologist of Lord Baltimore could assert that his government, in conformity with his strict and repeated injunctions, had never given disturbance to any person in Maryland for matter of religion; that the colonists enjoyed freedom of conscience, not less than freedom of person and estate, as amply as ever any people in any place of the world. The disfranchised friends of prelacy from Massachusetts, and the Puritans from Virginia, were welcomed to equal liberty of conscience and political rights in the Roman Catholic province of Maryland.

An equal union prevailed between all branches of the government, in explaining and confirming the civil liberties of the colony. In 1642, Robert Vaughan, in the name of the rest of the burgesses, had desired that the house might be separated, and thus a negative secured to the representatives of the people. Before 1649, this change had taken place; and it was confirmed by a statute. The dangerous prerogative of declaring martial law was also limited to the precincts of the camp and the garrison; and a perpetual act declared that no tax should be levied upon the freemen of the province, except by the vote of their deputies in a general assembly. "The strength of the



LISPENARD STREET, NEW YORK, IN 1721.

proprietary" was confidently reposed "in the affections of his people." Well might the freemen of Maryland place upon their records a declaration of their gratitude, "as a memorial to all posterities," and a pledge that succeeding generations would faithfully "remember" the care and industry of Lord Baltimore, in advancing "the peace and happiness of the colony."

But the revolutions in England could not but affect the destines of the colonies. When the throne and the peerage had been subverted in England, could the mimic monarchy of Lord Baltimore continue? The scrupulous Puritans hesitated to take an unqualified oath of fealty, with which they might be unable to comply. Englishmen were no longer lieges of a sovereign, but members of a commonwealth; and, but for the claims of Baltimore, Maryland would equally enjoy the benefits of republican liberty. Great as was the temptation to assert independence, it would not have prevailed, could the peace of the province have been maintained. But who, it might well be asked, was its rightful sovereign? Her "beauty and extraordinary goodness" had been to her a fatal dowry, and Maryland was claimed by four separate aspirants. Virginia was ever ready to revive its rights to jurisdiction beyond the Potomac, and Clayborne had already excited attention by his persevering opposition. Charles II., incensed against Lord Baltimore for his adhesion to the rebels and his toleration of schismatics, had issued a commission to Sir William Davenant; Stone was the active deputy of Lord Baltimore; and parliament had already appointed its commissioners.

The possession of the executive power in Maryland vibrated with every revolution of parties in England. The Long Parliament did not befriend the English aristocracy; and, although the ordinance of 1650, for the reduction of the rebellious colonies, had not included Maryland, yet, as the commissions were instructed to reduce "all the plantations within the Bay of the Chesapeake," Clayborne and Bennett, in 1653, entered the province, declared all commissions from Lord Baltimore to be invalid, appointed new officers, and permitted Stone to share the executive power only on condition of his accepting a commission from themselves.

On the dissolution of the Long Parliament, it was believed that, in England, the vested rights of property would be respected; and Stone and his friends reinstated the power of Lord Baltimore in its integrity. Displacing all officers of the contrary party, they introduced the old council, and declared

the condition of the colony, as settled by Bennett and Clayborne, to have been a state of rebellion.

The measures were premature. No sooner did Clayborne and his colleague learn the new revolution, than they hastened to Maryland, forced Stone to surrender the government into their hands, and appointed a board of ten commissioners, to whom the administration of Maryland was intrusted.

Intolerance followed upon this arrangement; for parties had necessarily become identified with religious sects, and Maryland itself was the prize contended for. The Puritans, ever the friends of popular liberty, hostile to monarchy, and equally so to an hereditary proprietary, contended earnestly for every civil liberty, but had neither the gratitude to respect the rights of the government by which they had been received and fostered, nor magnanimity to continue the toleration to which alone they were indebted for their residence in the colony. The new assembly, convened at Patuxent, while it acknowledged the authority of Cromwell, exasperated the whole Romish party by their wanton disfranchisement.

Meantime the power of Cromwell was established, and his policy did not lead him to question the rights of Lord Baltimore. Towards the end of January, 1655, on the arrival of a friendly ship, it was noised abroad through Maryland that his patent had been confirmed by the Protector; but the party of his friends, who assembled in the province to restore his authority, were attacked by the Puritans, and utterly discomfited.

A friend to Lord Baltimore, then in the province, begged of the Protector no other boon than that he would "condescend to settle the country by declaring his determinate will." And yet the same causes which led Cromwell to neglect the internal concerns of Virginia, compelled him to pay but little attention to the disturbances in Maryland. On the one hand, he respected the rights of property of Lord Baltimore; on the other, he favored his own political partisans, corresponded with his commissioners, and expressed no displeasure at their exercise of power. Disturbances and anarchy were the consequence.

For a season, there was a divided rule; Fendall was acknowledged by the Catholic party in the city of St. Mary's, and the commissioners were sustained by the Puritans of St. Leonard's. At length, in March, 1658, the conditions of a compromise were settled; and the government of the whole province was surrendered to the agent of the proprietary. Permission to retain arms, an indemnity for arrears, relief from the oath of fealty,

and a confirmation of the acts and orders of the recent Puritan assemblies—these were the terms of the surrender, and prove the influence of the Puritans.

The death of Cromwell left the condition of England uncertain, and might well diffuse a gloom through the counties of Maryland. For ten years, the unhappy province had been distracted by dissensions, of which the root had consisted in the claims that Baltimore had always advanced, and had never been able to establish. Wearied with long convulsions, a general assembly saw no security but in asserting the power of the people, and constituting the government on the expression of their will. Accordingly, on the twelfth of March, 1660, just one day before that memorable session of Virginia, when the people of the Ancient Dominion adopted a similar system of independent legislation, the representatives of Maryland, convened in the house of Robert Slye, voted themselves a lawful assembly, without dependence on any other power in the province. The burgesses of Virginia had assumed to themselves the election of the council; the burgesses of Maryland refused to acknowledge the rights of the body claiming to be an upper house. In Virginia, Berkeley yielded to the public will; in Maryland, Fendall permitted the power of the people to be proclaimed. The representatives of Maryland having thus successfully settled the government, and hoping for tranquillity after years of storms, passed an act making it felony to disturb the order which they had established. No authority would henceforward be recognized, except the assembly and the king of England. The light of peace promised to dawn upon the province.

Thus was Maryland, like Virginia, at the epoch of the restoration, in full possession of liberty, based upon the practical assertion of the sovereignty of the people. Like Virginia, it had so nearly completed its institutions, that, till the epoch of its final separation from England, it hardly made any further advances towards freedom and independence.

Men love liberty, even if it be turbulent; and the colony increased, and flourished, and grew rich, in spite of domestic dissensions. Its population, in 1660, is variously estimated, at eight thousand and at twelve thousand. The country was dear to its inhabitants: there they desired to spend the remnant of their lives; there they coveted to make their graves.

CHAPTER XI.

NEW ENGLAND AND THE REFORMATION.

THE settlement of New England was a result of the reformation; not of the contest between the new opinions and the authority of Rome, but of implacable differences between Protestant dissenters and the established Anglican church.

Who will venture to measure the consequences of actions by the apparent humility or the remoteness of their origin? The mysterious influence of that Power which enchains the destinies of states, overruling the decisions of sovereigns and the forethought of statesmen, often deduces the greatest events from the least commanding causes. A Genoese adventurer, discovering America, changed the commerce of the world; an obscure German, inventing the printing-press, rendered possible the universal diffusion of intelligence; an Augustine monk, denouncing indulgences, introduced a schism in religion, and changed the foundations of European politics; a young French refugee—skilled alike in theology and civil law, in the duties of magistrates and dialectics of religious controversy,—entering the republic of Geneva, and conforming its ecclesiastical discipline to the principles of republican simplicity, established a party, of which Englishmen became members, and New England the asylum. The enfranchisement of mind from spiritual despotism led directly to inquiries into the nature of civil government; and the doctrines of popular liberty, which sheltered their infancy in the wildernesses of the newly-discovered continent, within the short space of two centuries, have infused themselves into the life-blood of every rising state from Labrador to Chili.

The trading company of the west of England, incorporated, in 1606, in the same patent with Virginia, possessed too narrow resources or too little enterprise for success in establishing colonies. The Spaniards, affecting an exclusive right of navigation in the seas of the new hemisphere, captured and confiscated a vessel which Popham, the chief justice of England, and Gorges, the governor of Plymouth, had, with some others, equipped for discovery. But a second and almost simultaneous expedition from Bristol encountered no disasters; and the voyagers, on their return, increased public confidence, by renewing

the favorable reports of the country they had visited. The spirit of adventure was not suffered to slumber; the lord chief justice displayed persevering vigor, for his honor was interested in the success of the company which his influence had contributed to establish; Gorges, the companion and friend of Raleigh, was still reluctant to surrender his sanguine hopes of fortune and domains in America; and, in 1607, two ships were despatched to Northern Virginia, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, and bearing emigrants for a plantation under the presidency of George Popham. After a tedious voyage, the adventurers, in August, reached the coast of America near the mouth of the Kennebec, and, offering public thanks to God for their safety, began their settlement under the auspices of religion, with a government framed as if for a permanent colony. Rude cabins, a storehouse, and some slight fortifications, were rapidly prepared, and the ships sailed for England in December, leaving forty-five emigrants in the plantation, which was named St. George. But the winter was intensely cold; the natives, at first friendly, became restless; the storehouse caught fire, and part of the provisions was consumed; the emigrants grew weary of their solitude; they lost Popham, their president, "the only one of the company that died there;" the ships which revisited the settlement with supplies brought news of the death of the chief justice, the most vigorous friend of the settlement in England; and Gilbert, the sole in command at St. George, had, by the decease of his brother, become heir to an estate which invited his presence. So the plantation was abandoned; the colonists, returning to England, "did coyne many excuses," and sought to conceal their own deficiency of spirit by spreading exaggerated accounts of the rugged poverty of the soil, and the inhospitable severity of the climate.

The fisheries and the fur trade were not relinquished; vessels were annually employed in traffic with the Indians; and once, at least, perhaps oftener, a part of a ship's company remained during a winter on the American coast. But new hopes were awakened, when, in April, 1614, Smith,—who had already obtained distinction in Virginia, and who had, with rare sagacity, discovered, and, with unceasing firmness, asserted, that colonization was the true policy of England,—with two ships, set sail for the coast north of the lands granted by the Virginia patent. The expedition was a private adventure of "four merchants of London and himself," and was very successful. The freights were profitable; the health of the mariners did not suffer; and the whole voyage was accomplished in less than

seven months. While the sailors were busy with their hooks and lines, Smith examined the shores from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, prepared a map of the coast, and named the country New England,—a title which Prince Charles confirmed. The French could boast, with truth, that New France had been colonized before New England obtained a name; Port Royal was older than Plymouth, Quebec than Boston.

Encouraged by commercial success, Smith next endeavored, in the employment of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and of friends in London, members of the Plymouth company, to establish a colony. Sixteen men were all whom the adventurers destined for the occupation of New England. The attempt was unsuccessful. Smith was forced by extreme tempests to return. Again renewing his enterprise, he was, at last, intercepted by French pirates. His ship was taken away; he himself escaped alone, in an open boat, from the harbor of Rochelle. With unwearied enthusiasm, he next published a map and a description of New England, and spent many months in visiting the merchants and gentry of the west of England, to excite their zeal for enterprise in America. He proposed to the cities, mercantile profits, to be realized in short and safe voyages; to the noblemen, vast dominions; to men of small means, his earnestness drew a lively picture of the rapid advancement of fortune by colonial industry, of the abundance of game, the delights of unrestrained liberty, the pleasures to be derived from "angling and crossing the sweet air from isle to isle, over the silent streams of a calm sea." The western company began to form plans of colonization; Smith was appointed admiral of the country for life; and a renewal of the letters-patent, with powers analogous to those possessed by the southern company, became an object of eager solicitation.

But a new charter was not obtained without vigorous opposition. "Much difference there was betwixt the Londoners and the Westerlings," since each party was striving to engross all the profits to be derived from America; while the interests of the nation were upheld by others, who were desirous that no monopoly should be conceded to either company. The remonstrances of the Virginia corporation, and a transient regard for the rights of the country, could delay, but not defeat, a measure that was sustained by the personal favorites of the monarch. After two years' entreaty, the ambitious adventurers gained everything which they had solicited; and, in November, 1620, King James issued to forty of his subjects, some of them members of his household and his government, the

most wealthy and powerful of the English nobility, a patent, which in American annals, and even in the history of the world, has but one parallel. The adventurers and their successors were incorporated as "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing New England, in America." The territory conferred on the patentees in absolute property, with unlimited jurisdiction, the sole powers of legislation, the appointment of all officers and all forms of government, extended, in breadth, from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and, in length, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; that is to say, nearly all the inhabited British possessions to the north of the United States, all New England, New York, half of New Jersey, very nearly all Pennsylvania, and the whole of the country to the west of these states, comprising, and, at the time, believed to comprise, much more than a million of square miles, and capable of sustaining far more than two hundred millions of inhabitants, were, by a single signature of King James, given away to a corporation within the realm, composed of but forty individuals.

The grant was absolute and exclusive: it conceded the land and islands, the rivers and harbors, the mines and the fisheries. No regard was shown for the liberties of the future inhabitants of the colony; they were to be ruled, without their own consent, by the corporation in England. The patent yielded everything to the avarice of the corporation. The very extent of the grant rendered it of little value. Emigration was delayed through fear of infringing the rights of a powerful company. The jealousy of the English nation, incensed at the concession of monopolies by the royal prerogative, prompted the house of commons to question the validity of the grant. While the English monopolists were wrangling about their exclusive privileges, the first permanent colony on the soil of New England was established without the knowledge of the corporation, and without the aid of King James.

The Reformation in England—an event which had been long and gradually prepared among the people by the opinions and followers of Wickliffe, and in the government by increasing and successful resistance to the usurpations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction—was at length abruptly established during the reign, and in conformity with the passions, of a despotic monarch. The acknowledgment of the right of private judgment, far from being the cause of the separation from Rome, was one of its latest fruits.

In England, so far was the freedom of inquiry from being recognized as a right, that the means of forming a judgment on religious subjects was denied. The act of supremacy, which, in 1534, severed the English nation from the Roman see, contained no clause favorable to religious liberty. It was but a vindication of the sovereign franchise of the English monarch against foreign interference. It did not aim at enfranchising the English church, far less the English people, or the English mind. The king of England became the pope in his own dominions; and heresy was still accounted the greatest of all crimes. The right of correcting errors of religious faith became, by the suffrage of parliament, a branch of the royal prerogative; and, as active minds among the people were continually proposing new schemes of doctrine, a vindictive statute was, after great opposition in parliament, enacted "for abolishing diversity of opinions." All the Roman Catholic doctrines were asserted, except the supremacy of Rome. It was Henry's pride to defy the authority of the Roman bishop, and yet to enforce the doctrines of the Roman church. He disdained submission, and detested heresy.

Nor was Henry VIII. slow to sustain his new prerogatives. He rejected the advice of the commons, as of "brutes and inexpert folks," of men as unfit to advise him as "blind men are to judge of colors." According to ancient usage, no sentence of death, awarded by the ecclesiastical courts, could be carried into effect, until a writ had been obtained from the king. The heretic might appeal from the atrocity of the priest to the mercy of the sovereign. But now, what hope could remain, when the two authorities were united, and the law, which had been enacted as a protection of the subject, was become the powerful instrument of tyranny? Not the forms of worship merely, but the minds of men, were declared subordinate to the government; faith, not less than ceremony, was to vary with the acts of parliament. Death awaited the Catholic who denied the king's supremacy, and the Protestant who doubted his creed. The Bible had been widely circulated, and read by every class; in the Bible was found the doctrine, dear to the people, of the unity of the human race, and consequently of the natural equality of its members. The story of the Bible foreboded a revolution. In the latter part of his life, therefore, Henry revoked the general permission of reading the Scriptures, and limited the privilege to merchants and nobles. But the awakening intelligence of a great nation could not be terrified into a passive lethargy. The environs of the court displayed no resistance to

the capricious monarch; a subservient parliament yielded him absolute authority in religion; but the advancing genius of the age, though it sometimes faltered in its progress along untried paths, steadily demanded the emancipation of the public mind.

The accession of Edward VI., in 1547, led the way to the establishment of Protestantism in England, and, at the same time, gave life to the germs of the difference which was eventually to divide the English. A change in the reformation had already been affected among the Swiss, and especially at Geneva. Luther had based his reform upon the sublime but simple truth which lies at the basis of morals—the superiority of right dispositions over ceremonial exactness; or, as he expressed it, justification by faith alone. But he hesitated to deny the real presence, and was indifferent to the observance of external ceremonies. Calvin, with sterner dialectics, sanctioned by the influence of the purest life, and by his power as the ablest writer of his age, attacked the Roman doctrines respecting the communion, and esteemed as a commemoration the rite which the Catholics reverenced as a sacrifice. Luther acknowledged princes as his protectors, and, in the ceremonies of worship, favored magnificence as an aid to devotion; Calvin was the guide of Swiss republics, and avoided, in their churches, all appeals to the senses as a crime against religion. Luther resisted the Roman Church for its immorality; Calvin for its idolatry. Luther exposed the folly of superstition, ridiculed the hair-shirt and the scourge, the purchased indulgence, and the dearly-bought masses for the dead; Calvin shrunk from their criminality with impatient horror. Luther permitted the cross and the taper, pictures and images, as things of indifference; Calvin demanded a spiritual worship in its utmost purity.

The reign of Edward, giving safety to Protestants, soon brought to light that both sects of the reformed church existed in England. The one party, sustained by Cranmer, desired moderate reforms; the other, countenanced by the Protector, announced the austere principle, that not even a ceremony should be tolerated, unless it was enjoined by the word of God. And this was Puritanism. The Church of England, at least in its ceremonial part, was established by an act of parliament, or a royal ordinance; Puritanism, zealous for independence, admitted no voucher but the Bible—a fixed rule, which it would allow neither parliament, nor hierarchy, nor king to interpret. The Puritans adhered to the established Church as far as their interpretations of the Bible seemed to

warrant; but no farther, not even in things of indifference. They would yield nothing in religion to the temporal sovereign; they would retain nothing that seemed a relic of the religion which they had renounced. They asserted the equality of the plebeian clergy, and directed their fiercest attacks against the divine rights of bishops, as the only remaining strong-hold of superstition. The Churchmen differed from the ancient forms as little as possible; the Puritans could not sever themselves too widely from the Roman usages, and sought glaring occasions to display their antipathy. The surplice and the square cap, for several generations, remained things of importance; for they became the badges of a party. The unwilling use of them was evidence of religious servitude.

The reign of Mary involved both parties in danger; but they whose principles wholly refused communion with Rome were placed in the greatest peril. Rogers and Hooper, the first martyrs of Protestant England, were Puritans; and, while Cranmer, the head and founder of the English Church, desired, almost to the last, by delays, recantations, and entreaties, to save himself from the horrid death to which he was doomed, the Puritan martyrs never sought, by concessions, to escape the flames. For them, compromise was apostasy. The offer of pardon could not induce Hooper to waver, nor the pains of a lingering death impair his fortitude. He suffered by a very slow fire, and at length died as quietly as a child in his bed.

A large part of the English clergy returned to their submission to the see of Rome; others firmly adhered to the reformation, which they had adopted from conviction; and very many, who had taken advantage of the laws of Edward sanctioning the marriage of the clergy, had, in their wives and children, given hostages for their fidelity to the Protestant cause. Multitudes, therefore, hurried into exile to escape the grasp of vindictive bigotry; but even in foreign lands two parties among the emigrants were visible; and the sympathies of a common exile could not immediately eradicate the rancor of religious divisions. The one party aimed at renewing abroad the forms of discipline which had been sanctioned by the English parliaments in the reign of Edward; the Puritans, on the contrary, endeavored to sweeten exile by a complete emancipation from ceremonies which they had reluctantly observed. But time, the great calmer of human passions, softened the asperities of controversy; and a reconciliation of the two parties was prepared by concessions to the Puritans. For the circumstances of their abode on the continent were well adapted to strengthen the in-

fluence of the stricter sect. Their love for the rigorous austerity of a spiritual worship was confirmed by the stern simplicity of the Swiss republics; and some of them had enjoyed in Geneva the instructions and the friendship of Calvin.

On the death of Mary, the Puritans returned to England, with still stronger antipathies to the forms of worship and the vestures, which they now repelled as associated with the cruelties of Roman intolerance at home, and which they had seen so successfully rejected by the churches of Switzerland. The pledges which had been given at Frankfort and Geneva, to promote further reforms, were redeemed. But the controversy did not remain a dispute about ceremonies; it was modified by the personal character of the English sovereign, and became identified with the political parties in the state. The first act of parliament in the reign of Elizabeth declared the supremacy of the crown in the state ecclesiastical; and the uniformity of common prayer was soon established under the severest penalties. In these enactments, the common zeal to assert the Protestant ascendency left out of sight the scruples of the Puritans.

The early associations of the younger daughter of Henry VIII. led her to respect the faith of the Catholics, and to love the magnificence of their worship. She publicly thanked one of her chaplains, who had asserted the real presence; and, on a revision of the creed of the English Church, the Catholic doctrine of the eucharist, which, by the statutes of the realm in the reign of Edward VI., Englishmen were punished for believing, and in that of Henry VIII. were burned at the stake for denying, was left undecided, as a question of national indifference. She long struggled to retain images, the crucifix, and tapers, in her private chapel; she was inclined to offer prayers to the Virgin; she favored the invocation of saints; she insisted upon the continuance of the celibacy of the clergy, and, during her reign, their marriages took place only by connivance.

Besides the influence of early education, the love of authority would not permit Elizabeth to cherish the new sect among Protestants—a sect which had risen in defiance of all ordinary powers of the world, and which could justify its existence only on a strong claim to natural liberty. The Catholics were friends to monarchy, if not to the monarch; but the Puritans were the harbingers of a revolution. They demanded that civil government should conform to the Divine Law, of which they claimed to be the interpreters. The hierarchy charged them with seeking a popular government; and Elizabeth openly declared,

that they were more perilous than the Romanists. At a time when the readiest mode of reaching the minds of the common people was through the pulpit, and when the preachers would often speak with plainness and homely energy on all the events of the day, their claim to "the liberty of prophesying" was similar to the modern demand of the liberty of the press; and the free exercise of private judgment threatened not only to disturb the uniformity of the national worship, but to impair the royal authority, and erect the dictates of conscience into a tribunal, before which sovereigns might be arraigned. The Puritan clergy were fast becoming tribunes of the people, and the pulpit was the place for freedom of rebuke and discussion.

The popular voice was not favorable to a rigorous enforcement of the ceremonies. Some of the best English statesmen of the day favored moderation. Grindall had so sincere a reluctance to persecute, that he was himself charged with secretly favoring Puritanism. The temper of the court is marked by his reply. He denied the guilt of lenity as the calumny of "some incarnate, never-sleeping devil," and claimed sincerity in persecution as essential to his good name. Yet Grindall was by nature averse to violence, and when placed at the head of the English clergy, continued till his death, in 1583, to merit the censure of forbearance.

The Puritans, as a body, had avoided a separation from the Church. They had desired a reform, and not a schism. There began to grow up among them a class of men who carried opposition to the extreme, and, with fanatical sincerity, refused to hold communion with a church of which they condemned the ceremonies and the government. Henry VIII. had enfranchised the English crown; Elizabeth had enfranchised the Anglican Church: the Puritans claimed equality for the plebeian clergy; the Independents asserted the liberty of each individual mind to discover "truth in the word of God." The reformation had begun in England with the monarch; had extended among the nobility; had been developed under the guidance of a hierarchy; and had but slowly penetrated the masses. The party of the Independents was plebeian in its origin, and carried the principle of intellectual enfranchisement from authority into the houses of the common people. Its adherents were "neither gentry nor beggars." The most noisy advocate of the new opinion was Brown, a man of rashness, possessing neither true courage nor constancy; zealous, but fickle; dogmatical, but shallow. He has acquired historical notoriety, because, in 1582, his hot-headed indiscretion urged

him to undertake the defence of separation. He suffered much oppression; he was often imprisoned; he was finally compelled to go into exile. The congregation which he had gathered, and which banished itself with him, was composed of persons hasty and unstable like himself; it was soon dispersed by its own dissensions. Brown eventually purchased a living in the English Church by conformity. "He forsook the Lord, so the Lord forsook him." The principles, of which the intrepid assertion had alone given him distinction, lay deeply rooted in the public mind; and, as they had not derived life from his support, they did not suffer from his apostasy.

The accession of Whitgift, in 1583, marks the epoch of extreme and consistent rigor in the public councils. Subscriptions were then required to points which before had been eluded; the kingdom rung with the complaints for deprivation; the most learned and diligent of the ministry were driven from their places; while those who were introduced to read the liturgy were so ignorant, that few of them could preach. Dismen listen to their deprived pastors in the recesses of forests the offence, if discovered, was visited by fines and imprisonment. A court of high commission was established for the detection and punishment of non-conformity, and was invested with powers as arbitrary as those of the Spanish inquisitors. Two men were hanged for distributing Brown's tract on the liberty of prophesying; that is, a tract on the liberty of the pulpit.

The party thus persecuted were the most efficient opponents of Popery. "The Puritans," said Burleigh, "are over squeamish and nice, yet their careful catechizing and diligent preaching lessen and diminish the Papistical numbers." But for them, the old religion would have retained the affections of the multitude. How, then, could the party be subdued? Extermination could alone produce conformity. The teachers of new truths have often been exiled or slain; and now that a sect was become the depository of the principles of reform, by act of parliament the sect was banished, or its obstinate members menaced with death.

Holland offered an asylum against the bitter severity of this statute. A religious society, founded by the Independents at Amsterdam, continued to exist for a century, and served as a point of hope for the exiles; while through the influence of Whitgift, in England, Barrow and Greenwood, men of unimpeached loyalty, were selected as examples, and in 1593 hanged at Tyburn for their opinions.

But the number of the non-conforming clergy, after forty years of molestation, had increased; their popularity was more deeply rooted, and their enmity to the established order was irreconcilable. They began to constitute a powerful political party; they inquired into the nature of government; in parliament they opposed monopolies, limited the royal prerogatives, and demanded a reform of ecclesiastical abuses. "The precious spark of liberty," says an historian who was never accused of favoring the Puritans, "had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone." Popular liberty, which used to animate its friends by appeals to the examples of ancient republics, now listened to a voice from the grave of Wickliffe, from the ashes of Huss, from the vigils of Calvin.

The accession of King James, in April, 1603, would, it was believed, introduce a milder system; and the Puritans might hope even for favor. But the personal character of the new monarch could not inspire confidence.

The pupil of Buchanan was not destitute of learning nor unskilled in rhetoric. Protected from profligate debauchery by the austerity of public morals in Scotland, and incapable of acting the part of a statesman, he had aimed at the reputation of a "most learned clerk," and had been so successful, that Bacon, with equivocal flattery, pronounced him incomparable for learning among kings; and Sully, who knew him well, esteemed him the wisest fool in Europe. Demonstrating with erudition the reality of witchcraft, he could tell "why the devil doth work more with auncient women than with others;" and hardly a year of his reign went by, but some helpless crone perished on the gallows, to satisfy the dialectics of the royal author. He prided himself on his skill in theological learning, and challenged the praise of Europe as a subtile controversialist. With the whole force of English diplomacy, he suggested the propriety of burning an Arminian professor of Holland, while he, at the same time, refuted the errors of the heretic in a harmless tract. He indulged his vanity in a public discussion, and, when the argument was over, procured himself the gratification of burning his opponent at the stake.

The life of James, as a monarch, was full of meannesses. His egregious vanity desired perpetual flattery; and no hyperboles excited his distrust. He boasted that England, even in the days of Elizabeth, had been governed by his influence: by proclamation, he forbade the people to talk of state affairs; and in reply to the complaint of his commons, he insisted that he was, and would be, the father of their country.

Possessing neither true judgment nor courage, King James was false from imbecility, and sometimes vindicated falsehood, as the appropriate craft of a king. But he was an awkward liar, rather than a skilful dissembler. At home, afraid of his wife; in council, easily intimidated by vulgar insolence; in prayer, frequent and long, not from conscience, but from fear; by title a king, by theory a despot,—he was never, for a day, the master of his actions. His mind had been early and deeply imbued with the doctrines of Calvinism; but he loved arbitrary power better than the tenets of Knox; and, when the Arminians in England favored royalty, King James became an Arminian. He steadily adhered to his love of flattery and his love of ease; but he had no fixed principles of conduct or belief.

Such was the king of England, to whose decision the Puritans must refer the consideration of their claims. He had called the church of Scotland "the sincerest kirk of the world," and had censured the service of England as "an evil-said mass." Would he retain for Puritans the favor which he had promised?

There were not wanting statesmen who favored a liberal toleration, and esteemed controversy "the wind by which truth is winnowed." But what relation could subsist between such philosophy and the selfish arrogance of King James? The borders of Scotland were hardly passed, before James began to identify the interests of the English Church with those of his prerogative. "No bishop, no king," was a maxim often in his mouth. At the conference with the Puritans at Hampton Court, in January, 1604, the king refused to discuss the question of the power of the church in things indifferent:—"I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony. Never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey."

The Puritans desired permission to hold meetings, with the liberty of free discussions; but the king promptly interrupted them:—"You are aiming at a Scot's presbytery, which agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil." Turning to the bishops, he avowed his trust in the hierarchy as the firmest support of the throne. Unconscious that "the vipers" were so numerous, he added—"I will make the Puritans conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else worse,"—"only hang them; that's all."

On the last day of the conference, the king concluded that, "if any one would not be quiet, and show their obedience, they were worthy to be hanged;" and it was fixed, that a time should be set, within which each one should conform or be removed,

But the parliament soon assembled; and in that body the party opposed to the Church asserted their liberties with such tenacity and vigor, that King James began to hate them as imbittering royalty itself. "I had rather live like a hermit in the forest," he writes, "than be a king over such a people as the pack of Puritans are, that overrules the lower house." In vain he had offered "to meet the Catholics in the mid-way;" in vain he censured "the sect of Puritans as insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth," and worthy of fire for their opinions. The commons of England resolutely favored the sect which was their natural ally in the struggle against despotism.

Far different was the spirit which actuated the convocation of the clergy. They required conformity with unrelenting rigor. The convocation of 1606, in a series of canons, denied every doctrine of popular rights, asserting the superiority of the king to the parliament and the laws, and, in their zeal for absolute monarchy, admitting no exception to the duty of passive obedience. Thus the opponents of the Church became the sole guardians of popular liberty; the lines of the contending parties were distinctly drawn; the Established Church and the monarch, on the one side, were arrayed against the Puritan clergy and the people. A war of opinion began; immediate success was obtained by the established authority; but the contest would be transmitted to the next generation. Would victory ultimately belong to the Churchmen or to the Puritans? to the monarch or the people? The interests of European liberty were at issue on the contest.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

"THE gospel is not tied to place, but moves freely through the world, like the star which beamed on the wizards, and, as they journeyed from the East, guided them where the Saviour lay. We have power to change our country, and elsewhere pursue truth. Do not dispute with the sovereign for place, but emigrate in company. Let the people elect a pastor, and support him at their own charge; if the magistrate interferes, let the pastor, whom the people have chosen, take to flight, and

THE MAYFLOWER. (*From a Model in Pilgrim Hall.*)

let them that will, go with him." Such was the counsel of Luther to the insurgent peasants of Germany; after nearly a century, the counsel was carried into effect by a rural community of Englishmen.

Towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, there had existed in the north of England a congregation of men who despaired of effecting in the Church of England the changes which their consciences demanded, and preferred, choosing John Robinson as their pastor, "whatever it might cost them, as the Lord's free people, to join themselves, by covenant, into a church state." Calvinists in their faith, according to the straitest system, they renounced all attachment to human authority, and reserved an entire and perpetual liberty of forming their principles and practice from the light of free inquiry.

Harassed by imprisonments, search-warrants, trivial prosecutions, and the various malice of intolerance, the peaceful farmers who composed "the church" despaired of finding rest in England, and, in 1607, resolved to seek safety in exile.

Holland, in its controversy with Spain, had displayed republican virtues, and, in the reformation of its churches, had inclined to the discipline of Calvin. England had been its ally in its greatest dangers; the States, at one time, had almost become a part of the English dominions; the "cautionary" towns were still garrisoned by English regiments, some of which were friendly to the separatists; and William Brewster, the ruling elder of the church, had himself served as a diplomatist in the Low Countries. Common sympathies, therefore, attracted the emigrants to Holland.

The departure from England was effected with much suffering and hazard. The first attempt was prevented; but the magistrates checked the ferocity of the subordinate officers, and, after a month's arrest of the whole company, seven only of the principal men were detained in prison.

In the spring of 1608, the design was renewed. An unfrequented heath, in Lincolnshire, was the place of secret meeting. As if it had been a crime to escape from persecution, the embarkation was to be made under the shelter of darkness. After having encountered a night storm, just as a boat was bearing a part of the emigrants to their ship, a company of horsemen appeared in pursuit, and seized on the helpless women and children who had not yet adventured on the surf. "Pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in distress; what weeping and crying on every side!" But when they were apprehended, it seemed impossible to punish and imprison wives

and children for no other crime than that they would go with their husbands and fathers. They could not be sent home, for "they had no homes to go to;" so that, at last, the magistrates were "glad to be rid of them on any terms," "though, in the meantime, they, poor souls! endured misery enough." Such was the flight of Robinson and Brewster, and their followers, from the land of their fathers.

Their arrival in Amsterdam was but the beginning of the eventful wanderings of the PILGRIMS. They soon removed to Leyden, where, for eleven years, they continued to live in great harmony. A well-written apology for their church was published by Robinson, who, in the controversy with Arminianism, was selected as the champion of orthodoxy; their fame attracted new members from England; their congregation inspired the nuncio of Rome with respect.

Yet they were restless from the consciousness of ability to act a more important part in the great drama of humanity. The voyages of Gosnold, and Smith, and Hudson; the enterprise of Raleigh, and Delaware, and Gorges; the compilations of Eden, and Willes, and Hakluyt,—had filled the commercial world with wonder; while weighty reasons, often and seriously discussed, inclined the Pilgrims to change their abode. They had been bred to the pursuits of husbandry, and in Holland they were compelled to learn mechanical trades; Brewster became a printer; Bradford, who had been educated as a farmer, learned the art of dyeing silk. The language and manners of the Dutch never became pleasantly familiar. The climate was not grateful to the aged; and close occupation in mechanical trades was detrimental to the young. The dissoluteness of disbanded soldiers and mariners filled them with anxiety, lest their children should become contaminated; and they were moved by the honorable ambition of becoming founders of a state.

"Upon their talk of removing, sundry of the Dutch would have them go under them, and made them large offers;" but the Pilgrims were attached to their nationality as Englishmen, and to the language of their line. A secret, but deeply-seated love of their country led them to the generous purpose of recovering the protection of England by enlarging her dominions. They were "restless" with the desire to live once more under the government of their native land.

And whither should they go to acquire a province for King James? The beautiful fertility and immeasurable wealth of Guiana had been exhibited in dazzling colors by the brilliant

eloquence of Raleigh. But they looked rather towards Virginia; and Robert Cushman and John Carver repaired to England to obtain consent of the London company to their emigration. The envoys were favorably received; and a patent and ample liberties were cheerfully promised. The Pilgrims, following the principles of democratic liberty, in December, 1617, transmitted to the company their request, signed by the hands of the greatest part of the congregation. "We are well weaned," added Robinson and Brewster, "from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage."

The messengers of the Pilgrims, sure of the friendship of the Virginia company, sought also the favor of the king. But in vain did they transmit an account of their peaceful principles. Nothing could be obtained for the wilds of America, beyond an informal promise of neglect.

The bigotry of the English hierarchy was a great discouragement to the church at Leyden. The dissensions in the Virginia corporation occasioned further delay; but, in 1619, through the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys, the friend of the Puritans, a patent was granted to the Pilgrims under the company's seal. It was taken in the name of one who failed to accompany the expedition, and was never of the least service.

One more negotiation remained to be completed. As the Pilgrims were not possessed of sufficient capital for the execution of their schemes, the agents from Leyden formed a connection between their employers and men of business in London. The whole company constituted a numerous partnership; the services of each emigrant were rated as a capital of ten pounds, and belonged to the company: all profits were to be reserved till the end of seven years, when the whole amount, and all houses and land, gardens and fields, were to be divided among the shareholders according to their respective interests. The London merchant, who risked one hundred pounds, would receive for his money tenfold more than the penniless emigrant for his entire services. This arrangement threatened a seven years' check to the pecuniary prosperity of the community; yet, as it did not interfere with civil rights, or religion, it did not intimidate the Pilgrims.

And now, in 1620, the English at Leyden, trusting in God and in themselves, made ready for their departure. The Speedwell, a ship of sixty tons, was purchased in London; the Mayflower, a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons, was hired in England. These could hold but a minority of the congregation, and Robinson was therefore detained at Leyden, while Brewster, the teaching elder, conducted the emigrants. Every enterprise of the Pilgrims began from God. A solemn fast was held. "Let us seek of God," said they, "a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance." Anticipating their high destiny, and the sublime doctrines of liberty that would grow out of the principles on which their religious tenets were established, Robinson gave them a farewell, breathing a freedom of opinion, and an independence of authority, such as then were hardly known in the world:—

"I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation—Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God.—I beseech you, remember it,—'tis an article of your church covenant,—that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God."

The Pilgrims were accompanied by most of the brethren from Leyden to Delft-Haven, where the night of the twenty-first of July was passed "in friendly and Christian converse." As morning dawned, Carver, Bradford, and Winslow, Brewster, the ruling elder, Allerton, and the brave and faithful Standish, with their equal associates,—a feeble band for a perilous enterprise,—bade farewell to Holland; while Robinson, kneeling in prayer by the sea-side, gave to their embarkation the sanctity of a religious rite. A prosperous wind soon wafts the vessel to Southampton, and, in a fortnight, the Mayflower and the Speedwell, freighted with the first colony for New England, leave Southampton for America. But they had not gone far upon the Atlantic before the smaller vessel was found to need repairs; and they entered the port of Dartmouth. After the lapse of eight precious days, they again weigh anchor; the coast of England recedes; already they are unfurling their sails on the broad ocean, when the captain of the Speedwell, with his company, dismayed at the dangers of the enterprise, once

more pretends that his ship is too weak for the service. They put back to Plymouth, to dismiss their treacherous companions, though the loss of the vessel was "very grievous and discouraging." The timid and the hesitating were all freely allowed to abandon the expedition. Having thus winnowed their numbers of the cowardly and the disaffected, the little band, not of resolute men only, but wives, some far gone in pregnancy, children, infants,—a floating village, yet, in all, but one hundred and one souls,—went on board the single ship, which was hired only to convey them across the Atlantic; and, on the sixth day of September, 1620, thirteen years after the first colonization of Virginia, two months before the concession of the grand charter of Plymouth, without any warrant from the sovereign of England, without any useful charter from a corporate body, the passengers in the Mayflower set sail for a new world, where the past could offer no favorable auguries.

Had New England been colonized immediately on the discovery of the American continent, the old English institutions would have been planted under the powerful influence of the Roman Catholic religion; had the settlement been made under Elizabeth, it would have been before activity of the popular mind in religion had conducted to a corresponding activity of mind in politics. The Pilgrims were Englishmen, Protestants, exiles for religion; men disciplined by misfortune, cultivated by opportunities of extensive observation, equal in rank as in rights, and bound by no code, but that which was imposed by religion, or might be created by the public will.

The eastern coast of the United States abounds in beautiful and convenient harbors, in majestic bays and rivers; the first Virginia colony, sailing along the shores of North Carolina, was, by a favoring storm, driven into the magnificent Bay of the Chesapeake; the Pilgrims, having selected as the place for their settlement the mouth of the Hudson, the best position on the whole coast, were, by the ignorance and self-will of their captain, conducted to the most barren and inhospitable part of Massachusetts. After a long and boisterous voyage of sixty-three days, during which one person had died, they espied land, and, in two days more, on the ninth of November, were safely moored in the harbor of Cape Cod.

Yet, before they landed, the manner in which their government should be constituted was debated; and they formed themselves into a body politic by a solemn voluntary compact:—

"In the name of God, amen; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James,

having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

This instrument was signed by the whole body of men, forty-one in number, who, with their families, constituted the one hundred and one, the whole colony, "the proper democracy," that arrived in New England. Here was the birth of popular constitutional liberty. The middle age had been familiar with charters and constitutions; but they had been merely compacts for immunities, partial enfranchisements, patents of nobility, concessions of municipal privileges, or limitations of the sovereign power in favor of feudal institutions. In the cabin of the Mayflower, humanity recovered its rights, and instituted government on the basis of "equal laws" for "the general good." John Carver was immediately and unanimously chosen governor for the year.

Men who emigrate, even to well-inhabited districts, pray that their journey may not be in winter. Wasted by the rough and wearisome voyage, ill supplied with provisions, the English fugitives found themselves, at the opening of winter, on a barren and bleak coast, in a severe climate, with the ocean on one side, and the wilderness on the other. There were none to show them kindness or bid them welcome. The nearest French settlement was at Port Royal; it was five hundred miles to the English plantation in Virginia. As they attempted to disembark, the water was found so shallow, that they were forced to wade; and, in the freezing weather, the very act of getting on land sowed the seeds of consumption and inflammatory colds. The bitterness of mortal disease was their welcome to the inhospitable shore.

The season was already fast bringing winter, and the spot for the settlement remained to be chosen. Standish and Bradford, and others, impatient of the delay, determined to explore the country by land. But what discoveries could be made by wading through the deep sands that divide Provincetown from Truro?

The first expedition in the shallop was likewise unsuccessful; "some of the people, that died that winter, took the original of their death" in the enterprise; "for it snowed and did blow all the day and night, and froze withal." The men who were set on shore "were tired with marching up and down the steep hills and deep valleys, which lay half a foot thick with snow." A heap of maize was discovered; and further search led to a burial-place of the Indians; but they found "no more corn, nor anything else but graves."

At length, on the sixth of December, old style, the shallop was again sent out, with Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Standish, and others, with eight or ten seamen. The cold was severe; the spray of the sea froze as it fell on them, and made their clothes like coats of iron. That day they reached Billingsgate Point, at the bottom of the Bay of Cape Cod, on the western shore of Wellfleet harbor. The next morning, the company divided; those on shore find a burial-place, graves, and four or five deserted wigwams, but neither people, nor any place inviting a settlement. Before night, the whole party met by the sea-side, and encamped on land together near Namskeket, or Great Meadow Creek.

The next day they rose at five; their morning prayers were finished, when, as the day dawned, a war-whoop and a flight of arrows announced an attack from Indians. They were of an Algonquin tribe, who knew the English as kidnappers; but the encounter was without further result. Again the boat's crew give thanks to God, and steer their bark along the coast for the distance of fifteen leagues. But no convenient harbor is discovered. The pilot of the boat, who had been in these regions before, gives assurance of a good one, which may be reached before night; and they follow his guidance. After some hours' sailing, a storm of snow and rain begins; the sea swells; the rudder breaks; the boat must now be steered with oars; the storm increases; night is at hand; to reach the harbor before dark, as much sail as possible is borne; the mast breaks into three pieces; the sail falls overboard; but the tide is favorable. The pilot, in dismay, would have run the boat on shore in a cove full of breakers. "About with her!" exclaimed a sailor, "or we are cast away." They get her about immediately, and, passing over the surf, they enter a fair sound, and shelter themselves under the lee of a small rise of land. It is dark, and the rain beats furiously; yet the men are so wet, and cold, and weak, they slight the danger to be apprehended from the savages, and, after great difficulty, kindle a fire on shore.

Morning, as it dawned, showed the place to be a small island within the entrance of a harbor. The day was required for rest and preparations. Time was precious; the season advancing; their companions were left in suspense. The next day was the "Christian Sabbath." The Pilgrims kept it sacredly, though every consideration demanded haste.

On Monday, the eleventh day of December, old style, the exploring party of the forefathers land at Plymouth. A grateful posterity has marked the rock which first received their footsteps. The consequences of that day are constantly unfolding themselves, as time advances. It was the origin of New England; it was the planting of the New England institutions. Inquisitive historians have loved to mark every vestige of the Pilgrims; poets of the purest minds have commemorated their virtues; the noblest genius has been called into exercise to display their merits worthily, and to trace the consequences of their daring enterprise.

In four days, the Mayflower was safely moored in its harbor. In memory of the hospitalities which the company had received at the last English port from which they had sailed, this oldest New England colony obtained the name of Plymouth. The system of civil government had been established by common agreement; the character of the church had for many years been fixed by a sacred covenant. As the Pilgrims landed, their institutions were already perfected. Democratic liberty and independent Christian worship at once existed in America.

After some days, they began to build—a difficult task for men of whom one-half were wasting away with consumptions and lung fevers. For the sake of haste, it was agreed that every man should build his own house; but frost and foul weather were great hindrances: they could seldom work half of the week; and tenements were erected as they could be, in the short intervals of sunshine between showers of sleet and snow-storms.

On the third of March, a south wind brought warm and fair weather. "The birds sang in the woods most pleasantly." But it was not till spring had far advanced, that the mortality began to cease. The record of misery was kept by the graves of the governor and half the company.

But if sickness ceased to prevail, the hardships of privation and want remained to be encountered. The distress was aggravated by the system of common property. After the harvest of 1623, there was no general want of food. In the spring of that year, it had been agreed that each family should plant for it-

self; and parcels of land, in proportion to the respective numbers, were assigned for culture, though not for inheritance. This arrangement produced contented labor and universal industry; "even women and children now went into the field to work." The next spring, every person obtained a little land in perpetual fee. The necessity of the case, and the common interest, demanded a slight departure from the severe agreement with the English merchants.

Where the Pilgrims landed, there were the traces of a previous population, but not one living inhabitant. Smokes from fires in the remote distance alone indicated the vicinity of natives. Miles Standish, "the best linguist" among the Pilgrims, as well as the best soldier, with an exploring party, was able to discover wigwams, but no tenants.

Yet, one day, in March, 1621, Samoset, an Indian who had learned a little English of the fishermen at Penobscot, boldly entered the town, and, passing to the rendezvous, exclaimed in English, "Welcome, Englishmen!" He belonged to the Wampanoags, a tribe which was destined to become memorable in the history of New England. In the name of his nation, he bade the strangers possess the soil, which there was no one of the original occupants alive to claim. After some little negotiation, Massasoit himself, the sachem of the tribe possessing the country north of Narragansett Bay, and between the rivers of Providence and Taunton, came to visit the Pilgrims, who, with their wives and children, now amounted to no more than fifty. The chieftain of a race as yet so new to the Pilgrims, was received with all the ceremonies which the condition of the colony permitted. A treaty of friendship was soon completed in few and unequivocal terms. The parties promised to abstain from mutual injuries, and to deliver up offenders; the colonists were to receive assistance, if attacked; to render it, if Massasoit should be attacked unjustly. The treaty included the confederates of the sachem; it is the oldest act of diplomacy recorded in New England; it was concluded in a day, and, being founded on reciprocal interests, was sacredly kept for more than half a century.

The influence of the English over the aborigines was rapidly extended. A sachem, who menaced their safety, was himself compelled to sue for mercy; and in September, 1621, nine chieftains subscribed an instrument of submission to King James. The Bay of Massachusetts and harbor of Boston were fearlessly explored. Canonicus, the wavering sachem of the Narragansetts, had sent a bundle of arrows, wrapped in the

skin of a rattlesnake, in token of hostility. But when Bradford stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and returned it, the chieftain desired rather to be in amity with a race of men whose weapons of war were so terrible.

Meantime a patent for land near Weymouth, the first plantation in Boston harbor, was obtained by a company of fur traders, and sixty men were sent over. Helpless at their arrival, they intruded themselves, for most of the summer, upon the unrequited hospitality of the people of Plymouth. In their plantation, they were soon reduced to necessity by their want of thrift; their injustice towards the Indians provoked hostility; and a plot was formed for the entire destruction of the English. But the grateful Massasoit revealed the design to his allies; and, in 1623, the planters at Weymouth were saved by the wisdom of the older colony and the intrepid gallantry of Standish. Some of the rescued men went to Plymouth; some sailed for England. One short year saw the beginning and end of the Weymouth plantation, which had had no higher object than mercantile adventure.

The danger from Indian hostilities was early removed; the partnership with English merchants occasioned greater inconvenience. The curse of usury, which always falls so heavily upon new settlements, did not spare them; for, being left without help from the partners, they were obliged to borrow money at fifty per cent. and at thirty per cent. interest. At last, the emigrants themselves succeed in purchasing the entire rights of the English adventurers; the common property was equitably divided, and the cultivators of the soil became really freeholders; neither debts nor rent-day troubled them.

The colonists of Plymouth had exercised self-government without the sanction of a royal patent. It was therefore in the virtues of the colonists themselves, that their institutions found a guaranty.

The progress of population was very slow. The lands in the vicinity were not fertile; and at the end of ten years the colony contained no more than three hundred souls. Few as were their numbers, they had struck deep root, and would have outlived every storm, even if they had been followed by no other colonies in New England. Hardly were they planted in America, when their enterprise began to take a wide range; before Massachusetts was settled, they had acquired rights at Cape Ann, as well as an extensive domain on the Kennebec; and they were the first to possess an English settlement on the banks of the Connecticut. The excellent Robinson died at Leyden: his heart

was in America, where his memory will never die. The remainder of his people, and with them his wife and children, emigrated, so soon as means could be provided to defray the costs. "To enjoy religious liberty was the known end of the first-comers' great adventure into this remote wilderness;" and they desired no increase, but from the friends of their communion. Yet their residence in Holland, making them acquainted with various forms of Christianity, had emancipated them from bigotry; and they were disinclined to religious persecution.

The frame of civil government in the Old Colony was of the utmost simplicity. A governor was chosen by general suffrage, whose power, always subordinate to the general will, was, at the desire of Bradford, specially restricted by a council of five, and afterwards of seven, assistants. In the council, the governor had but a double vote. For more than eighteen years, "the whole body of the male inhabitants" constituted the legislature; the state was governed, like our towns, as a strict democracy; and the people were frequently convened to decide on executive not less than on judicial questions. At length, the increase of population, and its diffusion over a wider territory, led to the representative system, and each town sent its committee to the general court.

Through scenes of gloom and misery, the Pilgrims showed the way to an asylum for those who would go to the wilderness for the purity of religion or the liberty of conscience. Accustomed "in their native land to no more than a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry," they set the example of colonizing New England, and formed the mould for the civil and religious character of its institutions. Enduring every hardship themselves, they were the servants of posterity, the benefactors of succeeding generations. In the history of the world, many pages are devoted to commemorate the men who have besieged cities, subdued provinces, or overthrown empires. A colony is a better offering than a victory: the citizens of the United States should rather cherish the memory of those who founded a state on the basis of democratic liberty; the fathers of the country; the men who, as they first trod the soil of the New World, scattered the seminal principles of republican freedom and national independence. They enjoyed, in anticipation, the thought of their extending influence, and the fame which their grateful successors would award to their virtues. "Out of small beginnings," said Bradford, "great things have been produced; and as one small candle may light a thousand,

so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea, in some sort, to our whole nation." Posterity repeats the consolation offered from England to the Pilgrims in the season of their greatest sufferings—"Let it not be grievous to you, that you have been instruments to break the ice for others. The honor shall be yours to the world's end."

CHAPTER XIII.

COLONIZATION OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE.

THE council of Plymouth for New England, having obtained of King James the boundless territory and the immense monopoly which they had desired, had no further obstacles to encounter but the laws of nature and the remonstrances of parliament. No tributaries tenanted their countless millions of uncultivated acres; and exactions upon the vessels of English fishermen were the only means of acquiring an immediate revenue from America.

In the second year after the settlement of Plymouth, five-and-thirty sail of vessels went to fish on the coasts of New England, and made good voyages. The monopolists appealed to King James; and the monarch, asserting his own prerogative, rather than regarding the wish of the house of commons, issued a proclamation, which forbade any to approach the northern coast of America, except with the special leave of the company of Plymouth, or of the privy council.

In 1623, one Francis West was despatched with a commission as admiral of New England, for the purpose of excluding from the American seas such fishermen as came without a license. But the ocean was a wide place over which to keep sentry. The mariners refused to pay the tax which he imposed; and his ineffectual authority was soon resigned.

In the same year, the patentees, alike prodigal of charters and tenacious of their monopoly, having already given to Robert Gorges, the son of Sir Ferdinand, a patent for a tract extending ten miles on Massachusetts Bay, and thirty miles into the interior, appointed him lieutenant-general of New England, with power "to restrain interlopers," not less than to regulate the affairs of the corporation. His patent was never permanently used; though the colony at Weymouth was re-

newed, to meet once more with ill fortune. He was attended by Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman, who was provided with a commission for the superintendence of ecclesiastical affairs. Instead of establishing a hierarchy, Morrell, remaining in New England about a year, wrote a description of the country in verse; while the civil dignity of Robert Gorges ended in a short-lived dispute with Weston. They came to plant a hierarchy and a general government, and they produced only a fruitless quarrel and a dull poem.

The house of commons of 1621 had indignantly opposed the charter to the council of Plymouth. To the argument that America was not annexed to the realm, and therefore not within the jurisdiction of parliament, it had been answered, that "a bill passed by the commons and lords, if it receive the king's assent, will control the patent." When parliament was again convened, in 1624, the controversy against the charter was renewed. English fishermen, it was resolved, shall have fishing with all its incidents. "Your patent"—thus Gorges was addressed by Sir Edward Coke from the speaker's chair—"contains many particulars contrary to the laws and privileges of the subject; it is a monopoly, and the ends of private gain are concealed under color of planting a colony." "Shall none," observed the veteran lawyer in debate—"shall none visit the seacoast for fishing? This is to make a monopoly upon the seas, which wont to be free. If you alone are to pack and dry fish, you attempt a monopoly of the wind and the sun." It was in vain for Sir George Calvert to resist. The bill passed without amendment, though it never received the royal assent.

The determined opposition of the house, though it could not move the king to overthrow the corporation, paralyzed its enterprise; many of the patentees abandoned their interest; so that the Plymouth company now did little except issue grants of domains; and the cottages, which, within a few years, were sprinkled along the coast from Cape Cod to the Bay of Fundy, were the consequence of private adventure.

The territory between the River of Salem and the Kennebec became, in a great measure, the property of two enterprising individuals. We have seen that Martin Pring was the discoverer of New Hampshire, and that John Smith of Virginia had examined and extolled the deep waters of the Piscataqua. Sir Ferdinand Gorges, the most energetic member of the council of Plymouth, always ready to encounter risks in the cause of colonizing America, had not allowed repeated ill success to chill his confidence and decision; and now he found in John Mason,

"who had been governor of a plantation in Newfoundland, a man of action," like himself. It was not difficult for Mason, who had been elected an associate and secretary of the council, to obtain in March, 1621, a grant of the lands between Salem River and the farthest head of the Merrimac; but he did no more with his vast estate than give it a name. The passion for land increased; and, in August, 1622, Gorges and Mason took a patent for Laconia, the whole country between the sea, the St. Lawrence, the Merrimac, and the Kennebec; a company of English merchants was formed, and under its auspices permanent plantations were, in 1623, established on the banks of the Piscataqua. Portsmouth and Dover are among the oldest towns in New England. Splendid as were the anticipations of the proprietaries, and lavish as was their enthusiasm in liberal expenditures, the immediate progress of the plantations was inconsiderable, and, even as fishing stations, they do not seem to have prospered.

When the country on Massachusetts Bay was granted to a company, of which the zeal and success were soon to overshadow all the efforts of proprietaries and merchants, it became expedient for Mason to procure a new patent; and on the seventh of November, 1629, he received a fresh title to the territory between the Merrimac and Piscataqua, in terms which interfered with the pretensions of his neighbors on the south. This was the patent for New Hampshire, and was pregnant with nothing so signally as suits at law. No notice seems to have been taken of the rights of the natives; nor did they now issue any deed of their lands; but the soil in the immediate vicinity of Dover, and afterwards of Portsmouth, was conveyed to the planters themselves, or to those at whose expense the settlement had been made. A favorable impulse was thus given to the little colonies; and houses now began to be built on the "Strawberry Bank" of the Piscataqua. But the progress of the town was slow. In 1638, the whole coast is described as a mere wilderness, with here and there a few huts scattered by the sea-side; and thirty years after its settlement, Portsmouth made only the moderate boast of containing "between fifty and sixty families."

When the grand charter, which had established the council of Plymouth, was about to be revoked, Mason extended his pretensions to the Salem River, the southern boundary of his first territory, and, in April, 1635, obtained of the expiring corporation a corresponding patent. The king might, without scruple, have confirmed the grant, and conferred upon him the

powers of government, as absolute lord and proprietary; but the death of Mason, in November, cut off all the hopes which his family might have cherished of territorial aggrandizement and feudal supremacy. His widow in vain attempted to manage the colonial domains; the costs exceeded the revenue; the servants were ordered to provide for their own welfare; the property of the great landed proprietor was divided among them for the payment of arrears; and Mason's American estate was completely ruined. Neither king nor proprietary troubled the few inhabitants of New Hampshire; they were left to take care of themselves—the best dependence for states, as well as for individuals.

The enterprise of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, though sustained by stronger expressions of royal favor, and continued with indefatigable perseverance, was not followed by much greater success. We have seen a colony established, though but for a single winter, on the shores which Pring had discovered, and Weymouth had been the first to explore; and the cross had been raised by the French on Mount Desert. After the bays of New England had been more carefully examined by the same daring adventurer who sketched the first map of the Chesapeake, the coast was regularly visited by fishermen and traders. A special account of the country was one of the fruits of Hakluyt's inquiries, and was published in the collections of Purchas. At Winter Harbor, near the mouth of Saco River, Englishmen, under Richard Vines, again encountered the severities of the inclement season; and two years afterwards, the mutineers of the crew of Rocraft lived, from the autumn of 1618 till spring, on Monhegan Island, where the colony of Popham had anchored, and the ships of John Smith had made their station during his visit to New England. The earliest settlers, intent only on their immediate objects, hardly aspired after glory; from the few memorials which they have left, it is not, perhaps, possible to ascertain the precise time when the rude shelters of the fishermen on the seacoast began to be tenanted by permanent inmates, and the fishing stages of a summer to be transformed into regular establishments of trade. The first settlement was probably made in 1626, "on the Maine," but a few miles from Monhegan, at the mouth of the Pemaquid.

The settlement at Piscataqua could not quiet the ambition of Gorges. As a Protestant and an Englishman, he was almost a bigot, both in patriotism and in religion. Unwilling to behold the Roman Catholic church and the French monarch obtain possession of the eastern coast of North America, his first act

with reference to the territory of the present state of Maine was to invite the Scotch nation to become the guardians of its frontier. Sir William Alexander seconded a design, which promised to establish his personal dignity and interest; and, in September, 1621, he obtained, without difficulty, a patent for all the territory east of the River St. Croix, and south of the St. Lawrence. The whole region which had already been included in the French provinces of Acadia and New France, was designated in English geography by the name of Nova Scotia. Thus were the seeds of future wars scattered broadcast by the unreasonable pretensions of England; for James now gave away lands, which, already, and with a better title on the ground of discovery, had been granted by Henry IV. of France, and had been immediately occupied by his subjects.

The marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria promised between the rival claimants of the wilds of Acadia such friendly relations as would lead to a peaceful adjustment of jarring pretensions. Yet, even at that period, the claims of France were not recognized by England; and a new patent confirmed to Sir William Alexander all the prerogatives with which he had been lavishly invested; and when, in 1627, the personal passions of the favorite, Buckingham, hurried England into an unnecessary and disastrous conflict with France, hostilities were nowhere successfully attempted, except in America. In 1628, Port Royal fell easily into the hands of the English; and Quebec also received a summons to surrender. Champlain, its commander, by an answer of proud defiance, concealed his weakness. But Richelieu sent no seasonable supplies; the garrison was reduced to extreme suffering and the verge of famine; and when, in 1629, the squadron of Sir David Kirk reappeared before the town, Quebec capitulated. Thus did England, one hundred and thirty years before the enterprise of Wolfe, make the conquest of the capital of New France; that is to say, she gained possession of a barren rock and a few wretched hovels. Not a port in North America remained in possession of the French; from Long Island to the Pole, England was without a rival.

But before the conquest of Canada was achieved, peace had been proclaimed, in Europe, between the contending states: and, taking advantage of its conditions, the genius of Richelieu succeeded in obtaining the restitution, not of Canada only, but of Cape Breton and the undefined Acadia. The event has been frequently deplored; but misery ensued, because neither the boundaries of the rival nations were distinctly marked, nor the spirit of the compact honestly respected.

While the eastern provinces of America were thus recovered by the firmness and ability of the French minister, a succession of patents, couched in vague language, distributed the territory from the Piscataqua to the Penobscot among various proprietors. The consequences were obvious. As the neighborhood of the indefinite possessions of France foreboded the border feuds of a controverted jurisdiction, so the domestic disputes about land-titles and boundaries threatened perpetual lawsuits. At the same time, enterprise was wasted by its diffusion over too wide a surface. Agriculture was hardly attempted. The musket and the hook and line were more productive than the implements of husbandry. Except for the wealth to be derived from the forest and the sea, the coast of Maine would not at that time have been tenanted by Englishmen; and this again was fatal to the expectations of the proprietaries; since furs might be gathered and fish taken without quitrents or title-deeds.

Yet Gorges still clung, with unbending hope, to the project of territorial aggrandizement, and, undismayed by previous losses, and by the encroaching claims of the French, who had already advanced their actual boundary to the Penobscot, succeeded in soliciting the whole district that lies between the Kennebec, and the boundary of New Hampshire, with the appointment, for himself, as governor-general of New England. An unforeseen accident prevented his embarkation for America; but he sent his nephew, William Gorges, to govern his territory. That officer repaired to the province without delay. Saco may have contained one hundred and fifty inhabitants, when, in 1636, the first court ever duly organized on the soil of Maine was held within its limits. Before that time, there may have been some voluntary combinations among the settlers themselves; but there had existed on the Kennebec no jurisdiction of sufficient power to prevent or to punish bloodshed among the traders. William Gorges remained in the country less than two years; the six Puritans of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who received a commission to act as his successors, declined the trust, and the infant settlements then called New Somersetshire were abandoned to anarchy, or to so imperfect a government, that of the events of two years no records can be found.

Meantime a royal charter, in April, 1639, constituted Gorges, in his old age, the lord proprietary of the country; and his ambition immediately soared to the honor of establishing boroughs, framing schemes of colonial government, and enacting a code. The veteran royalist, clearly convinced of the necessity of a vigorous executive, had but dim conceptions of popular liberty and

rights; and he busied himself in making such arrangements as might have been expected from an old soldier, who was never remarkable for sagacity, had never seen America, and who, now in his dotage, began to act as a lawgiver for another hemisphere.

CHAPTER XIV.

COLONIZATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Such was the condition of the settlements at the north at a time when the region which lies but a little nearer the sun was already converted, by the energy of religious zeal, into a busy, well-organized, and even opulent state. The early history of Massachusetts is the history of a class of men as remarkable for their qualities and their influence on public happiness, as any by which the human race has ever been diversified.

The merchants of the west continued their voyages to the islands of New England. In 1624, a permanent establishment was attempted near Cape Ann. A year's experience induced the company to abandon the unprofitable scheme. But Roger Conant, their agent, a man of extraordinary vigor, "inspired, as it were, by some superior instinct," and confiding in the active friendship of John White, a minister of Dorchester in England, succeeded in breathing a portion of his sublime courage into his three companions; and, making choice of Salem, they resolved to remain as the sentinels of Puritanism on the Bay of Massachusetts.

The design of a plantation was ripening in the mind of White and his associates in the south-west of England. About the same time, some friends in Lincolnshire fell into discourse about New England; imagination swelled with the thought of planting the pure gospel among the quiet shades of America. After some deliberation, persons in London and the West Country were made acquainted with the project.

The council for New England, greedy of a revenue by the sale of patents, and little concerned even at making grants of territory which had already been purchased, on the nineteenth day of March, 1628, sold to John Humphrey, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcomb, and three others, gentlemen of Dorchester, a belt of land, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pa-

cific, extending three miles south of the River Charles and the Massachusetts Bay, and three miles north of every part of the River Merrimac. The zeal of White sought and soon found other and powerful associates in and about London, kindred spirits,—Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, Pynchon, Eaton, Saltonstall, Bellingham, so famous in colonial annals, with others, men of fortune, and friends to colonial enterprise, who desired to establish a plantation of "the best" of their countrymen in the safe seclusion of New England.

The company having added to religious zeal the resources of mercantile opulence, and a title to an extensive territory, immediately prepared for the emigration of a colony; and the rugged Endicot—a man of dauntless courage, and that cheerfulness which accompanies courage—was selected as "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work." His wife and family were the companions of his voyage, the hostages of his fixed attachment to the New World. They, and those whom the company sent over the same year,—in all, not far from one hundred in number,—were welcomed by Conant and his faithful associates to the gloomy forests of Salem.

When the news reached London of the safe arrival of the emigrants, the number of the adventurers had already been much enlarged. The "Boston men" lent their strength to the company; and the Puritans throughout England were roused to sympathy. Interest was also made to obtain a royal charter; and, on the fourth day of March, 1629, after much labor and large expenditures, the patent for the company of the Massachusetts Bay passed the seals.

The charter, which bears the signature of Charles I., and which was cherished for more than half a century as the most precious boon, established a corporation, like other corporations within the realm. The associates were constituted a body politic by the name of the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England." The administration of its affairs was intrusted to a governor, deputy, and eighteen assistants, who were to be annually elected by the stockholders, or members of the corporation. Four times a year, or oftener if desired, a general assembly of the freemen was to be held; and to these assemblies, which were invested with the necessary powers of legislation, inquest, and superintendence, the most important affairs were referred. No provision required the assent of the king to render the acts of the body valid; in his eye, it was but a trading corporation.

The charter, which designedly granted great facilities for

colonization, did not directly concede to the patentees the privilege of freedom of worship. Yet it followed so clearly from the facts, that, in 1662, the sovereign of England declared "the principle and foundation of the charter of Massachusetts to be the freedom of liberty of conscience."

The political condition of the colonists was not deemed by King Charles a subject worthy of his consideration. It was reserved for the corporation to decide what degree of civil rights the emigrants should enjoy. The charter on which the freemen of Massachusetts succeeded in erecting a system of independent representative liberty, did not secure to them a single privilege of self-government, but left them, as the Virginians had been left, without one valuable franchise, at the mercy of a corporation within the realm.

It was equally the right of the corporation to establish the terms on which new members should be admitted to its freedom. Its numbers could be enlarged or changed only by its own consent.

The charter had been granted in March; in April, preparations were hastening for the embarkation of new emigrants. Benevolent instructions to Endicot were at the same time issued. "If any of the savages"—such were the orders long and uniformly followed in all changes of government—"pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavor to purchase their tytle, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." "Particularly publish, that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives." Religious teachers also were provided; the excellent and truly catholic Francis Higginson, an eminent non-conforming minister, receiving an invitation to conduct the emigrants, esteemed it as a call from Heaven. The propagation of the gospel among the heathen was earnestly desired; in pious sincerity it was resolved if possible to redeem these wrecks of human nature. The colony seal was an Indian, erect, with an arrow in his right hand, and the motto, "Come over and help us." The company of emigrants was winnowed before sailing; and servants of ill life were discharged. "No idle drone may live amongst us," was the spirit as well as the law of the community.

As, in May, 1629, the ships were bearing Higginson and his followers out of sight of their native land, they remembered it, not as the scene of their sufferings from intolerance, but as the home of their fathers, and the dwelling-place of their friends. They did not say, "Farewell, Babylon! farewell, Rome! but FAREWELL, DEAR ENGLAND!"

It was in the last days of June, that the little band of two hundred arrived at Salem, where the "corruptions of the English Church" were never to be planted, and where a new "reformation" was to be reduced to practice. They found neither church nor town; eight or ten pitiful hovels, one more stately tenement for the governor, and a few cornfields, were the only proofs that they had been preceded by their countrymen. The whole body of old and new planters now amounted to three hundred; of whom one-third joined the infant settlement at Charlestown.

To the great European world, the few tenants of the mud-hovels and log-cabins at Salem might appear too insignificant to merit notice; to themselves, they were the chosen emissaries of God; outcasts from England, yet favorites with Heaven; blessed beyond all mankind, as the depositaries of the purest truth, of which the undying light should penetrate the wigwams of the heathen, and illuminate the darkness of a benighted world. The emigrants were not so much a body politic, as a church in the wilderness, with no benefactor around them but nature, no present sovereign but God. The people were enthusiasts, but not bigots. Religious worship was established on the basis of the independence of each religious community. The church was self-constituted. It did not ask the assent of the king, or recognize him as its head; its officers were set apart and ordained among themselves; it used no liturgy; it rejected unnecessary ceremonies, and reduced the simplicity of Calvin to a still plainer standard. The doctrine and discipline then established at Salem remained the rule of New England.

There existed, even in this little company, a few to whom the new system was unexpected; and in John and Samuel Browne they found able leaders. They declared their dissent from the church of Higginson; and, at every risk of union and tranquillity, they insisted upon the use of the English liturgy. But should the emigrants give up the purpose for which they had crossed the Atlantic? They deemed the coëxistence of their liberty and of prelacy impossible. After vain attempts to persuade the Brownes to relinquish their resolute opposition, Endicot sent them to England in the returning ships; and faction, deprived of its leaders, died away.

Winter brought disease and the sufferings incident to early settlements. Above eighty, almost half of the emigrants, died before spring, lamenting only that they were removed from the world before beholding the perfect establishment of their religion. Higginson himself fell a victim to a hectic fever; en-

thusiast to the last, visions of the many churches which were to adorn and gladden the wilderness, in the hour of death floated before his eyes.

The Brownes returned to England, breathing ineffectual menaces. The ships also carried with them a description of New England, by Higginson; a tract of which three editions were published within a few months, so intense an interest in the new colony had been diffused throughout the realm.

The concession of the Massachusetts charter seemed to the Puritans like a summons from Heaven, inviting them to America. There the gospel might be taught in its purity, and nature be the safe witness of devotion. The ill success of other plantations could not chill the rising enthusiasm: former enterprise had aimed at profit; the present object was religion: the earlier settlements had been filled with a lawless multitude; it was now proposed to form "a peculiar government," and to colonize "THE BEST."

On the suggestion of the generous Matthew Cradock, the governor of the company, it was proposed that the charter should be transferred to those of the freemen who should themselves inhabit the colony. An agreement was at once formed at Cambridge in England, between men of fortune and education, that they would themselves embark for America, if, before the last of September, the whole government should be legally transferred to them and the other freemen of the company, who should inhabit the plantation. "I shall call that my country," said the younger Winthrop to his father, "where I may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends. Therefore herein I submit myself to God's will and yours, and dedicate myself to God and the company, with the whole endeavors, both of body and mind;" and without delay, after the contract had been executed, it was fully and with general consent declared, that the government and the patent should be transferred beyond the Atlantic, and settled in New England.

This vote effectually changed a commercial partnership into an independent provincial government. But it conferred no new franchises or power on the emigrants, unless they were already members of the company: it gave to Massachusetts a present government; but the corporation, though it was to meet in New England, retained the chartered right of admitting freemen according to its pleasure. The manner in which that power was to be exercised would control the early political character of Massachusetts.

At the court convened in October for the purpose of appointing officers who would emigrate, John Winthrop was chosen governor, and the whole board of assistants selected for America. Yet, as the hour of departure drew near, the consciousness of danger spread such terrors, that even the hearts of the strong began to fail. One and another of the magistrates declined. It became necessary, in March, 1630, to hold a court at Southampton for the election of three substitutes among the assistants; and of these three, one never came over. Even after they had embarked, a court was held on board the Arbella, and Thomas Dudley was chosen deputy-governor in the place of Humphrey, who staid behind. Dudley emigrated, and had hardly reached America, before he repented that he had come; the country had been described in too favorable colors. It was principally the calm decision of Winthrop which sustained the courage of his companions. In him a yielding gentleness of temper was secured against weakness by deep but tranquil enthusiasm. "Parent-like, distributing his goods to brethren and neighbors at his first coming," and, for the welfare of Massachusetts, cheerfully encountering poverty and premature age, his lenient benevolence could temper, if not subdue, the bigotry of his times. An honest royalist, averse to pure democracy, yet firm in his regard for existing popular liberties; in England, a conformist, yet loving "gospel purity" even to Independency; in America, mildly aristocratic, advocating a government of "the least part," yet desiring that part to be "the wiser of the best;" disinterested, brave, and conscientious—his character marks the transition of the reformation into avowed republicanism; when the sentiment of loyalty, still sacredly cherished, was gradually yielding to the irresistible spirit of civil freedom.

The whole number of ships employed during the season was seventeen; and they carried over not far from fifteen hundred souls. About eight hundred—all of them Puritans, inclined to the party of the Independents; many of them men of high endowments, large fortune, and the best education; scholars, well versed in all the learning of the times; clergymen, who ranked among the most eloquent and pious in the realm—embarked with Winthrop for their asylum, bearing with them the charter, which was to be the basis of their liberties. The land was planted with a noble vine, wholly of the right seed. Religion did not expel the feelings of nature: before leaving Yarmouth, they published to the world the grounds of their removal and bade an affectionate farewell to the Church of England and to the land of their nativity. "Our hearts," say

they, "shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness."

In June and July, the ships which bore Winthrop and his immediate companions landed them in a scene of gloom; such of the earlier emigrants as had survived the previous winter were poor and weak from sickness; their corn and bread were hardly enough for a fortnight's supply. Instead of offering a welcome, they thronged to the new-comers to be fed. Nearly two hundred servants, who had been sent over at a great expense, received their liberty, free from all engagements: their labor—such was the excessive scarcity—was worth less than the cost of their maintenance.

The selection of places for the new plantations became the immediate care. The bay and the adjoining rivers were examined: if Charlestown wasthe place of the first sojourning, it was not long before the fires of civilization, never more to be quenched, were kindled in Boston and the adjacent villages. Boston, especially, had "sweet and pleasant springs," "and good land, affording rich cornfields and fruitful gardens." The dispersion of the company was esteemed a grievance; but no time was left for long deliberation, and those who had health began to build. Yet sickness delayed the progress of the work; and death often withdrew the laborer from the fruit of his exertions. Every hardship was encountered. The emigrants lodged, at best, in tents of cloth and in miserable hovels; they beheld their friends "weekly, yea, almost daily, drop away before their eyes;" in a country abounding in secret fountains, they perished for the want of good water. Many of them had been accustomed to plenty and ease, the refinements of cultivated life, and the conveniences of luxury. Woman was there to struggle against unforeseen hardships, unwonted sorrows; the men, who defied trials for themselves, were miserable at beholding those whom they cherished dismayed by the horrors which encompassed them. The virtues of Arbella Johnson, a daughter of the house of Lincoln, could not break through the gloomy shadows that surrounded her; and, as she had been ill before her arrival, desponding grief soon hurried her to the grave. Her husband, in life "the greatest furtherer of the plantation," and by his bequests a benefactor of the infant state, was borne down by disease and afflictions; but "he died willingly and in sweet peace," making a "most godly end." Winthrop lost a son, though not by disease. A hundred or more, some of them of the board of assistants, men who had enjoyed high consideration, and had been revered with confi-

dence as the inseparable companions of the common misery or the common success, disheartened by the scenes of woe, and dreading famine and death, deserted Massachusetts, and sailed for England. Before December, two hundred, at the least, had died. Yet, as the brightest lightnings are kindled in the darkest clouds, the general distress did but augment the piety, and confirm the fortitude, of the colonists. Not a hurried line, not a trace of repining appears in their records; the congregations always assembled at the stated times, whether in the open fields or under the shade of an ancient tree; in the midst of want, they abounded in hope; in the solitudes of the wilderness, they believed themselves in company with the Greatest, the most Benevolent of Beings. Honor is due not less to those who perished than to those who survived; to the martyrs the hour of death was an hour of triumph. Even children caught the spirit of the place, awaited their last hours in tranquil confidence, and went to the grave full of immortality. The survivors bore all things meekly, "remembering the end of their coming hither." "We here enjoy God and Jesus Christ," wrote Winthrop to his wife, whom pregnancy had detained in England; "and is not this enough? I thank God, I like so well to be here, as I do not repent my coming. I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never had more content of mind."

Such were the scenes in the infant settlements of Massachusetts. In the two following years, the colony had not even the comfort of receiving large accessions. In 1631, ninety only came over—a smaller number than had returned the preceding year. In 1632, no more than two hundred and fifty arrived. Men dreaded the hazards of the voyage and the wilderness, and waited to learn the success of the first adventurers. Those who had deserted excused their cowardice by defaming the country. Dudley wrote plainly of the hardships to be encountered; and, moreover, the apprehension was soon raised and never quieted, that the liberties of the colonists would be subverted by the government in England.

Purity of religion and civil liberty were the objects nearest the wishes of the emigrants. The first court of assistants took measures for the support of the ministers. As others followed, the form of the administration was considered, that the liberties of the people might be secured against the encroachments of the rulers; "for," say they, "the waves of the sea do not more certainly waste the shore, than the minds of ambitious men are led to invade the liberties of their brethren." By the

charter, fundamental laws were to be enacted in the assembly of all the freemen of the colony; and, on the nineteenth of October, a general court was accordingly convened at Boston to settle the government. More than one hundred persons, many of them old planters and members of no church, were admitted to the franchises of the corporation; the inconvenience of gathering the whole body for purposes of legislation became but the greater and the more apparent; and the people did but reserve to themselves the right of filling such vacancies as might occur in the board of assistants. Thus the government became, for a season, an elective aristocracy; the magistrates, holding their offices for no limited period, were to choose the governor and deputy from among themselves, and were intrusted with every branch of political power.

This arrangement was temporary. At the next general court, convened late in May, 1631, after "the corn was set," the freemen, scarce one hundred and fifty in number, revoking a part of the authority, of which they had been too lavish, reserved to the commons the right of annually making in the board such changes as a majority should desire. Should the right not be exercised, the former magistrates remained in power. And a law of still greater moment, pregnant with evil and with good, was at the same time established. "To the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was ordered and agreed, that, for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." Thus was the elective franchise narrowed. The polity was a sort of theocracy; God himself was to govern his people; and the select band of religious votaries were constituted the oracle of the divine will. An aristocracy was founded, but not of wealth. The servant, the bondman, might be a member of the church, and therefore a freeman of the company. Other states have limited the possession of political rights to the opulent, to freeholders, to the first-born; the Calvinists of Massachusetts established the reign of the visible church—a commonwealth of the chosen people in covenant with God.

The public mind of the colony could not rest satisfied with leaving the assistants in possession of an almost independent existence; it was therefore agreed, at the general court of 1632, that the governor and assistants should be annually chosen. The people, satisfied with the recognition of their right, re-elected their former magistrates with silence and modesty. The germ of a representative government was already visible; each

town was ordered to choose two men, to appear at the next court of assistants, and concert a plan for a public treasury. The measure had become necessary; for a levy, made by the assistants alone, had already awakened alarm and opposition.

While a happy destiny was thus preparing for Massachusetts a representative government, relations of friendship were established with the natives. From the banks of the Connecticut came the sagamore of the Mohegans, to extol the fertility of his country, and solicit an English plantation as a bulwark against the Pequods; the nearer Nipmucks invoked the aid of the emigrants against the tyranny of the Mohawks; the son of the aged Canonicus exchanged presents with the governor; and Miantonómoh himself, the great warrior of the Narragansetts, the youthful colleague of Canonicus, became a guest at the board of Winthrop, and was present with the congregation at a sermon from Wilson. At last, a Pequod sachem, with great store of wampumpeag, and bundles of sticks in promise of so many beaver and otter skins, also came to solicit the English alliance and mediation.

Intercourse was also cherished with the earlier European settlements. To perfect friendship with the Pilgrims, the governor of Massachusetts, with Wilson, pastor of Boston, in October, 1632, repaired to Plymouth. From the south shore of Boston harbor, it was a day's journey; for they travelled on foot. In honor of the great event, Bradford and Brewster, the governor and elder of the Old Colony, came forth to meet them, and conduct them to the town, where they were kindly entertained and feasted. "On the Lord's day, they did partake of the sacrament;" in the afternoon, a question was propounded for discussion; the pastor spoke briefly; the teacher prophesied; the governor of Plymouth, the elder, and others of the congregation, took part in the debate, which, by express desire, was closed by the guests from Boston. Thus was fellowship confirmed with Plymouth. From the Chesapeake a rich freight of corn had already been received, and trade was begun with the Dutch at Hudson's River.

These better auspices, and the invitations of Winthrop, won new emigrants from Europe. During the long summer voyage of the two hundred passengers, who, in 1633, freighted the Griffin, three sermons a day beguiled their weariness. Among them was Haynes, a man of a "heavenly" mind, and a spotless life; by nature tolerant, ever a friend to freedom, ever conciliating peace; dear to the people by his benevolent virtues and his disinterested conduct. Then also came the most revered

spiritual teachers of two commonwealths—the acute and subtile Cotton, and Hooker, whom, for his abilities and services, his contemporaries placed "in the first rank" of men, praising him as "the one rich pearl, with which Europe more than repaid America for the treasures from her coast." The people to whom Hooker ministered had preceded him: as he landed, they crowded about him with their welcome. "Now I live," exclaimed he, as with open arms he embraced them—"now I live, if ye stand fast in the Lord."

Thus recruited, the little band in Massachusetts grew more jealous of its liberties. "The prophets in exile see the true forms of the house." By a common impulse, the freemen of the towns, in 1634, chose deputies to consider in advance the reforms that were needed, and, at the assembly of the general court, the ballot-box was introduced.

It was further decreed, that the whole body of the freemen should be convened only for the election of the magistrates. To these, with deputies to be chosen by the several towns, the powers of legislation and appointment were henceforward intrusted. The trading corporation was unconsciously become a representative democracy.

The law against arbitrary taxation followed. None but the immediate representatives of the people might dispose of lands or raise money. Thus early did Massachusetts echo the voice of Virginia, like the mountain replying to the thunder, or like deep calling unto deep. The state was filled with the hum of village politicians; the freemen of every town in the bay were busy in inquiring into their liberties and privileges." With the exception of the extended suffrage, the representative democracy was as perfect two centuries ago as it is to-day. Even the magistrates, who acted as judges, held their office by the annual popular choice.

To limit the discretion of the executive, the people next demanded a written constitution; and, in 1635, a commission was appointed "to frame a body of grounds of laws in resemblance to a magna charta," to serve as a bill of rights. The ministers, as well as the general court, were to pass judgment on the work; and, with partial success, it was urged that God's people should be governed by the laws from God to Moses.

"The order of the churches and the commonwealth," wrote Cotton to friends in Holland, "is now so settled in New England by common consent, that it brings to mind the new heaven and new earth wherein dwells righteousness."

CHAPTER XV.

THE COLONIZATION OF PROVIDENCE AND RHODE ISLAND.

WHILE the state was thus connecting, by the closest bonds, the energy of its faith with its form of government, there appeared in its midst a determined advocate of intellectual liberty. In February of the first year of the colony, but a few months after the arrival of Winthrop, and before either Cotton or Hooker had embarked for New England, there arrived at Nantasket, after a stormy passage of sixty-six days, "a young minister, godly and zealous, having precious" gifts. It was Roger Williams. He was then but a little more than thirty years of age. He was a Puritan, and a fugitive from English persecution; but his wrongs had not clouded his accurate understanding. In the capacious recesses of his mind he had revolved the nature of intolerance, and he, and he alone, had arrived at the great principle which is its sole effectual remedy. He announced his discovery under the simple proposition of the sanctity of conscience. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul. In the unwavering assertion of his views he never changed his position; the sanctity of conscience was the great tenet, which, with all its consequences, he defended, as he first trod the shores of New England; and in his extreme old age it was the last pulsation of his heart.

So soon, therefore, as Williams arrived in Boston, he found himself among the New England churches, but not of them. What, then, was the commotion in the colony, when it was found that the people of Salem desired to receive him as their teacher! The court of Boston "marvelled" at the precipitate decision, and the people of Salem were required to forbear. Williams withdrew to the settlement of Plymouth, and remained there about two years. But his virtues had won the affections of the church at Salem; and, in 1633, the apostle of intellectual liberty was once more welcomed to their confidence. He remained the object of public jealousy; for his principles led him into perpetual collision with the clergy and the government of Massachusetts.

The magistrates insisted on the presence of every man at public worship; Williams reprobated the law; the worst statute in the English code was that which did but enforce attendance upon the parish church. "No one should be bound to worship, or," he added, "to maintain a worship against his own consent." "What!" exclaimed his antagonists, amazed at his tenets; "is not the laborer worthy of his hire?" "Yes," replied he, "from them that hire him."

The magistrates were selected exclusively from the members of the church; with equal propriety, reasoned Williams, might "a doctor of physick or a pilot" be selected according to his skill in theology and his standing in the church.

It was objected to him, that his principles subverted all good government. The commander of the vessel of state, replied Williams, may maintain order on board the ship, and see that it pursues its course steadily, even though the dissenters of the crew are not compelled to attend the public prayers of their companions.

But the controversy finally turned on the question of the rights and duty of magistrates to guard the minds of the people against corruption, and to punish what would seem to them error and heresy. Magistrates, Williams asserted, are but the agents of the people, or its trustees, on whom no spiritual power in matters of worship can ever be conferred; "their power extends only to the bodies and goods and outward estate of men." With corresponding distinctness he foresaw the influence of his principles on society. "The removal of the yoke of soul-oppression,"—to use the words in which, at a later day, he confirmed his early view,—"as it will prove an act of mercy and righteousness to the enslaved nations, so it is of binding force to engage the whole and every interest and conscience to preserve the common liberty and peace."

The evils inseparable on a religious establishment soon began to be displayed. The ministers got together, and declared any one worthy of banishment, who should obstinately assert, that "the civil magistrate might not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy."

Williams was left alone, absolutely alone. Anticipating the censures of the colonial churches, he declared himself no longer subjected to their spiritual jurisdiction. "My own voluntary withdrawing from all these churches, resolved to continue in persecuting the witnesses of the Lord, presenting light unto them, I confess it was mine own voluntary act; yea, I hope the act of the Lord Jesus, sounding forth in me the blast, which

shall in his own holy season cast down the strength and confidence of those inventions of men." When summoned, in October, 1635, to appear before the general court, he avowed his convictions in the presence of the representatives of the state, "maintained the rocky strength of his grounds," and declared himself "ready to be bound and banished, and even to die in New England," rather than renounce them. He was the first person in modern Christendom to assert, in its plenitude, the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law. The early advocates of toleration in England, still clinging to the necessity of positive regulations, resembled the poets, who, in their folly, first declare their hero invulnerable, and then clothe him in earthly armor: Williams was willing to leave Truth alone, in her own panoply of light. High honors are awarded to those who advance the bounds of human knowledge. A moral principle has the nearest influence on human happiness; nor can any discovery of truth be of more direct benefit to society, than that which establishes a perpetual religious peace. Let, then, the name of Roger Williams find a place among the benefactors of mankind.

But while the opinion of posterity is no longer divided, the members of the general court of that day, by a small majority, pronounced against him the sentence of exile.

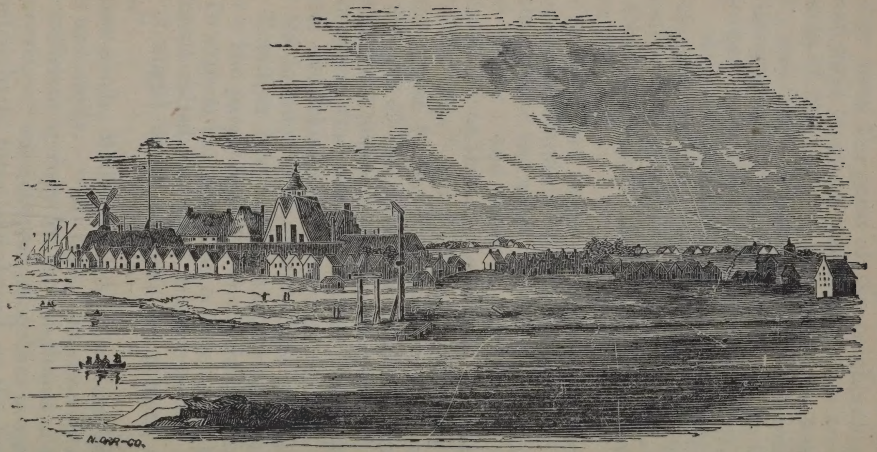
Winter was at hand. Williams succeeded in obtaining permission to remain till spring, intending then to begin a plantation in Narragansett Bay. But the affections of the people of Salem revived, and could not be restrained; they thronged to his house to hear him whom they were so soon to lose forever; it began to be rumored, that he could not safely be allowed to found a new state in the vicinity; "many of the people were much taken with the apprehension of his godliness;" his opinions were contagious; the infection spread widely. It was therefore resolved to remove him to England in a ship that was just ready to set sail. In January, 1636, a warrant was accordingly sent to him to come to Boston and embark. For the first time, he declined the summons of the court. A pinnace was sent for him; the officers repaired to his house; he was no longer there. Three days before, he had left Salem, in winter snow and inclement weather, of which he remembered the severity even in his late old age. "For fourteen weeks, he was sorely tost in a bitter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean." Often in the stormy night he had neither fire, nor food, nor company; often he wandered without a guide, and had no house but a hollow tree. But he was not without friends. The same

scrupulous respect for the rights of others, which had led him to defend the freedom of conscience, had made him also the champion of the Indians. During his residence at Plymouth, he had often been the guest of the neighboring sachems, and had learned their language ; and now, when he came in winter to the cabin of the chief of Pokanoket, he was welcomed by Massasoit ; and "the barbarous heart of Canonicus, the chief of the Narragansetts, loved him as his son to the last gasp." "The ravens," he relates with gratitude, "fed me in the wilderness." And in requital for their hospitality, he was ever, through his long life, their friend and benefactor ; the apostle of Christianity to them without hire, weariness, or impatience at their idolatry ; the guardian of their rights against European encroachments.

He first pitched, and began to build and plant, at Seekonk. But Seekonk was found to be within the patent of Plymouth. On the other side of the water, the country opened in its unappropriated beauty ; and there he might hope to establish a community as free as the other colonies. "That ever-honored Governor Winthrop," says Williams, "privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Narragansett Bay, encouraging me from the freeness of the place from English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as a voice from God."

It was in June, that the lawgiver of Rhode Island with five companions, embarked on the stream ; a frail Indian canoe contained the founder of an independent state and its earliest citizens. Tradition has marked the spring near which they landed ; it is the parent spot, the first inhabited nook of Rhode Island. To express his unbroken confidence in the mercies of God, Williams called the place PROVIDENCE. "I desired," said he, "it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience."

In his new abode, Williams could have less leisure for contemplation and study. "My time," he observes of himself,—and it is a sufficient apology for the roughness of his style, as a writer on morals,—"was not spent altogether in spiritual labors ; but, day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the hoe, at the oar, for bread." In the course of two years, he was joined by others, who fled to his asylum. The land which was now occupied by Williams was within the territory of the Narragansett Indians. In March, 1638, an Indian deed from Canonicus and Miantonómoh made him the undisputed possessor of an extensive domain. Nothing displays more clearly the character of Roger Williams, than the use which he made of



NEW YORK IN 1664.

his acquisition of territory. The soil he could claim as his "own, as truly as any man's coat upon his back;" and he "reserved to himself not one foot of land, not one tittle of political power, more than he granted to servants and strangers." "He gave away his lands and other estate to them that he thought were most in want, until he gave away all." He chose to found a commonwealth in the unmixed forms of a pure democracy, where the will of the majority should govern the state; yet "only in civil things;" God alone was respected as the Ruler of conscience.

The most touching trait in the founder of Rhode Island was his conduct towards his persecutors. Though keenly sensitive to the hardships which he had endured, he was far from harboring feelings of revenge towards those who banished him, and only regretted their delusion. "I did ever, from my soul, honor and love them, even when their judgment led them to afflict me." In all his writings on the subject, he attacked the spirit of intolerance, the doctrine of persecution, and never his persecutors or the colony of Massachusetts. It is not strange, then, if "many hearts were touched with relentings;" and his nearer friends, the immediate witnesses of his actions, declared him, from "the whole course and tenor of his life and conduct, to have been one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, a most pious and heavenly-minded soul."

Meantime, the fame of the liberties of Massachusetts extended widely: the good-natured earl of Warwick, a friend to advancement in civil liberty, though not a republican, offered his congratulations on its prosperity; and, in a single year, three thousand new settlers were added to the Puritan colony. Among these was the fiery Hugh Peters, who had been pastor of a church of English exiles in Rotterdam; a republican of an enlarged spirit, great energy, and popular eloquence, not always tempering active enterprise with solidity of judgment. At the same time came Henry Vane, the younger, a man of the purest mind; a statesman of spotless integrity; whose name the progress of intelligence and liberty will erase from the rubric of fanatics and traitors, and insert high among the aspirants after truth and the martyrs for liberty. He had valued the "obedience of the gospel" more than the successful career of English diplomacy, and cheerfully "forsook the preferments of the court of Charles for the ordinances of religion in their purity in New England."

The freemen of Massachusetts, pleased that a young man of such elevated rank and distinguished ability should have adopted

their creed, and joined them in their exile, in 1636 elected him their governor. The choice was unwise; for neither the age nor the experience of Vane entitled him to the distinction. He came but as a sojourner, and not as a permanent resident; neither was he imbued with the colonial prejudices, the genius of the place; and his clear mind, unbiased by previous discussions, and fresh from the public business of England, saw distinctly what the colonists did not wish to see—the really wide difference between their practice under their charter, and the meaning of that instrument on the principles of English jurisprudence.

These latent causes of discontent could not but be eventually displayed; at first, the arrival of Vane was considered an auspicious pledge for the emigration of men of the highest rank in England. Several of the English peers, especially Lord Say and Seal,—a Presbyterian, a friend to the Puritans, yet with dim perceptions of the true nature of civil liberty,—and Lord Brooke,—a man of charity and meekness, an early friend to tolerance,—had begun to inquire into the character of the rising institutions, and to negotiate for such changes as would offer them inducements for removing to America. They demanded a division of the general court into two branches, that of assistants and of representatives—a change which was acceptable to the people, and which, from domestic reasons, was ultimately adopted; but they further required an acknowledgment of their own hereditary right to a seat in the upper house. The fathers of Massachusetts were disposed to conciliate these powerful friends; they promised them the honors of magistracy, would have readily conferred it on some of them for life, and actually began to make appointments on that tenure; but as for the establishment of hereditary dignity, they answered by the hand of Cotton, "Where God blesseth any branch of any noble or generous family with a spirit and gifts fit for government, it would be a taking of God's name in vain to put such a talent under a bushel, and a sin against the honor of magistracy to neglect such in our public elections. But if God should not delight to furnish some of their posterity with gifts fit for magistracy, we should expose them to reproach and prejudice, and the commonwealth with them, if we should call them forth, when God does not, to public authority." And thus the proposition for establishing hereditary nobility was defeated. The people, moreover, soon became uneasy at the concession of office during lifetime; nor would they be quieted, till, in 1639, it was made a law, that those who were appointed magistrates for

life should yet not be magistrates except in those years in which they might be regularly chosen at the annual election.

The institutions of Massachusetts, which were thus endangered by the influence of men of rank in England, were likewise in jeopardy from the effects of religious divisions. In Boston and its environs, the most profound questions which can relate to the mysteries of human existence and the laws of the moral world, were discussed with passionate zeal.

Amidst the arrogance of spiritual pride, the vagaries of undisciplined imaginations, and the extravagances to which the intellectual power may be led in its pursuit of ultimate principles, the formation of two distinct parties may be perceived. The first consisted of the original settlers, the framers of the civil government, and their adherents; they who were intent on the foundation and preservation of a commonwealth, and were satisfied with the established order of society. They had founded their government on the basis of the church, and church membership could be obtained only by the favor of the clergy and an exemplary life. They dreaded unlimited freedom of opinion as the parent of ruinous divisions. They were reproached with being "priest-ridden magistrates," "under a covenant of works."

The other party was composed of individuals who had arrived after the civil government and religious discipline of the colony had been established. They had come to the wilderness for freedom of religious opinion; and they resisted every form of despotism over the mind. To them the clergy of Massachusetts were "the ushers of persecution," "popish factors," who had not imbibed the true doctrines of Christian reform. With the doctrine of justification by faith alone, they derided the formality of the established religion; and by asserting that the Holy Spirit dwells in every believer, that the revelation of the Spirit is superior "to the ministry of the word," they sustained with intense fanaticism the paramount authority of private judgment.

The founder of this party was Anne Hutchinson, a woman of such admirable understanding "and profitable and sober carriage," that she won a powerful party in the country, and her enemies could never speak of her without acknowledging her eloquence and her ability. She was encouraged by John Wheelwright, her brother, and by Henry Vane, the governor of the colony; while a majority of the people of Boston sustained her in her rebellion against the clergy. Scholars and men of learning, members of the magistracy and the general court, adopted

her opinions. The public mind seemed hastening towards an insurrection against spiritual authority; and she was denounced as "weakening the hands and hearts of the people towards the ministers," as being "like Roger Williams, or worse."

The subject possessed the highest political importance. Nearly all the clergy, except Cotton, in whose house Vane was an inmate, clustered together in defence of their influence, and in opposition to Vane; and Wheelwright, who, in a fast-day's sermon, in 1637, had strenuously maintained the truth of his opinions, and had never been confuted, in spite of the remonstrance of the governor, was censured by the general court for sedition. At the ensuing choice of magistrates, the religious divisions controlled the elections. The friends of Wheelwright had threatened an appeal to England; but in the colony "it was accounted perjury and treason to speak of appeals to the king." Could it be doubted who would obtain the confidence of the people? In the midst of such high excitement, that even the pious Wilson climbed into a tree to harangue the people on election day, Winthrop and his friends, the fathers and founders of the colony, recovered the entire management of the government. To prevent the increase of the faction esteemed so dangerous, it was enacted by the party in power, that none should be received within the jurisdiction, but such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates.

After vainly opposing the act of intolerance, and leaving a memorial of his dissent, Vane returned to England. The friends of Wheelwright could not brook the censure of their leader; they slighted the rebuke of the ministers and the court, and avowed their determination to follow the impulses of conscience. At once the government feared, or pretended to fear, a disturbance of the public peace, a wild insurrection of lawless fanatics. A synod of the ministers of New England was therefore assembled to settle the true faith; and vagueness of language performed the office of a peacemaker. The general peace of the colony being thus assured, the civil magistrates proceeded to complete the triumph of the clergy, by passing sentence on the more resolute offenders. Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson, and Aspinwall were exiled from the territory of Massachusetts, as "unfit for the society" of its citizens.

So ended the Antinomian strife in Massachusetts. The principles of Anne Hutchinson were a natural consequence of the progress of the reformation. Their true tendency is best established by examining the institutions which were founded by her followers.

Wheelwright and his immediate friends removed to the banks of the Piscataqua; and, at the head of tide-waters on that stream, they founded the town of Exeter—one more little republic in the wilderness, organized on the principles of natural justice by the voluntary combination of the inhabitants.

The larger number of the friends of Anne Hutchinson, led by John Clarke and William Coddington, proceeded to the south, designing to make a plantation on Long Island, or near Delaware Bay. But Roger Williams welcomed them to his vicinity; and, in March, 1638, his own influence, and the powerful name of Henry Vane, prevailed with Miantonómoh, the chief of the Narragansetts, to obtain for them a gift of the beautiful island of Rhode Island. The spirit of the institutions established by this band of voluntary exiles, on the soil which they owed to the benevolence of the natives, was derived from natural justice: a social compact, signed after the manner of the precedent at New Plymouth, so often imitated in America, founded the government upon the basis of the universal consent of every inhabitant: the forms of the administration were borrowed from the examples of the Jews. Coddington was elected judge in the new Israel; and three elders were soon chosen as his assistants. The colony rested on the principle of intellectual liberty: philosophy itself could not have placed the right on a broader basis. The settlement prospered; and, in 1641, it became necessary to establish a constitution. It was therefore ordered by the whole body of freemen, and "unanimously agreed upon, that the government, which this body politic doth attend unto in this island, and the jurisdiction thereof, in favor of our Prince, is a DEMOCRACIE, or popular government; that is to say, it is in the power of the body of freemen orderly assembled, or major part of them, to make or constitute just Lawes, by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between man and man." "It was further ordered, that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine;" the law for "liberty of conscience was perpetuated." The little community was held together by the bonds of affection and freedom of opinion; benevolence was their rule: they trusted in the power of love to win the victory; and "the signet for the state" was ordered to be "a sheafe of arrows," with "the motto AMOR VINCET OMNIA." A patent from England seemed necessary for their protection; and to whom could they direct their letters but to the now powerful Henry Vane?

Such were the institutions which sprung from the party of

Anne Hutchinson. But she did not long enjoy their protection. Recovering from a transient dejection of mind, she had gloried in her sufferings as her greatest happiness; and, making her way through the forest, she travelled by land to the settlement of Roger Williams, and from thence joined her friends on the island, sharing with them the hardships of early emigrants. Her powerful mind still continued its activity; young men from the colonies became converts to her opinions; and she excited such admiration, that to the leaders in Massachusetts it "gave cause of suspicion of witchcraft." She was in a few years left a widow, but was blessed with affectionate children. A tinge of fanaticism pervaded her family: one of her sons, and Collins, her son-in-law, had ventured to expostulate with the people of Boston on the wrongs of their mother. But would the Puritan magistrates of that day tolerate a censure of their government? Severe imprisonment for many months was the punishment inflicted on the young men for their boldness. Rhode Island itself seemed no longer a safe place of refuge; and the whole family removed beyond New Haven to East Chester, in the territory of the Dutch. The violent Kieft had provoked an insurrection among the Indians; in 1643, the house of Anne Hutchinson was attacked and set on fire; herself, her son-in-law and all their family, save one child, perished by the rude weapons of the savages, or in the flames.

CHAPTER XVI.

COLONIZATION OF CONNECTICUT.

Thus was personal suffering mingled with the peaceful and happy results of the watchfulness or the intolerance of Massachusetts. The legislation of that colony may be reproved for its jealousy, yet not for its cruelty; and Williams, and Wheelwright, and Aspinwall, suffered not much more from their banishment than some of the best men of the colony encountered from choice. For rumor had spread not wholly extravagant accounts of the fertility of the alluvial land along the borders of the Connecticut; and the banks of that river were already adorned with the villages of the Puritans, planted just in season to anticipate the rival designs of the Dutch.

The valley of the Connecticut had early become an object of

desire and of competition. The earl of Warwick was the first proprietary of the soil, under a grant from the council for New England; and it was next held by Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brooke, John Hampden, and others, as his assigns. In 1633, before any colony could be established with their sanction, the people of New Plymouth had built a trading-house at Windsor, and conducted with the natives a profitable commerce in furs. "Dutch intruders" from Manhattan, ascending the river, had also raised at Hartford the house "of Good Hope," and struggled to secure the territory to themselves. In 1635, the younger Winthrop, the future benefactor of Connecticut, one of those men in whom the elements of human excellence are mingled in the happiest union, returned from England with a commission from the proprietaries of that region to erect a fort at the mouth of the stream—a purpose which was accomplished. Yet, before his arrival in Massachusetts Bay, settlements had been commenced by emigrants from the environs of Boston, at Hartford, and Windsor, and Wethersfield; and in the last days of the pleasantest of the autumnal months, a company of sixty pilgrims, women and children being of the number, began their march to the west. Never before had the forests of America witnessed such a scene. But the journey was begun too late in the season: the winter was so unusually early and severe, that provisions could not arrive by way of the river; imperfect shelter had been provided; cattle perished in great numbers; and the men suffered such privations, that many of them, in the depth of winter, abandoned their newly-chosen homes, and waded through the snows to the seaboard.

Yet, in the opening of the next year, a government was organized, and civil order established; and the budding of the trees and the springing of the grass were signals for a greater emigration to the Connecticut. Some smaller parties had already made their way to the new Hesperia of Puritanism. In June, the principal caravan began its march, led by Thomas Hooker, "the light of the Western Churches." There were of the company about one hundred souls, many of them persons accustomed to affluence and the ease of European life. They drove before them numerous herds of cattle; and thus they traversed on foot the pathless forests of Massachusetts; advancing hardly ten miles a day through the tangled woods, across the swamps and numerous streams, and over high lands that separated the several intervening valleys; subsisting, as they slowly wandered along, on the milk of the kine, which browsed on the fresh leaves and early shoots; having no guide, through

the nearly untrodden wilderness, but the compass, and no pillow for their nightly rest but heaps of stones. How did the hills echo with the unwonted lowing of the herds! How were the forests enlivened by the loud and fervent piety of Hooker! Never again was there such a pilgrimage from the sea-side "to the delightful banks" of the Connecticut. The emigrants had been gathered from among the most valued citizens, the earliest settlers, and the oldest churches of the Bay. John Haynes had for one year been the governor of Massachusetts; and Hooker had no rival in public estimation but Cotton, whom he surpassed in force of character, and boldness of spirit, and in honorable clemency.

The new settlement, that seemed so far towards the west, was environed by perils. The Dutch still indulged a hope of dispossessing the English, and the natives of the country beheld the approach of Europeans with malignant hatred. No part of New England was more thickly covered with aboriginal inhabitants than Connecticut. The Pequods, who were settled round the Thames, could muster at least seven hundred warriors; the whole number of the effective men of the emigrants was much less than two hundred. The danger was incessant; and while the settlers, with hardly a plough or a yoke of oxen, turned the wild fertility of nature into productiveness, they were at the same time exposed to the incursions of a savage enemy, whose delight was carnage.

For the Pequods had already shown a hostile spirit. Several years had elapsed since they had murdered the crew of a small trading vessel in Connecticut River. With some appearance of justice they pleaded the necessity of self-defence, and, in 1634, sent messengers to Boston to desire the alliance of the white men. The government of Massachusetts accepted the excuse, and immediately conferred the benefit which was due from civilization to the ignorant and passionate tribes; it reconciled the Pequods with their hereditary enemies, the Narragansetts. No longer at variance with a powerful neighbor, the Pequods again, in July, 1636, displayed their bitter and imboldened hostility to the English by murdering Oldham, near Block Island. The outrage was punished by a sanguinary but ineffectual expedition. The warlike tribe was not overawed, but rather courted the alliance of its neighbors, the Narragansetts and the Mohegans, that a union and a general rising of the natives might sweep the hated intruders from the ancient hunting-grounds of the Indian race. The design could be frustrated by none but Roger Williams; and the exile, who had been the first to com-

municate to the governor of Massachusetts the news of the impending conspiracy, encountered the extremity of peril with magnanimous heroism. Having received letters from Vane and the council of Massachusetts, requesting his utmost and speediest endeavors to prevent the league, neither storms of wind nor high seas could detain the adventurous envoy. Shipping himself alone in a poor canoe, every moment at the hazard of his life, he hastened to the house of the sachem of the Narragansetts. The Pequod ambassadors, reeking with blood, were already there; and for three days and nights the business compelled him to lodge and mix with them, having cause every night to expect their knives at his throat. The Narragansetts were wavering; but Roger Williams succeeded in dissolving the formidable conspiracy. It was the most intrepid and most successful achievement in the whole Pequod war—an action as perilous in its execution as it was fortunate in its issue. When the Pequods were left to contend single-handed against the English, it was their ignorance only which could still inspire confidence in their courage.

Continued injuries and murders roused Connecticut to action; and, in May, 1637, the court of its three infant towns decreed immediate war. Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, was their ally. To John Mason the staff of command was delivered at Hartford by the venerated Hooker; and, after nearly a whole night spent, at the request of the soldiers, in importunate prayer by the very learned and godly Stone, about sixty men, one-third of the whole colony, aided by John Underhill and twenty gallant recruits, whom the forethought of Vane had sent from the Bay State, sailed past the Thames, and, designing to reach the Pequod fort unobserved, entered a harbor near Wickford, in the Bay of the Narragansetts. The next day was the Lord's, sacred to religion and rest. Early in the week the captains of the expedition, with the pomp of a military escort, repaired to the court of Canonicus, the patriarch and ruler of the tribe; and the younger and more fiery Miantonómoh, surrounded by two hundred of his bravest warriors, received them in council. "Your design," said he, "is good; but your numbers are too weak to brave the Pequods, who have mighty chieftains, and are skilful in battle;" and after doubtful friendship, he deserted the desperate enterprise.

Nor did the unhappy clans on Mistic River distrust their strength. To their hundreds of brave men their bows and arrows still seemed formidable weapons. Ignorant of European fortresses, they viewed their rush-work palisades with compla-

cency; and as the English boats sailed by the places where the rude works of the natives frowned defiance, it was rumored through the tribe that its enemies had vanished from fear. Exultation followed; and hundreds of the Pequods spent much of the last night of their lives in revelry, at a time when the sentinels of the English were within hearing of their songs. On the twenty-sixth of May, two hours before dawn, the soldiers of Connecticut put themselves in motion towards the enemy; and, as the light of morning began to break, they made their attack on the principal fort, which stood in a strong position at the summit of a hill. The colonists knew that they were fighting for the security of their homes; that, if defeated, the war-whoop would immediately resound near their cottages, and their wives and children be abandoned to the scalping-knife and the tomahawk. They ascend to the attack; a watch-dog bays an alarm at their approach; the Indians awake, rally, and resist, as well as bows and arrows can resist weapons of steel. The superiority of number was with the savages; as they fought hand to hand, though the massacre spread from wigwam to wigwam, the issue was delayed. "We must burn them!" shouted Mason, and cast a firebrand to the windward among the light mats of the Indian cabins. Hardly could the English withdraw to encompass the place, before the whole encampment was in a blaze. Did the helpless natives climb the palisades, the flames assisted the marksmen to take good aim at the unprotected men; did they attempt a sally, they were cut down by the English broadswords. The carnage was complete: about six hundred Indians, men, women, and children, perished; most of them in the hideous conflagration. In about an hour the work of destruction was finished. Two only of the English had fallen. The sun, as it rose serenely in the east, was the witness of the victory.

With the light of morning, three hundred or more Pequod warriors were descried, as they proudly approached from their second fort. They had anticipated success; what was their horror as they beheld the smoking ruins, strewn with the half-consumed flesh of so many hundreds of their race! They stamped on the ground, and tore their hair; but it was in vain to attempt revenge; then and always, to the close of the war, the feeble manner of the natives hardly deserved, says Mason, the name of fighting; their defeat was certain, and unattended with much loss to the English. The aborigines were never formidable in battle, till they became supplied with the weapons of European invention.

A portion of the troops hastened homewards to protect the settlements from any sudden attack; while Mason, with about twenty men, marched across the country from the vicinity of New London to the English fort at Saybrook. He reached the river at sunset; but Gardner, who commanded the fort, observed his approach; and never did the heart of a Roman consul, returning in triumph, swell more than the pride of Mason and his friends, when they found themselves received as victors, and "nobly entertained with many great guns."

In a few days, the troops from Massachusetts arrived, attended by Wilson; for the ministers always shared every hardship and every danger. The remnants of the Pequods were pursued into their hiding-places; every wigwam was burned, every settlement was broken up, every cornfield laid waste. Sassacus, their sachem, was murdered by the Mohawks, to whom he had fled for protection. The few that survived, about two hundred, surrendering in despair, were enslaved by the English, or incorporated among the Mohegans and the Narragansetts. There remained not a sannup nor squaw, not a warrior nor child, of the Pequod name. A nation had disappeared from the family of man.

The vigor and courage displayed by the settlers on the Connecticut, in this first Indian war in New England, struck terror into the savages, and secured a long succession of years of peace. The infant was safe in its cradle, the laborer in the fields, the solitary traveller during the night-watches in the forest; the houses needed no bolts, the settlements no palisades. Under the benignant auspices of peace, the citizens of the western colony resolved to perfect its political institutions, and to form a body politic by a voluntary association. The constitution which was thus framed in January, 1639, was of unexampled liberality. The elective franchise belonged to all the members of the towns who had taken the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth; the magistrates and legislature were chosen annually by ballot; and the representatives were apportioned among the towns according to population. More than two centuries have elapsed; the world has been made wiser by the most various experience; political institutions have become the theme on which the most powerful and cultivated minds have been employed; and so many constitutions have been framed or reformed, stifled or subverted, that memory may despair of a complete catalogue; but the people of Connecticut have found no reason to deviate essentially from the frame of government established by their fathers. No jurisdiction of the English

monarch was recognized; the laws of honest justice were the basis of their commonwealth; and therefore its foundations were lasting. These humble emigrants invented an admirable system; for they were near to Nature, listened willingly to her voice, and easily copied her forms. No ancient usages, no hereditary differences of rank, no established interests, impeded the application of the principles of justice. Freedom springs spontaneously into life; the artificial distinctions of society require centuries to ripen. History has ever celebrated the heroes who have won laurels in scenes of carnage. Has it no place for the founders of states—the wise legislators who struck the rock in the wilderness, so that the waters of liberty gushed forth in copious and perennial fountains? They who judge of men by their services to the human race will never cease to honor the memory of Hooker and of Haynes.

In equal independence, a Puritan colony sprang up at New Haven, under the guidance of John Davenport as its pastor, and of the excellent Theophilus Eaton, who was annually elected its governor for twenty years, till his death. Its forms were austere, unmixed Calvinism; but the spirit of humanity had sheltered itself under the rough exterior. On the eighteenth of April, 1638, the colonists held their first gathering under a branching oak. It was a season of gloom. Spring had not yet revived the verdure of nature; under the leafless tree the little flock were taught by Davenport, that, like the Son of man, they were led into the wilderness to be tempted. After a day of fasting and prayer, they rested their first frame of government on a simple plantation covenant, that "all of them would be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them." A title to lands were obtained by a treaty with the natives, whom they protected against the Mohawks. When, after more than a year, the free planters of the colony desired a more perfect form of government, the followers of Him who was laid in a manger held their constituent assembly in a barn. There, on the fourth of June, 1639, by the influence of Davenport, it was solemnly resolved, that the Scriptures are the perfect rule of a commonwealth; that the purity and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity were the great end of civil order; and that church members only should be free burgesses. A committee of twelve was selected to choose seven men, qualified for the foundation-work of organizing the government. Eaton, Davenport, and five others, were "the seven Pillars" for the new House of Wisdom in the wilderness. In August, 1639, the seven pillars assembled, possessing for the

time absolute power. Having abrogated every previous executive trust, they admitted to the court all church members; the character of civil magistrates was next expounded "from the sacred oracles;" and the election followed. Then Davenport, in the words of Moses to Israel in the wilderness, gave a charge to the governor to judge righteously; "the cause that is too hard for you,"—such was part of the minister's text,—"bring it unto me, and I will hear it." Annual elections were ordered, and God's word established as the only rule in public affairs. Thus New Haven made the Bible its statute-book, and the elect its freemen. As neighboring towns were planted, each was likewise a house of wisdom, resting on its seven pillars, and aspiring to be illumined by the Eternal Light. The colonists prepared for the second coming of Christ, which they confidently expected. Meantime their pleasant villages spread along the Sound, and on the opposite shore of Long Island; and for years they nursed the hope of "speedily planting Delaware."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND.

THE English government was not indifferent to the progress of the colonies of New England. The stern discipline exercised by the government at Salem produced an early harvest of enemies: resentment long rankled in the minds of some, whom Endicot had perhaps too passionately punished; and when they returned to England, Mason and Gorges, the rivals of the Massachusetts company, willingly echoed their vindictive complaints.

Proof was produced of marriages celebrated by civil magistrates, and of the system of colonial church discipline—proceedings which were at variance with the laws of England. "The departure of so many of THE BEST," such "numbers of faithful and free-born Englishmen and good Christians,"—a more ill-boding sign of the nation than the portentous blaze of comets and the impressions in the air, at which astrologers are dismayed,—began to be regarded by the archbishops as an affair of state; and ships bound with passengers for New England were detained in the Thames by an order of the council. The colonists, it was said, aimed not at new discipline, but at sovereignty; and a requisition commanded the letters-patent of the company to be produced in England.

In April, 1634, the archbishop of Canterbury, and those who were associated with him, received full power over the American plantations, to establish the government, to regulate the church, and to revoke any charter which conceded liberties prejudicial to the royal prerogative.

On receiving the news of this commission, poor as the new settlements were, six hundred pounds were raised towards fortification; "the assistants and the deputies discovered their minds to one another," and the fortifications were hastened. All the ministers assembled at Boston. "We ought," said they unanimously, "to defend our lawful possessions, if we are able."

At the same time, several of the members of the Grand Council of Plymouth desired as individuals to become the proprietaries of extensive territories, even at the dishonor of invalidating all their grants as a corporation. A meeting of the lords was duly convened, and the whole coast, from Acadia to beyond the Hudson, being divided into shares, was distributed, in part at least, by lots.

To gain possession of the prize, it was argued that the grant for Massachusetts had been surreptitiously obtained; that the lands belonged to Robert Gorges by a prior deed; that the intruders had "made themselves a free people." Soon after the general patent for New England was surrendered to the king, a *quo warranto* was brought against the company of the Massachusetts Bay. Several of its members, who resided in England, made their appearance, and judgment was pronounced against them individually; the rest of the patentees stood outlawed, but no judgment was entered up against them. The unexpected death of Mason, who, as the proprietary of New Hampshire, had been the chief mover of all the aggressions on the rights of the adjoining colony, suspended the hostile movements, which Gorges had too much honesty to renew.

The severe censures in the Star Chamber, the greatness of the fines which avarice rivalled bigotry in imposing, the rigorous proceedings with regard to ceremonies, the suspending and silencing of multitudes of ministers, still continued; and men were "enforced by heaps to desert their native country. Nothing but the wide ocean, and the savage deserts of America, could hide and shelter them from the fury of the bishops." The pillory had become the bloody scene of human agony and mutilation, as an ordinary punishment. They were provoked to the indiscretion of a complaint, and then involved in a persecution. They were imprisoned and scourged; their noses

were slit; their ears were cut off; their cheeks were marked with a red-hot brand. But the lash, and the shears, and the glowing iron could not destroy principles which were rooted in the soul, and which danger made it glorious to profess. The injured party even learned to despise the mercy of their oppressors. Four years after Prynne had been punished for a publication, he was a second time arraigned for a like offence. "I thought," said Lord Finch, "that Prynne had lost his ears already; but," added he, looking at the prisoner, "there is something left yet;" and an officer of the court, removing the hair, displayed the mutilated organs. "I pray to God," replied Prynne, "you may have ears to hear me!" A crowd gathered round the scaffold, where he, Bastwick, and Burton were to suffer mutilation. "Christians," said Prynne, as he presented the stumps of his ears to be grubbed out by the hangman's knife, "stand fast; be faithful to God and your country, or you bring on yourselves and your children perpetual slavery." The dungeon, the pillory, and the scaffold were but stages in the progress of civil liberty towards its triumph.

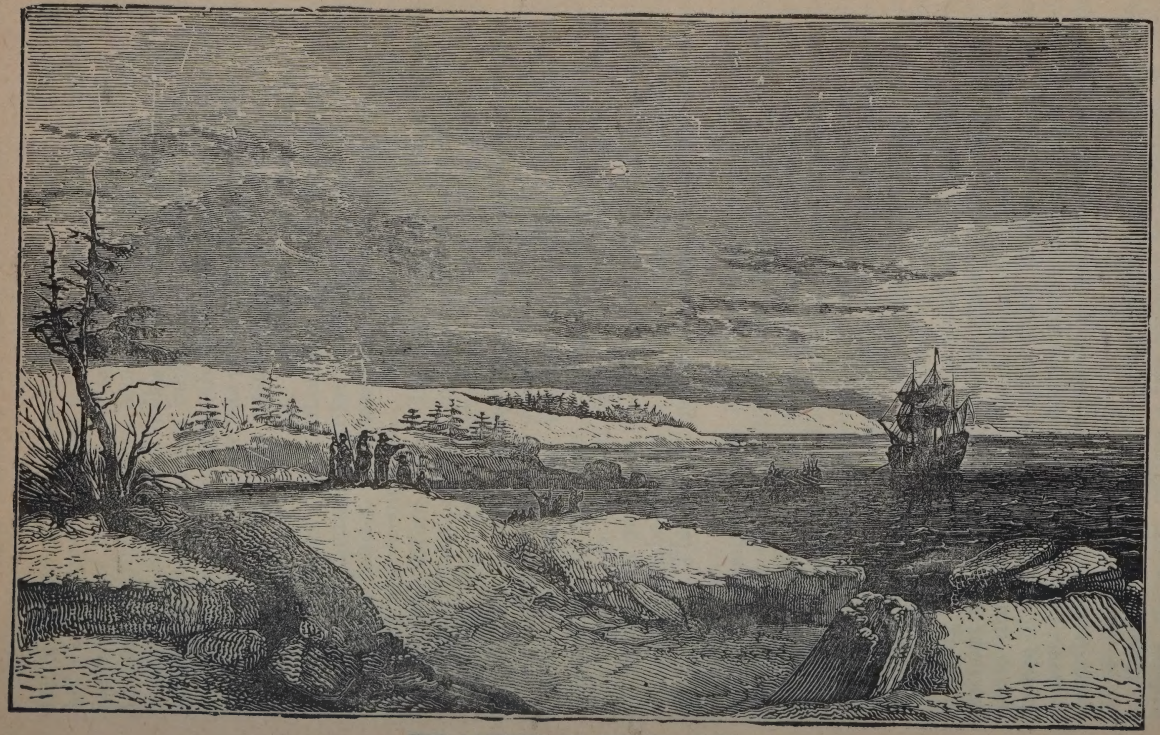
The Puritans, hemmed in by dangers on every side, and at that time having no prospect of ultimate success, desired at any rate to escape from their native country. In May, 1638, the privy council interfered to stay a squadron of eight ships, which were in the Thames, preparing to embark for New England. It has been said that they had Hampden and Cromwell on board. But on petition of the owners and passengers, King Charles removed the restraint; the ships, proceeding on their voyage, arrived safely in the Bay of Massachusetts. Hampden and Cromwell were certainly not of the party, or they too would have reached New England.

A few weeks before this attempt to stay emigration, the lords of the council had written to Winthrop, recalling to mind the proceedings by a quo warranto, and demanding the return of the patent. In case of refusal, it was added, the king would assume into his own hands the entire management of the plantation. But "David in exile could more safely expostulate with Saul for the vast space between them." "If the patent be taken from us,"—such was the cautious but energetic remonstrance of the colonists,—"the common people will conceive that his majesty hath cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and therefore will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example unto other plantations, and perilous to ourselves,

of incurring his majesty's displeasure." They therefore beg of the royal clemency the favor of neglect.

But before their supplication could find its way to the throne, the monarch was himself involved in disasters. Anticipating success in his tyranny in England, he had resolved to practice no forbearance; with headlong indiscretion, he insisted on introducing a liturgy into Scotland, and compelling the uncompromising disciples of Knox to listen to prayers translated from the Roman missal. The first attempt at reading the new service in the cathedral of Edinburgh was the signal for that series of momentous events which promised to restore liberty to England, and give peace to the colonies. The movement began, as great revolutions almost always do, from the ranks of the people. "What, ye villain!" shouted Jenny Geddes at the dean, as he read the liturgy, "will ye say mass in my lug?" and she threw her three-legged stoool at his head.—"A pape, a pape!" resounded the multitude, incensed against the bishop; "stane him, stane him!" The Churchmen narrowly escaped martyrdom. The tumult spreads; the nobles of Scotland take advantage of the excitement of the people to advance their ambition. The national covenant is published, and is signed by the Scottish nation, almost without distinction of rank or sex; the defences of despotism are broken down; the flood washes away every vestige of ecclesiastical oppression. Scotland rises in arms for a holy war, and enlists religious enthusiasm under its banner in its contest against a despot, who has neither a regular treasury, nor an army, nor the confidence of his people. The wisest of his subjects esteem the insurgents as friends and allies. There is now no time to oppress New England; the throne itself totters;—there is no need to forbid emigration; England is at once become the theatre of wonderful events, and many fiery spirits, who fled for a refuge to the colonies, rush back to share in the open struggle for liberty. In the following years, few passengers came over; the reformation of church and state, the attainder of Strafford, the impeachment of Laud, caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world.

Yet a nation was already planted in New England; a commonwealth was matured; the contests in which the unfortunate Charles became engaged, and the republican revolution that followed, left the colonists, for the space of twenty years, nearly unmolested in the enjoyment of the benefits of virtual independence. The change which their industry had wrought in the wilderness was the wonder of the world. Plenty prevailed. The wigwams and hovels in which the English had at first



THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS.

found shelter were replaced by well-built houses. The number of emigrants who had arrived in New England before the assembling of the Long Parliament are esteemed to have been twenty-one thousand two hundred. In a little more than ten years, fifty towns and villages had been planted; between thirty and forty churches built; and strangers, as they gazed, could not but acknowledge God's blessing on the endeavors of the planters. Affluence was already beginning to follow in the train of industry. The natural exports of the country were furs and lumber; grain was carried to the West Indies; fish also was a staple. The fishermen, in 1639, were favored by exemption of themselves from military duty, and of the estate needed for fishing, from taxation. Ship-building was early introduced and encouraged. Vessels of four hundred tons were constructed before 1643. In that year, also, "men began to look about them, and fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof they had store from Barbadoes." And "the general court made order for the manufacture of woollen and linen cloth."

The Long Parliament contained among its members many sincere favorers of the Puritan plantations; and they were urged to solicit its favor. "But, consulting about it," writes Winthrop, "we declined the motion for consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they might impose upon us." The love of political independence declined even benefits.

In like manner, when letters arrived, inviting the colonial churches to send deputies to the Westminster assembly of divines, Hooker, of Hartford, jealous of independence, "liked not the business," and the invitation was neglected. Yet, to obtain commercial advantages, Hugh Peters and two others had been despatched as agents for the colonies; and their mission was favorably received. The house of commons, in March, 1643, voted that "the plantations in New England had, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, without any public charge to the parent state;" and their imports and exports were freed from all taxation, "until the house of commons should take order to the contrary." The general court of Massachusetts entered the ordinance on their records as a memorial for posterity, and requited the kindness by an act of reciprocity.

Meantime Massachusetts promulgated its bill of rights. The colony, moreover, offered a free welcome to Christians of every nation, who might fly "from wars or famine, or the tyranny

and oppression of persecutors. Hospitality was as wide as misfortune.

The jurisdiction of Massachusetts was also extended over New Hampshire. The strict interpretation of the charter offered an excuse for claiming the territory. The people of New Hampshire, dreading the perils of anarchy, by their own voluntary act, in April, 1641, annexed themselves to their powerful neighbor; not as a province, but on equal terms, as an integral portion of the state. The banks of the Piscataqua had not been peopled by Puritans; and, therefore, neither the freemen nor the deputies of New Hampshire were required to be church members. Thus political harmony was established, though the settlements long retained marks of the difference of their origin.

The enlargement of the territory of Massachusetts was, in part, a result of the virtual independence which the commotions in the mother country had secured to the colonies. The establishment of a UNION among the Puritan states of New England was of still greater moment.

In 1637, immediately after the victories over the Pequods, the design of a confederacy was proposed. The next year it came again into discussion; but Connecticut, offended "because some preëminence was yielded to Massachusetts," insisted on reserving to each state a negative on the proceedings of the confederacy. This reservation was refused; for, in that case, said Massachusetts, "all would have come to nothing."

The vicinity of the Dutch, a powerful neighbor, whose claims Connecticut could not, single-handed, defeat, led the colonists of the west to renew the negotiation; and with such success, that, in 1643, THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND were "made all as one."

The union embraced the separate governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven; but to each its respective local jurisdiction was carefully reserved. The affairs of the confederacy were intrusted to commissioners, consisting of two from each colony. Church membership was the only qualification required for the office. The commissioners were to assemble annually, or oftener if exigencies demanded. The affairs of peace and war, and especially Indian affairs, exclusively belonged to them; they were authorized to make internal improvements at the common charge; they, too, were the guardians to see equal and speedy justice assured to all the confederates in every jurisdiction. The common expenses were to be assessed according to population.

Thus remarkable for simplicity was the form of the first confederated government in America. It was a directory, apparently without any check. There was no president, except as a moderator of its meetings; and the largest state, Massachusetts, superior to all the rest in territory, wealth, and population, had no greater number of votes than New Haven. But the commissioners were, in reality, little more than a deliberative body: they possessed no executive power, and, while they could decree a war and a levy of troops, it remained for the states to carry their votes into effect.

Provision was made for the reception of new members into the league; but the provision was wholly without results. The people beyond the Piscataqua were not admitted, because "they ran a different course" from the Puritans, "both in their ministry and in their civil administration." The plantations of Providence also desired in vain to participate in the benefits of the union; and the request of the island of Rhode Island was equally rejected, because it would not consent to form a part of the jurisdiction of Plymouth. Yet this early confederacy survived the jealousies of the Long Parliament, met with favor from the Protector, and escaped censure on the restoration of the Stuarts.

Its chief office was the security of the settlements against the natives, whose power was growing more formidable in proportion as they became acquainted with the arts of civilized life. But they were, at the same time, weakened by dissensions among themselves. Now that the Pequod nation was extinct, the more quiet Narragansetts could hardly remain at peace with the less numerous Mohegans. Anger and revenge brooded in the mind of Miantonómoh. He hated the Mohegans, for they were the allies of the English, by whom he had been arraigned as a criminal. At Boston he had suffered indignities alike wounding to his pride as a chieftain and his honor as a man. His savage wrath was kindled against Uncas, his accuser, whom he detested as doubly his enemy,—once as the sachem of a hostile tribe, and again as a traitor to the whole Indian race, the cringing sycophant of the white men. Gathering his men suddenly together, in defiance of a treaty to which the English were parties, Miantonómoh, accompanied by a thousand warriors, fell upon the Mohegans. But his movements were as rash as his spirit was impetuous: he was defeated and taken prisoner by those whom he had doomed as a certain prey to his vengeance. By the laws of Indian warfare, the fate of the captive was death. The unhappy chief

was conducted to Hartford ; and the wavering Uncas, who had the strongest claims to the gratitude and protection of the English, asked the advice of the commissioners of the United Colonies. Murder had ever been severely punished by the Puritans : they had, at Plymouth, with the advice of Massachusetts, executed three of their own men for taking the life of one Indian ; and the elders, to whom the case of Miantonómoh was referred, finding that he had, deliberately and in time of quiet, murdered a servant of the Mohegan chief ; that he had fomented discontents against the English ; and that, in contempt of a treaty, he had plunged into a useless and bloody war,—perceived in his career no claims to mercy. He seemed to merit death, yet not at the hands of the settlers. Uncas received his captive, and, conveying the helpless victim beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of Connecticut, put him to death. So perished Miantonómoh, the friend of the exiles from Massachusetts, the faithful benefactor of the fathers of Rhode Island.

The tribe of Miantonómoh burned to avenge the execution of their chief ; but they feared a conflict with the English, whose alliance they vainly solicited, and who persevered in protecting the Mohegans. The Narragansetts were at last compelled to submit in sullenness to a peace, of which the terms were alike hateful to their independence, their prosperity, and their love of revenge.

Content with the security which the confederacy afforded, the people of Connecticut desired no guaranty for their independence from the government of England ; taking care only, by a regular purchase, to obtain a title to the soil from the assigns of the earl of Warwick. The people of Rhode Island sought the protection of the mother country ; and the founder of the colony was chosen to conduct the important mission.

Embarking at Manhattan, in 1643, he arrived in England not long after the death of Hampden The parliament had placed the affairs of the American colonies under the control of Warwick, as governor-in-chief, assisted by a council of five peers and twelve commoners. Among these commoners was Henry Vane, a man who was ever as true in his affections as in his principles, and who now welcomed the American envoy as an ancient friend. The favor of parliament was won by the incomparable "printed Indian labors of Roger Williams, the like whereof was not extant from any part of America ;" and his merits as a missionary induced "both houses of parliament, in March, 1644, to grant unto him, and friends with him, a free and absolute charter of civil government for the place of

his abode." Thus were the places of refuge for "soul liberty," on the Narragansett Bay, incorporated, "with full power and authority to rule themselves." To the Long Parliament, and especially to Sir Henry Vane, Rhode Island owes its existence as a political state.

A double triumph awaited Williams on his return to New England. He arrived at Boston, and letters from the parliament insured him a safe reception from those who had decreed his banishment. But what honors rewarded the negotiator, on his return to the province which he had founded! As he reached Seekonk, he found the water covered with a fleet of canoes; all Providence had come forth to welcome the return of its benefactor. Receiving the successful ambassador, the group of boats started for the opposite shore; and, as they paddled across the stream, Roger Williams, placed in the centre of his grateful fellow-citizens, and glowing with the purest joy, "was elevated and transported out of himself."

Yet danger still menaced. The executive council of state in England, in April, 1651, granted to Coddington a commission for governing the islands; and such a dismemberment of the territory of the narrow state must have terminated in the division of the remaining soil between the adjacent governments. Williams was again compelled to return to England; and with John Clarke, his colleague in the mission, was again successful. The dangerous commission was vacated, and the charter, uniting what now forms the state of Rhode Island, confirmed. The general assembly, in its gratitude, desired that Williams might himself obtain from the sovereign authority in England an appointment as governor, for a year, over the whole colony. But if gratitude blinded the province, ambition did not blind its benevolent author. Williams refused to sanction a measure which would have furnished a dangerous precedent, and was content with the honor of doing good. His entire success with the executive council was due to the powerful intercession of Sir Henry Vane. "Under God, the sheet-anchor of Rhode Island was Sir Henry."

Far different were the early destinies of the Province of Maine. After the lord proprietary had "travailed in the cause above forty years," and expended above twenty thousand pounds, all the regalia which his deputy could find in the principality. were not enough for the scanty furniture of a cottage. Yet the nature of Gorges was generous, and his piety sincere. He sought pleasure in doing good; fame, by advancing Christianity among the heathen; a durable monument, by erecting houses, villages,

and towns. The contemporary and friend of Raleigh, he adhered to schemes in America for almost half a century; and, long after he became convinced of their unproductiveness, was still bent on plans of colonization, at an age when other men are but preparing to die with decorum. Firmly attached to the monarchy, he never disobeyed his king, except that, as a Churchman and a Protestant, he refused to serve against the Huguenots. When the wars in England broke out, the septuagenarian royalist buckled on his armor, and gave the last strength of his gray hairs to the defence of the unfortunate Charles. On the death of Gorges, the people repeatedly wrote to his heirs. No answer was received; and such commissioners as had authority from Europe gradually withdrew. There was no relief for the colonists but in themselves; and, in July, 1649, the inhabitants of Piscataqua, Gorgeana, and Wells, following the American precedent, with free and unanimous consent, formed themselves into a body politic for the purpose of self-government. Massachusetts readily offered its protection. In May, 1652, the great charter of the Bay company was unrolled before the general court in Boston, and, "upon perusal of the instrument, it was voted, that this jurisdiction extends from the northernmost part of the River Merrimac, and three miles more, north, be it one hundred miles, more or lesse, from the sea; and then upon a straight line east and west to each sea." The words were precise. Nothing remained but to find the latitude of a point three miles to the north of the remotest waters of the Merrimac, and to claim all the territory of Maine which lies south of that parallel. Commissioners were promptly despatched to the eastward to settle the government. The firm remonstrances of Edward Godfrey, then governor of the province, a loyal friend to the English monarchy and the English Church, were disregarded; and one town after another, yielding in part to menaces and armed force, gave in its adhesion. Great care was observed to guard the rights of property; every man was confirmed in his possessions; the religious liberty of the Episcopalians was left unharmed; the privileges of citizenship were extended to all inhabitants; and the whole eastern country, gradually, yet reluctantly, submitted to the necessity of the change. When the claims of the proprietaries in England were urged before Cromwell, many inhabitants of the towns of York, Kittery, Wells, Saco, and Cape Porpoise, yet not a majority, remonstrated on the ground of former experience. To sever them from Massachusetts would be to them "the subverting of all civil order."

CHAPTER XVIII.

PURITAN INTOLERANCE AND PURITAN INDEPENDENCE.

THUS did Massachusetts, following the most favorable interpretation of its charter, extend its frontier to the islands in Casco Bay. It was equally successful in maintaining its independence of the Long Parliament, though the circumstances of the contest were fatal to the immediate assertion of the liberty of conscience.

It was the creed of even the most loyal, that "if the king, or any party from him, should attempt anything against this commonwealth," it was the common duty "to spend estate, and life, and all, without scruple, in its defence;" that "if the parliament itself should hereafter be of a malignant spirit, then, if the colony have strength sufficient, it may withstand any authority from thence to its hurt." Massachusetts called itself "a perfect republic." Nor was the expression a vain boast. The commonwealth, by force of arms, preserved in its harbors a neutrality between the ships of the opposing English factions; it placed death as the penalty for any "attempt at the alteration of the frame of polity fundamentally," that it might intimidate those who should assert the absolute supremacy of the English parliament; it established a mint; it proposed a treaty of commerce with Canada, to be maintained even in case of war between France and England; during the hostilities between England and Holland, it refused to make use of the sword, and continued a peaceful intercourse with Manhattan.

Meantime the public mind was agitated with discussions on liberty of conscience and independence of English jurisdiction.

In Boston, a powerful liberal party openly existed. But the apparent purpose of advancing religious freedom was made to disguise measures of the deadliest hostility to the frame of civil government. The nationality of New England was in danger. The New Party, "busy and factious spirits, always opposite to the civil governments of the country and the way of its churches," professing to be advocates "for a full and free tolerance of religion to all men, without exception against Turk, Jew, Papist, Arian, Socinian, Familist, or any other, "desired

to subvert the charter government, and introduce a general governor from England. They asserted (what English lawyers would have confirmed, but what the colonists were not willing to concede) that there existed in the country no settled form of government according to the laws of England. An entire revolution was demanded; "if not," they add, "we shall be necessitated to apply our humble desires to both houses of parliament;" and there was reason to fear that they would obtain a favorable hearing before the body whose authority they labored to enlarge. Thus it was sought to advance the sacred principle of religious freedom by subverting the liberties of New England.

The danger was imminent. It struck at the very life and foundation of the rising commonwealth; and the patriots of that day, distrustful of dissenters, as false to colonial freedom, connected the defence of their charter with proscriptive intolerance. They would trust nothing but unmixed Puritanism; and they turned for counsel to a synod of the ministers.

At a special session of the general court, in November, 1646, the nature of the relation with England was made the subject of debate. After much deliberation, it was agreed that Massachusetts owed to England the same allegiance as the free Hanse Towns had rendered to the empire; as Normandy, when its dukes were kings of England, had paid to the monarchs of France. It was also resolved not to accept a new charter from the parliament, for that would imply a surrender of the old. Besides, parliament granted none, but by way of ordinance, which the king might one day refuse to confirm, and always made for itself an express reservation of "a supreme power in all things." The elders, after a day's consultation, confirmed the decisions. "If parliament should be less inclinable to us, we must wait upon Providence for the preservation of our just liberties."

The colony then proceeded to exercise the independence which it claimed. The appeal of Robert Childe and his companions to the commissioners in England was not admitted. "The charter," urged Childe, "does but create a corporation within the realm, subject to English laws." "Plantations," replied the court, "are above the rank of an ordinary corporation; they have been esteemed other than towns, yea, than many cities. Colonies are the foundations of great commonwealths."

To the parliament of England the legislature remonstrated with the noblest frankness against any assertion of the paramount authority of that body. "We have not," said they,

"admitted appeals to your authority, being assured they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our charter, and would be destructive to all government.

"The vast distance between England and these parts abates the virtue of the strongest influence. Your councils and judgments can neither be so well grounded, nor so seasonably applied, as might either be useful to us, or safe for yourselves, in the great day of account. If any miscarriage shall befall us, when we have the government in our own hands, the state of England shall not answer for it."

In the same spirit, Edward Winslow, the agent for Massachusetts in England, publicly denied that the jurisdiction of parliament extended to America. "If the parliament of England should impose laws upon us, having no burgesses in the house of commons, nor capable of a summons by reason of the vast distance, we should lose the liberties and freedom of English indeed." It marks an honest love of liberty and of justice in the Long Parliament, that the doctrines of colonial equality should have been received with favor. "Sir Henry Vane, though he might have taken occasion against the colony for some dishonor, which he apprehended to have been unjustly put upon him there, yet showed himself a true friend of New England, and a man of a noble and generous mind." After ample deliberation, the committee of parliament magnanimously replied, "We encourage no appeals from your justice. We leave you with all the freedom and latitude that may, in any respect, be duly claimed by you."

Such were the arts by which Massachusetts preserved its liberties. The harmony of the people had been confirmed by the courage of the elders, who gave fervor to the enthusiasm of patriotism. "It had been as unnatural for a right New England man to live without an able ministry, as for a smith to work his iron without a fire." The union between the elders and the state could not, therefore, but become more intimate than ever; and religion was venerated and cherished as the security against political subserviency. When the synod met by adjournment, it was by the common consent of all the Puritan colonies, that a system of church government was established for the congregations. A jealous regard for charter liberties was combined with the intolerant exclusiveness of a religion of the state.

After royalty was abolished, the Long Parliament invited Massachusetts to receive a new patent, and to hold courts and issue warrants in its name. But the colonial commonwealth

was too wary to hazard its rights by merging them in the acts of a government of which the decline seemed approaching.

The Puritans of New England enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell throughout all the period of his success. They esteemed his battles the battles of the Lord; and "the spirits of the brethren were carried forth in faithful and affectionate prayers in his behalf;" but, at the same time, they charged him to rule his spirit, rather than to storm cities. In return, he declared himself "truly ready to serve the brethren and the churches" in America. The declaration was sincere; he left them independence, and favored their trade; he offered them, what they declined, new homes in Ireland and in Jamaica; and though they frequently thwarted his views, they never provoked his displeasure, or forfeited his regard.

Yet the Puritans of New England perceived that other revolutions were ripening; their vigilance was never lulled; their bigotry was cherished as the safeguard and the spirit of independence. The severe laws were sharpened against infidelity on the one hand, and sectarianism on the other; nor can it be denied, nor should it be concealed, that the elders, especially Wilson and Norton, instigated and sustained the government in its worst cruelties, till the inefficiency of bigot laws was made plain by the fearless resistance of a still more stubborn fanaticism.

Saltonstall wrote from Europe, that, but for their intolerance, the people of Massachusetts would have been "the eyes of God's people in England." The consistent Sir Henry Vane urged, that "the oppugners of the Congregational way should not, from its own principles and practice, be taught to root it out." "It were better," he added, "not to censure any persons for matters of a religious concernment." The elder Winthrop had professed himself weary of banishing heretics; the soul of the younger Winthrop was incapable of harboring a thought of intolerant cruelty; but the rugged Dudley was not mellowed by old age. "God forbid," said he, "our love for the truth should be grown so cold, that we should tolerate errors. I die no libertine."—"Better tolerate hypocrites and tares than thorns and briars," affirmed Cotton. "Polypiety," echoed Ward, "is the greatest impiety in the world. To say that men ought to have liberty of conscience, is impious ignorance."—"Religion," said the melancholic Norton, "admits of no eccentric motions." But the people did not share the passions of the elders, or wholly approve the policy into which the love of unity, so favorable to independence, had betrayed the leading men.

The power of the civil magistrate in religious affairs was become the theme of perpetual discussion; and the force of established authority could scarcely sustain the doctrine of persecution. The popular tenets of Anabaptism made it a dangerous rival to the Establishment. The sect was proscribed, and its ministers arrested and fined, or scourged without mercy.

Since a particular form of worship had become a part of the civil establishment, irreligion was now to be punished as a civil offence. The state was a model of Christ's kingdom on earth; treason against the civil government was treason against Christ; and reciprocally, as the gospel had the right paramount, blasphemy, or what a jury should call blasphemy, was the highest offence in the catalogue of crimes. To deny any book of the Old or New Testament to be the written and infallible word of God, was punishable by fine or by stripes, and, in case of obstinacy, by exile or death. Absence from "the ministry of the word" was punished by a fine.

In 1653, the liberty of prophesying was refused, except the approbation of four elders, or of a county court, had been obtained; and at last, in 1658, the general court claimed for itself, for the council, and for any two organic churches, the right of silencing any person who was not as yet ordained. Thus was Laud justified by the men whom he had wronged.

But if the Baptists were feared, as professing doctrines tending to disorganize society, how much more reason was there to dread such emissaries of the Quakers as appeared in Massachusetts!

The rise of "the people called Quakers" was one of the most remarkable results of the Protestant revolution. It was a consequence of the aspiration of the human mind after a perfect emancipation from the long reign of bigotry and superstition. It grew up with men who were impatient at the tardy advances of intellectual liberty. In the month of July, 1656, two of its members, Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, arrived in the road before Boston. There was as yet no statute respecting Quakers; but, on the general law against heresy, their trunks were searched, and their books burnt by the hangman; "though no token could be found on them but of innocence," their persons were examined for signs of witchcraft; and, after five weeks' close imprisonment, they were thrust out of the jurisdiction. Eight others were, during the year, sent back to England. The rebuke enlarged the ambition of Mary Fisher; she repaired alone to Adrianople, and deliv red a message to the grand sultan. The Turks thought her crazed, and she passed through their army "without hurt or scoff."

Yet the next year, although a special law now prohibited the introduction of Quakers, Mary Dyar, an Antinomian exile, and Anne Burden, came into the colony; the former was claimed by her husband, and taken to Rhode Island; the latter was sent to England. A woman who had come all the way from London to warn the magistrates against persecution, was whipped with twenty stripes. Some, who had been banished, came a second time; they were imprisoned, whipped, and once more sent away, under penalty of further punishment, if they returned again. A fine was imposed on such as should entertain any "of the accursed sect;" and a Quaker, after the first conviction, was to lose one ear—after the second, another—after the third, to have the tongue bored with a red-hot iron. The order for mutilation was soon repealed, and was never printed. But this legislation was fruitful of results. Quakers swarmed where they were feared. They came expressly because they were not welcome; and threats were construed as invitations. In 1658, a penalty of ten shillings was imposed on every person for being present at a Quaker meeting, and of five pounds for speaking at such meeting. In the execution of the laws, the pride of consistency involved the magistrates in acts of extreme cruelty.

Banishment, on pain of death, was a menace familiar to the English statute-book; and precedents in its favor might be found not only in the acts of Elizabeth, but in the judgments of the Long Parliament. It had already been applied, in Massachusetts, against Jesuits. By the advice of the commissioners for the United Colonies, from which the younger Winthrop alone had dissented, the general court, after much resistance, and by a majority of but a single vote, banished Quakers on pain of death. "For the security of the flock," said Norton, "we pen up the wolf; but a door is purposely left open whereby he may depart at his pleasure." Vain legislation! and frivolous apology! The soul, by its freedom and immortality, preserves its convictions or its frenzies even in death.

In September, 1659, of four persons, ordered to depart the jurisdiction on pain of death, Mary Dyar, a firm disciple of Anne Hutchinson, whose exile she had shared, and Nicholas Davis, obeyed. Marmaduke Stephenson and William Robinson had come on purpose to offer their lives; instead of departing, they went from place to place "to build up their friends in the faith." In October, Mary Dyar returned. Thus there were three persons arraigned under the sanguinary law. Robinson pleaded in his defence the special message and command of

God. "Blessed be God, who calls me to testify against wicked and unjust men." Stephenson refused to speak till sentence had been pronounced; and then he imprecated a curse on his judges. Mary Dyar exclaimed, "The will of the Lord be done!" and returned to the prison "full of joy." From the jail she wrote a remonstrance. "Were ever such laws heard of among a people that profess Christ come in the flesh? Have you no other weapons but such laws to fight against spiritual wickedness withal, as you call it? Woe is me for you! Ye are disobedient and deceived." The three were led forth to execution. "I die for Christ," said Robinson. "We suffer not as evil-doers, but for conscience' sake," were the last words of his companion. Mary Dyar was reprieved; yet not till the rope had been fastened round her neck, and she had prepared herself for death. Transported with enthusiasm, she exclaimed, "Let me suffer as my brethren, unless you will annul your wicked law!" She was conveyed out of the colony; but, soon returning, she also was hanged on Boston common, a willing martyr to liberty of conscience. "We desired their lives absent, rather than their deaths present," was the miserable apology for these proceedings.

These cruelties excited great discontent. Yet William Leddra was put upon trial for the same causes. While the trial was proceeding, Wenlock Christison, already banished on pain of death, entered the court, and struck dismay into the judges, who found their severities ineffectual. Leddra was desired to accept his life, on condition of promising to come no more within the jurisdiction. He refused, and was hanged.

Christison addressed his persecutors with undaunted courage. "Can you make laws repugnant to those of England?" "No." "Then you are gone beyond your bounds. Your heart is as rotten towards the king as towards God. I demand to be tried by the laws of England, and there is no law there to hang Quakers." "The English banish Jesuits on pain of death," it was answered, "and with equal justice we may banish Quakers." The jury returned a verdict of guilty. Wenlock replied, "I deny all guilt; my conscience is clear before God." The magistrates were divided in pronouncing sentence; Endicot fretted at their wavering, and on a second vote there appeared a majority for the doom of death. "What do you gain," cried Christison, "by taking Quakers' lives? For the last man that ye put to death, here are five come in his room. If ye have power to take my life, God can raise up ten of his servants in my stead."

The voice of the people had always been averse to bloodshed; the magistrates, infatuated for a season, became convinced of their error. After some delay, in 1661, Wenlock, with twenty-seven of his friends, was discharged from prison; and causes were already in action which were fast substituting the charity of intelligence for the ruthlessness of bigotry.

It was ever the custom, and it early became the law, in Puritan New England, that "none of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families, as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue." "To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers," it was ordered in all the Puritan colonies, "that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school; the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." The press began its work in 1639. "When New England was poor, and they were but few in number, there was a spirit to encourage learning. Six years after the arrival of Winthrop, the general court voted a sum equal to a year's rate of the whole colony towards the erection of a college. In 1638, John Harvard, who arrived in the Bay only to fall a victim to the most wasting disease of the climate, desiring to connect himself imperishably with the happiness of his adopted country, bequeathed to the college one-half of his estate and all his library. The infant institution was a favorite; Connecticut, and Plymouth, and the towns in the east, often contributed little offerings to promote its success; the gift of the rent of a ferry proved the care of the state; and once, at least, every family in each of the colonies gave to the college at Cambridge twelve pence, or a peck of corn, or its value in unadulterated wampumpeag. In these measures, especially in the laws establishing common schools, lies the secret of the success and character of New England. Every child, as it was born into the world, was lifted from the earth by the genius of the country, and, in the statutes of the land, received, as its birthright, a pledge of the public care for its morals and its mind.

There are some who love to enumerate the singularities of the early Puritans. They were opposed to wigs; they could preach against veils; they denounced long hair; they disliked the cross in the banner, as much as the people of Paris disliked the lilies of the Bourbons, and for analogous reasons. They would

not allow Christmas day to be kept sacred; they called neither months, nor days, nor seasons, nor churches, nor inns, by the names common in England; they revived Scripture names at christenings. The grave Romans legislated on the costume of men, and their senate could even stoop to interfere with the triumphs of the sex to which civic honors are denied: the fathers of New England prohibited frivolous fashions in their own dress; and their austerity, checking extravagance even in woman, frowned on her hoods of silk and her scarfs of tiffany, extended the length of her sleeve to the wrist, and limited its greatest width to half an ell. But these are only the outward forms, which gave to the new sect its marked exterior. If from the outside peculiarities, which so easily excite the sneer of the superficial observer, we look to the genius of the sect itself, Puritanism was Religion struggling for the People. "Its absurdities," says its enemy, "were the shelter for the noble principles of liberty." It was its office to engraft the new institutions of popular energy upon the old European system of a feudal aristocracy and popular servitude: the good was permanent; the outward emblems, which were the signs of the party, were of transient duration—like the clay and ligaments with which the graft is held in its place, and which are brushed away as soon as the scion is firmly united.

The principles of Puritanism proclaimed the civil magistrate subordinate to the authority of religion; and its haughtiness in this respect has been compared to "the infatuated arrogance" of a Roman pontiff. In the firmness with which the principle was asserted, the Puritans did not yield to the Catholics; and, if the will of God is the criterion of justice, both were, in one sense, in the right. The question arises, Who shall be the interpreter of that will? In the Roman Catholic church, the office was claimed by the infallible pontiff, who, as the self-constituted guardian of the oppressed, insisted on the power of dethroning kings, repealing laws, and subverting dynasties. The principle thus asserted, though often productive of good, could not but become subservient to the temporal ambition of the clergy. Puritanism conceded no such power to its spiritual guides; the church existed independent of its pastor, who owed his office to its free choice; the will of the majority was its law; and each one of the brethren possessed equal rights with the elders. The right, exercised by each congregation, of electing its own ministers, was in itself a moral revolution; religion was now with the people, not over the people. Puritanism exalted the laity. It constituted, not the Christian clergy,

but the Christian people, the interpreter of the divine will. The voice of the majority was the voice of God; and the issue of Puritanism was therefore popular sovereignty.

The effects of Puritanism display its true character still more distinctly. Ecclesiastical tyranny is of all kinds the worst; its fruits are cowardice, idleness, ignorance, and poverty. Puritanism was a life-giving spirit; activity, thrift, intelligence, followed in its train; and as for courage, a coward and a Puritan never went together. "He that prays best, and preaches best, will fight best;"—such was the judgment of Cromwell, the greatest soldier of his age.

It was in self-defence that Puritanism in America began those transient persecutions which shall find in me no apologist; and which yet were no more than a train of morning mists, hovering over the channel of a fine river, that diffused freshness and fertility wherever it wound. The people did not attempt to convert others, but to protect themselves; they never attempted to torture men into orthodoxy. The history of religious persecution in New England is simply this;—the Puritans established a government in America, such as the laws of natural justice warranted, and such as the statutes and common law of England did not warrant; and this was done by men who still acknowledged the duty of a limited allegiance to the parent state. The Episcopalians had declared themselves the enemies of the party, and waged against it a war of extermination; Puritanism excluded them from its asylum. Roger Williams, the apostle of "soul-liberty," weakened the cause of civil independence by impairing its unity; and he was expelled, even though Massachusetts bore good testimony to his spotless virtues. Wheelwright and his friends, forgetting their duty as Americans, asserted the right of appeal to England, and they also were exiled. The Anabaptist, who could not be relied upon as an ally, was guarded as a foe. The Quakers denounced, not only the worship of New England as an abomination, but its government as treason; and therefore they were excluded on pain of death. The fanatic for Calvinism was a fanatic for liberty; and he defended his creed, as his best ally in the moral warfare for freedom.

For "New England was a religious plantation, not a plantation for trade. The profession of the purity of doctrine, worship, and discipline, was written on her forehead." "We all," say the confederates, in the oldest of American written constitutions, "came into these parts of America to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity and peace." "He that made relig-

ion as twelve, and the world as thirteen, had not the spirit of a true New England man." Religion was the object of the emigrants, and their consolation. With this the wounds of the outcast were healed, and the tears of exile sweetened. "New England was the colony of conscience."

Of all contemporary sects, the Puritans were the most free from credulity, and, in their zeal for reform, pushed their regulations to what some would consider a skeptical extreme. So many superstitions had been bundled up with every venerable institution of Europe, that ages have not yet dislodged them all. The Puritans at once emancipated themselves from a crowd of observances. They established a worship purely spiritual. To them the elements remained but wine and bread; they invoked no saints; they raised no altar; they adored no crucifix; they kissed no book; they asked no absolution; they paid no tithes; they saw in the priest nothing more than a man; ordination was no more than an approbation of the officer, which might be expressed by the brethren, as well as by other ministers; the church, as a place of worship, was to them but a meeting-house; they dug no graves in consecrated earth; unlike their posterity, they married without a minister, and buried the dead without a prayer. Witchcraft had not been made the subject of skeptical consideration; and in the years in which Scotland sacrificed hecatombs to the delusion, there were three victims in New England. Dark crimes, that seemed without a motive, may have been pursued under that name; I find one record of a trial for witchcraft, where the prisoner was proved a murderess.

On every subject but religion, the mildness of Puritan legislation corresponded to the popular character of Puritan doctrines. Hardly a nation of Europe has as yet made its criminal law so humane as that of early New England. A crowd of offences was at one sweep brushed from the catalogue of capital crimes. The idea was never received, that the forfeiture of life may be demanded for the protection of property; the punishment for theft, for burglary, and highway robbery, was far more mild than the penalties imposed even by modern American legislation.

The benevolence of the early Puritans appears from other examples. Their thoughts were always fixed on posterity. Domestic discipline was highly valued: the law was severe against the undutiful child; it was also severe against a faithless parent. The slave trade was forbidden under penalty of death. The earliest laws, till 1654, did not permit any man's

person to be kept in prison for debt, except when there was an appearance of some estate which the debtor would not produce. Even the brute creation was not forgotten; and cruelty towards animals was a civil offence. The sympathies of the colonists were wide; a regard for Protestant Germany is as old as emigration; and, during the thirty years' war, the people of New England held fasts and offered prayers for the success of their Saxon brethren.

The first years of the residence of Puritans in America were years of great hardship and affliction; it is an error to suppose that this short season of distress was not promptly followed by abundance and happiness. The people were full of affections; and the objects of love were around them. They struck root in the soil immediately. They were, from the first, industrious, and enterprising, and frugal; and affluence followed of course. When persecutions ceased in England, there were already in New England "thousands who would not change their place for any other in the world;" and they were tempted in vain with invitations to the Bahama Isles, to Ireland, to Jamaica, to Trinidad. The purity of morals completes the picture of colonial felicity. "As Ireland will not brook venomous beasts, so will not that land vile livers." One might dwell there "from year to year, and not see a drunkard, or hear an oath, or meet a beggar." The consequence was universal health. Such was the average duration of life in New England, that of all who were born into the world, more than two in ten, full four in nineteen, attained the age of seventy. Of those who lived beyond ninety, the proportion, as compared with European tables of longevity, was still more remarkable.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS.

The golden age of Puritanism was passing away. Time was silently softening its asperities, and revolutions prepared an era in its fortunes. Massachusetts never acknowledged Richard Cromwell; it read clearly in the aspect of parties the impending restoration. The government of Oliver Cromwell had been but a state of transition. He did not connect himself with the revolution, for he put himself above it, and controlled it; nor

with the monarchy, for he was an active promoter of the execution of Charles; nor with the Church, for he subverted it; nor with the Presbyterians, for he barely tolerated their worship, without gratifying their ambition. He rested on himself; his own genius and his own personal resources were the basis of his power. Having subdued the revolution, there was no firm obstacle but himself to the restoration of the Stuarts, and his death was necessarily a signal for new revolutions.

The accession of Richard met with no instant opposition; for the tranquillity of expectation preceded the impending change. Like his father, he had no party in the nation; unlike his father, he had no capacity for public affairs. The restoration of the Stuarts was already resolved upon by the people of England. Richard convoked a parliament only to dissolve it; he could not control the army, and he could not govern England without the army. Involved in perplexities, he resigned. His accession had changed nothing; his abdication changed nothing; content to be the scoff of the proud, he had wisely acted upon the consciousness of his incompetency, and, in the bosom of private life, remote from wars, from ambition, from power, he lived to extreme old age in the serene enjoyment of tranquil affections and of a gentle and modest temper. English politics went forward in their course.

The council of officers, the revival of the "interrupted" Long Parliament, the intrigues of Fleetwood and Desborough, the transient elevation of Lambert, were but a series of unsuccessful attempts to defeat the wishes of the people. Every new effort was soon a failure; and each successive failure did but expose the enemies of royalty to increased indignation and contempt. In vain did Milton forebode that, "of all governments, that of a restored king is the worst;" nothing could long delay the restoration. The fanaticism which had made the revolution had burnt out, and was now a spent volcano. When Monk marched his army from Scotland into England, he was only the instrument of the restoration, not its author; he did but hold the Presbyterians in check, and, prodigal of perjuries to the last, he prevented the adoption of any treaty or binding compact between the returning monarch and the people.

Yet the want of such a compact could not alarm the determined enthusiasm of the people of England. Misfortunes, and the fate of Charles I., were taken as sureties that Charles II. had learned moderation in the school of exile and sorrow; and his return could have nothing humiliating for the English people, for it was the nation itself that recalled its sovereign.

Every party that had opposed the dynasty of the Stuarts had failed in the attempt to give England a government; the constitutional royalists, the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Long Parliament, the army, had all in their turn been unsuccessful; the English, preserving a latent zeal for their ancient liberties, were yet at the time inflamed and carried away with a passionate desire for their ancient king. The Long Parliament is reassembled; the Presbyterians, expelled before the trial of Charles, resume their seats; and the parliament is dissolved, to be succeeded by a new assembly. The king's return is at hand. They who had been its latest advocates, now endeavored to throw oblivion on their hesitancy by the excess of loyalty; men vie with one another in the display of zeal for the restoration; no one is disposed to gain the certain ill-will of the monarch by proposing conditions which might not be seconded; men forget their country in their zeal for the king; they forget liberty in their eagerness to advance their fortunes; a vague proclamation on the part of Charles II., promising a general amnesty, fidelity to the Protestant religion, regard for tender consciences, and respect for the English laws, was the only pledge from the sovereign. And now, after twenty years of storms, the light of peace dawns on the horizon. All England was in ecstasy. Groups of royalists gathered round buckets of wine in the streets, and drank the king's health on their knees. The bells in every steeple rung merry peals; the bonfires round London were so numerous and so brilliant, that the city seemed encircled with a halo; and as, on the twenty-fifth of May, 1660, the exiled monarch landed on the soil of England, he was received by infinite crowds with all imaginable love. The shouting and general joy were past imagination. On the journey from Dover to London, the hillocks all the way were covered with people; the trees were filled; and such was the prodigality of flowers from maidens, such the acclamations from throngs of men, that the whole kingdom seemed gathered along the road-sides. The companies of the city received the king with loud thanks to God for his presence; and he advanced to Whitehall through serried ranks of admiring citizens.

In the midst of the universal gladness, the triumph of the royalist party was undisputed. The arms of the commonwealth, and the emblems of republicanism, were defaced and burned with every expression of hatred and scorn. The democratic party, which Cromwell had subdued, was now politically extinct; its adherents sought obscurity among the crowd, while its lead-

ers were obliged to hide themselves from the feverish excitement of popular anger. The melancholic inflexibility and the self-denying austerity of republicanism were out of vogue; levity and licentiousness were now in fashion. Every party that had opposed royalty had, in the eagerness of political strife, failed to establish a government on a permanent basis. England remembered that, under its monarchs, it had elected parliaments, enjoyed the trial by jury, and prospered in affluent tranquillity. Except in New England, royalty was now alone in favor.

The immediate effects of the restoration were saddened by the bitterness of revenge. All the regicides that were seized would have perished, but for Charles II., whom good nature led at last to exclaim, "I am tired of hanging, except for new offences." All haste was, however, made to despatch half a score of victims, as if to appease the shade of Charles I.; and among the selected victims was Hugh Peters, once the minister of Salem, the father-in-law of the younger Winthrop; one whom Roger Williams honored and loved, and whom Milton is supposed to include among

> "Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent,
> Would have been held in high esteem with Paul."

As a preacher, his homely energy resembled the eloquence of Latimer and the earlier divines; in Salem he won general affection; he was ever zealous to advance the interests and quicken the industry of New England, and had assisted in founding the earliest college. His was the fanaticism of an ill-balanced mind, mastered by great ideas, which it imperfectly comprehends; and therefore he repelled monarchy and Episcopacy with excited passion. Though he was not himself a regicide, his zeal made him virtually an accomplice, by his influence over others. He could not consider consequences, and zeal overwhelmed his judgment. Nor was he entirely free from that bigotry which refuses to extend the rights of humanity beyond its own altars; he could thank God for the massacres of Cromwell in Ireland. And yet benevolence was deeply fixed in his heart; he ever advocated the rights of the feeble, and pleaded for the sufferings of the poor. Of his whole career it was said, that "many godly in New England dared not condemn what Hugh Peters had done." His arraignment, his trial, and his execution, were scenes of wanton injustice. He was allowed no counsel; and, indeed, his death had been resolved upon be-

forehand, though even false witnesses did not substantiate the specific charges urged against him. His last thoughts reverted to Massachusetts. "Go home to New England, and trust God there;" it was his final counsel to his daughter. At the gallows, to which he was brought on the fourteenth day of October, 1666, he was compelled to wait while the body of his friend Cooke, who had just been hanged, was cut down and quartered before his eyes. "How like you this?" cried the executioner, rubbing his bloody hands. "I thank God," replied the martyr, "I am not terrified at it; you may do your worst." To his friends he said, "Weep not for me; my heart is full of comfort;" and he smiled as he made himself ready to leave the world. Even death could not save him from his enemies; the bias of party corrupts the judgment, and cruelty justified itself by defaming its victim. So perished a freeman of Massachusetts—the first who lost his life for opposition to monarchy. The blood of Massachusetts was destined to flow freely on the field of battle for the same cause; the streams were first opened beneath the gallows.

The regicides, who had at nearly the same time been condemned to death, did not abate their confidence in their cause. Alone against a nation, pride of character blended with religious fervor and political enthusiasm. Death under the horrid form which a barbarous age had devised, and a barbarous jurisprudence still tolerated, they could meet with serenity, or with exultation. The voice within their breasts still approved what they had done; a better world seemed opening to receive them; and, as they ascended the scaffold, their undaunted composure and lofty resignation seemed to call on earth and heaven to witness how unjustly they suffered.

But it was not enough to punish the living; vengeance invaded the tombs. The corpses of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton were, by the order of both houses of parliament, and with the approbation of the king, disinterred, dragged on hurdles to Tyburn, and regularly hanged at the three corners of the gallows. In the evening, the same bodies were cut down and beheaded, amidst the exulting merriment of the Cavaliers. Such is revenge!

Of the judges of King Charles I., three escaped to America. Edward Whalley—who had first won laurels in the field of Naseby, had ever enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell, and remained to the last an enemy to the Stuarts, and a friend to the interests of the Independents—and William Goffe—a firm friend to the family of Cromwell, a good soldier, and an ardent

partisan, but ignorant of the true principles of freedom—arrived in Boston, where Endicot, the governor, received them with courtesy. For nearly a year, they resided unmolested within the limits of Massachusetts, holding meetings in every house, where they preached and prayed, and gained universal applause. When warrants arrived from England for their apprehension, they, in 1661, fled across the country to New Haven, where it was esteemed a crime against God to bewray the wanderer or give up the outcast. Yet such diligent search was made for them, that they never were in security. For a time they removed in secrecy from house to house; sometimes concealed themselves in a mill, sometimes in clefts of the rocks by the sea-side; and for weeks together, and even for months, they dwelt in a cave in the forest. Great rewards were offered for their apprehension; Indians as well as English were urged to scour the woods in quest of their hiding-place, as men hunt for the holes of foxes. When the zeal of the search was nearly over, they retired to a little village on the Sound; till at last they escaped by night to an appointed place of refuge in Hadley, and the solitudes of the most beautiful valley of New England gave shelter to their wearisome and repining age.

John Dixwell, more fortunate, was able to live undiscovered. Changing his name, and becoming absorbed among the inhabitants of New Haven, he married, and lived peacefully and happily.

Retributive justice, thought many, required the execution of regicides. One victim was selected for his genius and integrity; such was the terror inspired by their influence. Now that all England was carried away with eagerness for monarchy, Sir Henry Vane, the former governor of Massachusetts, the benefactor of Rhode Island, the ever-faithful friend of New England, adhered with undaunted firmness to "the glorious cause" of popular liberty.

The convention parliament had excepted Vane from the indemnity, on the king's promise that he should not suffer death. In June, 1662, it was resolved to bring him to trial; and he turned his trial into a triumph. Though "before supposed to be a timorous man," he appeared before his judges with animated fearlessness. Instead of offering apologies for his career, he denied the imputation of treason with settled scorn, defended the right of Englishmen to be governed by successive representatives, and took glory to himself for actions which promoted the good of England, and were sanctioned by parliament, as the virtual sovereign of the realm. He spoke not for

his life and estate, but for the honor of the martyrs to liberty who were in their graves, for the liberties of England, for the interest "of all posterity in time to come."

The day before his execution, his friends were admitted to his prison; and he cheered their drooping spirits by his own serene intrepidity, reasoning calmly on death and immortality. He reviewed his political career, from the day when he defended Anne Hutchinson, to his last struggle for English liberties, and could say, "I have not the least recoil in my heart as to matter or manner of what I have done." A friend advised prayer, that for the present the cup of death might be put away. "Why should we fear death?" answered Vane; "I find it rather shrinks from me, than I from it." His children gathered round him, and he stooped to embrace them, mingling consolation with kisses. "The Lord will be a better father to you." "Be not you troubled, for I am going home to my Father." And his farewell counsel was, "Suffer anything from men rather than sin against God." When his family had withdrawn, he declared his life to be willingly offered to confirm the wavering, and convince the ignorant. The cause of popular liberty still seemed to him a glorious cause. "I leave my life as a seal to the justness of that quarrel. Ten thousand deaths, rather than defile the chastity of my conscience! nor would I, for ten thousand worlds, resign the peace and satisfaction I have in my heart."

The plebeian Hugh Peters had been hanged; Sir Henry Vane was to suffer on the block. The same cheerful resignation animated him on the day of his execution. As the procession moved through the streets, men from the windows and tops of houses expressed their sorrow, pouring out prayers for him as he passed by; and the people shouted aloud, "God go with you!" Arrived on the scaffold, he was observable above all others by the intrepidity of his demeanor. Surveying the vast surrounding multitude with composure, he addressed them, and sought to awaken in their souls the love of English liberty. His voice was overpowered with trumpets; finding he could not bear an audible testimony to his principles, he was not in the least disconcerted by the rudeness, but, in the serenity of his manner, continued to show with what calmness an honest patriot could die. With unbroken trust in Providence, he believed in the progress of civilization; and while he reminded those around him, that "he had foretold the dark clouds which were coming thicker and thicker for a season," it was still "most clear to the eye of his faith," that a better day would

dawn in the clouds. "Blessed be God," exclaimed he, as he bared his neck for the axe, "I have kept a conscience void of offence to this day, and have not deserted the righteous cause for which I suffer." That righteous cause was democratic liberty; in the history of the world, he was the first martyr to the principle of the paramount power of the people; and, as he had predicted, "his blood gained a voice to speak his innocence." The manner of his death was the admiration of his times.

Puritanism, with the sects to which it gave birth, ceased to sway the destinies of England. The army of Cromwell had displayed its power in the field; Milton having shown the eloquence it could inspire, still lived to illustrate what poetry it could create, in works that are among the noblest productions of the human mind; Vane proved how fearlessly it could bear testimony for liberty in the face of death; New England is the monument of its power to establish free states. The ancient institutions of England would not yield to new popular establishments; but the bloom of immortality belongs to the example of Vane, to the poetry of Milton, and, let us hope, to the institutions of New England.

To New England the revolutions in the mother country were not indifferent; the American colonies attracted the notice of the courts of justice in Westminster Hall. They were held alike by the nature of the English constitution, and the principles of the common law, to be subordinate to the English parliament, and bound by its acts, whenever they were specially named in a statute, or were clearly embraced within its provisions. An issue was thus made between Massachusetts and England; for that colony had refused to be subject to the laws of parliament, and had remonstrated against such subjection as "the loss of English liberty." The Long Parliament had conceded the justice of the remonstrance. The judges, on the restoration, decreed otherwise, and asserted the legislative supremacy of parliament over the colonies without restriction. Such was the established common law of England.

It was not claimed that the colonies were bound by a statute, unless they were expressly named; but that distinctness was not wanting, whenever it was required by the interests of English merchants. The navigation act of the commonwealth had not been designed to trammel the commerce of the colonies; the convention parliament, the same body which betrayed the liberties of England, by restoring the Stuarts without conditions, now, by the most memorable statute in the English mari-

time code, connected in one act the protection of English shipping, and a monopoly to the English merchant of the trade with the colonies. In the reign of Richard II., the commerce of English ports had been secured to English shipping: the act of navigation of 1651 had done no more; and against it the colonists made no serious objection. The present act renewed the same provisions, and further avowed the design of sacrificing the natural rights of the colonists to English interests. "No merchandise shall be imported into the plantations but in English vessels, navigated by Englishmen, under penalty of forfeiture." The harbors of the colonies were shut against the Dutch, and every foreign vessel. America, as the asylum of the oppressed, invited emigrants from the most varied climes. In 1660, it was enacted, that none but native or naturalized subjects should become merchants or factors in any English settlement; excluding the colonists from the benefits of a foreign competition.

American industry produced articles for exportation; but these articles were of two kinds. Some were produced in quantities only in America, and would not compete in the English market with English productions. These were enumerated; and it was declared that none of them—that is, no sugar, tobacco, ginger, indigo, cotton, fustic, dyeing woods—should be transported to any other country than those belonging to the crown of England, under penalty of forfeiture; and as new articles of industry of this class grew up in America, they were added to the list. But such other commodities as the English merchant might not find convenient to buy, the American planter might ship to foreign markets; the farther off the better; because they would thus interfere less with trades in England. The colonists were, therefore, by a clause in the navigation act, confined to ports south of Cape Finisterre.

Hardly had time enough elapsed for a voyage or two across the Atlantic, before it was found that the English merchant might derive still further advantages at the cost of the colonists, by the imposition of still further restraints. A new law prohibited the importation of European commodities into the colonies, except in English ships from England, to the end that England might be made the staple, not only of colonial productions, but of colonial supplies. Thus the colonists were compelled to buy in England, not only all English manufactures, but everything else that they might need from any soil but their own.

The activity of the shipping of New England, which should

only have excited admiration, excited envy in the minds of the English merchants. Some of the produce of the southern colonies was brought to the north as a result of the little colonial exchanges. To the extravagant fears of mercantile avarice, New England was become a staple. Parliament, therefore, restricted the traffic between the colonies; and any of the enumerated commodities exported from one colony to another, were subjected to a duty equivalent to the duty on the consumption of these commodities in England.

By degrees, avarice became bolder; and America was forbidden, by act of parliament, not merely to manufacture those articles which might compete with the English in foreign markets, but even to supply herself, by her own industry, with those which her position enabled her to manufacture with success.

Thus was the policy of Great Britain, with respect to her colonies, a system of monopoly, adopted after the example of Spain, and, for more than a century, inflexibly pursued, in no less than twenty-nine acts of parliament. The colonists were allowed to sell to foreigners only what England would not take, that so they might gain means to pay for the articles forced upon them by England. The commercial liberties of rising states were shackled by paper chains, and the principles of natural justice subjected to the fears and the covetousness of English shopkeepers.

The effects of this system were baleful to the colonies. They could buy European and all foreign commodities only at the shops of the metropolis; and thus the merchant of the mother country could sell his goods for a little more than they were worth. England gained at the expense of America. The profit of the one was balanced by the loss of the other.

In the sale of their products the colonists were equally injured. The English, being the sole purchasers, could obtain those products at a little less than their fair value. The merchant of Bristol or London was made richer; the planter of Virginia or Maryland was made poorer. No new value was created; one lost what the other gained; and both parties had equal claims to the benevolence of the legislature.

Thus the colonists were wronged, both in their purchases and in their sales; the law "cut them with a double edge." The English consumer gained nothing; for the surplus colonial produce was reëxported to other nations. The English merchant, and not the English people, profited by the injustice. The English people were sufferers. Not that the undue em-

ployment of wealth in the colonial trade occasioned an injurious scarcity in other branches of industry; for the increased productiveness of capital soon yielded a larger supply than ever for all kinds of business; just as a fortune doubles rapidly at a high rate of interest. But the navigation act involved the foreign policy of England in contradictions; she was herself a monopolist of her own colonial trade, and yet steadily aimed at enfranchising the trade of the Spanish settlements. Hence arose a set of relations which we shall find pregnant with consequences.

In the domestic policy of England, the act increased the tendency to unequal legislation. The English merchant having become the sole factor for American colonies, and the manufacturer claiming to supply colonial wants, the English landholder consented to uphold the artificial system only by sharing in its emoluments; and corn-laws began to be enacted, to secure agriculture against foreign competition. Thus the system which impoverished the Virginia planter, by lowering the price of his tobacco crop, oppressed the British laborer, by raising the price of his bread; till at last an English ministry could offer a bounty on the exportation of corn.

The law was still more injurious to England, from its influence on the connection between the colonies and the metropolis. Durable relations in society are correlative, and reciprocally beneficial. In this case the statute was made by one party to bind the other, and was made on iniquitous principles. Established as the law of the strongest, it could endure no longer than the superiority in force. It converted commerce, which should be the bond of peace, into a source of rankling hostility, and scattered the certain seeds of a civil war. The navigation act contained a pledge of the ultimate independence of America.

To the colonists, the navigation act was, at the time, an unmitigated evil; for the prohibition of planting tobacco in England and Ireland was a useless mockery.

As a mode of taxing the colonies, the monopoly was a failure; the contribution was made to the pocket of the merchant, not to the treasury of the metropolis.

The usual excuse for colonial restrictions is founded on the principle that colonies were established at the cost of the mother country for that very purpose. In the case of the American colonies, the apology cannot be urged. The state founded none of them. The colonists escaped from the mother country, and had, at their own cost, and by their own toil, made for themselves dwellings in the New World. Virginia was founded by a

private company; New England was the home of exiles. England thrust them out, and owned them as her children only to oppress them.

Again, it was said that the commercial losses of the colonists were compensated by protection. But the connection with Europe was fraught only with danger; for the rivalry of European nations did but transfer the scenes of their bloody feuds to the wilds of America.

The monopoly, it must be allowed, was of the least injurious kind. It was conceded, not to an individual, nor to a company, nor to a single city, but was open to the competition of all Englishmen.

The history of the navigation act would be incomplete, were it not added, that, whatever party obtained a majority, it never, till the colonies gained great strength, occurred to the British parliament that the legislation was a wrong. Bigotry is not exclusively a passion of religious superstition. Its root is in the human heart, and it is reproduced in every age. Blinding the intellectual eye, and comprehending no passion but its own, it is the passionate and partial defence of an existing interest. The Antonines of Rome, or, not to go beyond English history, Elizabeth and Charles I., did not question the divine right of absolute power. "Were Nero in power," said Cromwell himself when Protector, "it would be a duty to submit." When Laud was arraigned, "Can any one believe me a traitor?" exclaimed the astonished prelate, with surprise. The Cavaliers, in the civil war, did not doubt the sanctity of the privileges of birth; and now the English parliament, as the instrument of mercantile avarice, had no scruple in commencing the legislation, which, when the colonists grew powerful, was, by the greatest British economist, declared to be "a manifest violation of the rights of mankind."

CHAPTER XX.

CHARLES II. AND THE COLONIES.

Such was the disposition of the English parliament towards the colonies: the changes in their internal constitutions were to depend on the personal character of the monarch whom England had taken into favor. His best trait was his natural kindliness; and had he preserved purity of morals, Charles II. would have been one of the most amiable of men. But it was his misfortune, in very early life, to have become thoroughly debauched in mind and heart; and adversity, usually the rugged nurse of virtue, made the selfish libertine but the more reckless in his profligacy. He did not merely indulge his passions; his neck bowed to their dominion.

Massachusetts, strong in its charter, made no haste to present itself in England as a suppliant. That colony "remained constant to its old maxims of a free state, dependent on none but God." Had the king resolved on sending them a governor, the several towns and churches throughout the whole country were resolved to oppose him.

The colonies of Plymouth, of Hartford, and New Haven, not less than of Rhode Island, proclaimed the new king, and acted in his name; and the rising republic on the Connecticut appeared in London by its representative, the younger Winthrop, who went, as it were, between the mangled limbs of his father-in-law, to insure the welfare of his fellow-exiles in the west. They had purchased their lands of the assigns of the earl of Warwick, and from Uncas they had bought the territory of the Mohegans; and the news of the restoration led them, in March, 1661, to desire a patent. But the little colony proceeded warily; they draughted among themselves the instrument which they desired the king to ratify; and they could plead for their possessions their rights by purchase, by conquest from the Pequods, and by their own labor, which had redeemed the wilderness.

At the court of Charles II. the venerable Lord Say and Seal, and the "noble and worthy" earl of Manchester, "did join together, that their godly friends in New England might enjoy their just rights and liberties." But the chief happiness of Connecticut was in the selection of its agent.

In the younger Winthrop, the qualities of human excellence were mingled in such happy proportions, that, while he always wore an air of contentment, no enterprise in which he engaged seemed too lofty for his powers. Even as a child, he had been the pride of his father's house. He had received the best instruction which Cambridge and Dublin could afford, and had perfected his education by visiting, in part at least, in the public service, not Holland and France only, in the days of Prince Maurice and Richelieu, but Venice and Constantinople. From boyhood his manners had been spotless; and the purity of his soul added lustre and beauty to the gifts of nature and industry. As he travelled through Europe, he sought the society of men eminent for learning. Returning to England in the bloom of life, with every promise of preferment which genius, gentleness of temper, and influence at court, could inspire, he preferred to follow his father to the New World; regarding "diversities of countries but as so many inns," alike conducting to "the journey's end." When his father, the father of Massachusetts, became impoverished by his expenses in planting the colony, the pious son, unsolicited and without recompense, relinquished his large inheritance, that "it might be spent in furthering the great work" in Massachusetts; himself, single-handed and without wealth, engaging in the enterprise of planting Connecticut. Care for posterity seemed the motive to his actions. His vast and elevated mind had, moreover, that largeness, that he respected learning, virtue, and genius, in whatever sect they might be found. No narrow bigotry limited his affections or his esteem; and when Quakers had become the objects of persecution, he was ready to beg on his bare knees that they might not be put to death. Master over his own mind, he never regretted the brilliant prospects he had resigned, nor complained of the comparative solitude of New London; a large library furnished employment to his mind; the study of nature, according to the principles of the philosophy of Bacon, was his delight; for "he had a gift in understanding and art;" and his home was endeared by a happy marriage, and "many sweet children." In history he appears by unanimous consent, from early life, without a blemish; and it is the beautiful testimony of his own father, that "God gave him favor in the eyes of all with whom he had to do."

In his interview with Charles II., there is reason to believe he was able to inspire that naturally benevolent monarch with curiosity; perhaps he amused him with accounts of Indian warfare, and descriptions of the marvels of a virgin world. A

favorable recollection of Charles I., who had been a friend to his father's father, and who gave to his family an hereditary claim on the Stuarts, was effectually revived. His personal merits, sympathy for his family, his exertions, the petition of the colony, and the real good-will of Clarendon,—for we must not reject all faith in generous feeling,—easily prevailed to obtain for Connecticut an ample patent. The courtiers of King Charles, who themselves had an eye to possessions in America, suggested no limitations; and perhaps it was believed, that Connecticut would serve to balance the power of Massachusetts.

The charter, which is dated in April, 1662, disregarding the hesitancy of New Haven, the rights of the colony of New Belgium, and the claims of Spain on the Pacific, connected New Haven with Hartford in one colony, of which the limits were extended from the Narragansett River to the Pacific Ocean.

With regard to powers of government, the colonists were allowed to elect all their own officers, to enact their own laws, to administer justice without appeals to England, to inflict punishments, to confer pardons, and, in a word, to exercise every power, deliberative and active. The king, far from reserving a negative on the acts of the colony, did not even require that the laws should be transmitted for his inspection; and no provision was made for the interference of the English government in any event whatever. Connecticut was independent except in name.

After his successful negotiations, and efficient concert in founding the Royal Society, Winthrop returned to America, bringing with him a name which England honored, and which his country should never forget, and resumed his tranquil life in rural retirement. The amalgamation of the two colonies could not be effected without collision; and New Haven had been unwilling to merge itself in the larger colony; the wise moderation of Winthrop was able to reconcile the jarrings, and blend the interests of the United Colonies. The universal approbation of Connecticut followed him throughout the remainder of his life; for twice seven years he continued to be annually elected to the office of her chief magistrate.

And the gratitude of Connecticut was reasonable. The charter which Winthrop had obtained secured to her an existence of tranquillity which could not be surpassed. The minds of the yeomanry were kept active by the constant exercise of the elective franchise; and except under James II., there was no such thing in the land as an officer appointed by the English king. Connecticut, from the first, possessed unmixed

popular liberty. The government was in honest and upright hands; the little strifes of rivalry never became heated; the magistrates were sometimes persons of no ordinary endowments; but though gifts of learning and genius were valued, the state was content with virtue and single-mindedness; and the public welfare never suffered at the hands of plain men. It was confessed, that "the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of the world as a refuge and receptacle for all sorts of consciences;" and there never existed a persecuting spirit in Connecticut, while "it had a scholar to their minister in every town or village." Religious knowledge was carried to the highest degree of refinement, alike in its application to moral duties, and to the mysterious questions on the nature of God, of liberty, and of the soul. A hardy race multiplied along the alluvion of the streams, and subdued the more rocky and less inviting fields; and its population, for a century, doubled once in twenty years, in spite of considerable emigration. The strifes of the parent country, though they sometimes occasioned a levy among the sons of the husbandmen, yet never brought an enemy within their borders; tranquillity was within their gates, and the peace of God within their hearts. No fears of midnight ruffians could disturb the sweetness of slumber; the best house required no fastening but a latch, lifted by a string; bolts and locks were unknown.

There was nothing morose in the Connecticut character. It was temperate industry enjoying the abundance which it had created. No great inequalities of condition excited envy, or raised political feuds; wealth could display itself only in a larger house and a fuller barn; and covetousness was satisfied by the tranquil succession of harvests. There was venison from the hills; salmon, in their season, not less than shad, from the rivers; and sugar from the trees of the forest. For a foreign market little was produced besides cattle; and in return for them but few foreign luxuries stole in. Even so late as 1713, the number of seamen did not exceed one hundred and twenty. The soil had originally been justly divided, or held as common property in trust for the public, and for new-comers. Forestalling was successfully resisted; the brood of speculators in land inexorably turned aside. Happiness was enjoyed unconsciously; beneath the rugged exterior humanity wore its sweetest smile. There was for a long time hardly a lawyer in the land. The husbandman who held his own plough, and fed his own cattle, was the great man of the age; no one was superior to the matron, who, with her busy daughters, kept the

hum of the wheel incessantly alive, spinning and weaving every article of their dress. Fashion was confined within narrow limits; and pride, which aimed at no grander equipage than a pillion, could exult only in the common splendor of the blue and white linen gown, with short sleeves, coming down to the waist, and in the snow-white flaxen apron, which, primly starched and ironed, was worn on public days by every woman in the land. For there was no revolution except from the time of sowing to the time of reaping—from the plain dress of the week day to the more trim attire of Sunday.

Every family was taught to look upward to God, as to the Fountain of all good. Yet life was not sombre. The spirit of frolic mingled with innocence: religion itself sometimes wore the garb of gayety; and the annual thanksgiving to God was, from primitive times, as joyous as it was sincere.

The frugality of private life had its influence on public expenditure. Half a century after the concession of the charter, the annual expenses of the government did not exceed eight hundred pounds, or four thousand dollars; and the wages of the chief justice were ten shillings a day while on service. In each county a magistrate acted as judge of probate, and the business was transacted with small expense to the fatherless.

Education was always esteemed a concern of the deepest interest, and there were common schools from the first. Nor was it long before a small college, such as the day of small things permitted, began to be established; and Yale owes its birth "to ten worthy fathers, who, in 1700, assembled at Branford, and each one, laying a few volumes on a table, said, 'I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony.'"

But the political education of the people is due to the happy organization of towns, which here, as indeed throughout all New England, constituted each separate settlement a little democracy of itself. It was the natural reproduction of the system, which the instinct of humanity had imperfectly revealed to our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. In the ancient republics, citizenship had been an hereditary privilege. In Connecticut, citizenship was acquired by inhabitancy,—was lost by removal. Each town-meeting was a little legislature, and all inhabitants, the affluent and the more needy, the wise and the foolish, were members with equal franchises. There the taxes of the town were discussed and levied; there the village officers were chosen; there roads were laid out, and bridges voted; there the minister was elected, the representatives to the assembly were instructed. The debate was open to all; wisdom asked no favors; the churl

abated nothing of his pretensions. If the patriarch of the village possessed a visible influence, it was an unconscious tribute to superior sagacity.

During the intervening century we shall rarely have occasion to recur to Connecticut; its institutions were perfected. For a century, with short exceptions, its history is the picture of colonial happiness. To describe its condition is but to enumerate the blessings of self-government, as exercised by a community of farmers, who have leisure to reflect, who cherish education, and who have neither a nobility nor a populace. How dearly it remembered the parent island, is told by the English names of its towns. Could Charles II. have looked back upon earth, and seen what security his gift of a charter had conferred, he might have gloried in an act which redeemed his life from the charge of having been unproductive of public happiness. The contentment of Connecticut was full to the brim. In a public proclamation under the great seal of the colony, it told the world that its days under the charter were "halcyon days of peace."

Rhode Island was fostered by Charles II. with still greater liberality. When Roger Williams, in 1652, had succeeded in obtaining from the Long Parliament the confirmed union of the territories that now constitute the state, he returned to America, leaving John Clarke as the agent of the colony in England. Never did a young commonwealth possess a more faithful friend; and never did a young people cherish a fonder desire for the enfranchisement of mind. And now that the hereditary monarch was restored and duly acknowledged, they, in October, 1660, avowed their faith that "the gracious hand of Providence would preserve them in their just rights and privileges." "It is much in our hearts," they urged to Charles II., "to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand, and best be maintained, with a full liberty of religious concernments." The benevolent monarch listened to their petition; it is more remarkable that Clarendon exerted himself for the men who used to describe themselves as having fled from bishops as from wolves; the experiment of religious freedom in a nook of a remote continent, could not appear dangerous; it might at once build up another rival to Massachusetts, and solve a curious problem in the history of man. The charter, therefore, which was delayed only by controversies about bounds, was, in July, 1663, perfected and sealed. The supreme power was committed — the rule continues to-day — to a governor, deputy-governor, ten assistants, now called senators, and deputies from the towns.

Of the inhabitants no oath of allegiance was required; the laws were to be agreeable to those of England, yet with the kind reference "to the constitution of the place, and the nature of the people." "No person within the said colony," it was added, "shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any difference in opinion in matters of religion; every person may at all times freely and fully enjoy his own judgment and conscience in matters of religious concernments."

No joy could be purer than that of the colonists, when the news was spread abroad, that "George Baxter, the most faythful and happie bringer of the charter," had arrived. On the twenty-fourth of November, the whole body of the people gathered together at Newport, "for the solemn reception of his majesty's gracious letters-patent." It was "a very great meeting and assembly." The letters of the agent "were opened, and read with good delivery and attention;" the charter was next taken forth from the precious box that had held it, and "was read by Baxter, in the audience and view of all the people; and the letters with his majesty's royal stamp, and the broad seal, with much beseeming gravity, were held up on high, and presented to the perfect view of the people." Now Rhode Island was safe; Massachusetts had denied the separate existence of that colony; she must now yield to the willing witness of their sovereign. And how could Rhode Island be otherwise than grateful to Charles II., who had granted all that it had asked, and who relied on its affections, without exacting even the oath of allegiance?

The thanks of the colony were unanimously voted to a triumvirate of benefactors—to "King Charles of England, for his high and inestimable, yea, incomparable favor;" to Clarendon, the historian, the statesman, the prime minister, who had shown "to the colony exceeding great care and love;" and to the modest and virtuous Clarke, the persevering and disinterested envoy, who, during a twelve years' mission, had sustained himself by his own exertions and a mortgage on his estate; whose whole life was a continued exercise of benevolence, and who, at his death, bequeathed all his possessions for the relief of the needy, and the education of the young. Others have sought office to advance their fortunes; he, like Roger Williams, parted with his little means for the public good. He had powerful enemies in Massachusetts, and left a name without a spot.

The people of Rhode Island, in May, 1664, at the first regular session of their assembly after the acceptance of the charter, and again in 1665, affirmed the great principle of intellectual

liberty in its widest scope, and extended it not to Roman Catholics only, but to men of every creed. "Liberty to all persons, as to the worship of God, had been a principle maintained in the colony from the very beginning thereof; and it was much in their hearts to preserve the same liberty forever."

What more shall we relate of Rhode Island in this early period? That it invented a new mode of voting, since each freeman was obliged to subscribe his name on the outside of his ballot? that, for a season, it divided its general assembly into two houses — a change which, near the close of the century, was permanently adopted? that it ordered the towns to pay the deputies three shillings a day for their legislative services? that it was importuned by Plymouth, and vexed by Connecticut, on the subject of boundaries? that, asking commercial immunities, it recounted to Clarendon the merits of its bay, "in very deed the most excellent in New England; having harbors safe for the biggest ships that ever sailed the sea, and open when others at the east and west are locked up with stony doors of ice"? It is a more interesting question if the rights of conscience and the freedom of mind were strictly respected.

There have not been wanting those who have charged Rhode Island with persecuting the Quakers. The calumny has not even a plausible foundation. The royal commissioners, in 1665, less charitable than the charter, required the oath of allegiance; the general assembly, scrupulous in its respect for the rights of conscience, would listen to no proposition except for an engagement of fidelity, and due obedience to the laws. To refuse the engagement was to forfeit the elective franchise. Could a milder course have been proposed? When, by experience, this engagement was found irksome to the Quakers, it was the next year repealed.

For Maryland, the restoration of the Stuarts was the restoration of its proprietary. Virginia possessed far stronger claims for favor than Rhode Island and Connecticut; and in April, 1661, Sir William Berkeley himself embarked for England as the agent of the colony. But Virginia was unhappy alike in the agent whom she selected and in the object of her pursuit. Berkeley was eager in the advancement of his own interests; and Virginia desired relief from the pressure of the navigation act, which Charles II. had so recently ratified. Relief was impossible; for it was beyond the prerogative of the king, and lay only within the power of parliament. Virginia received no charter, nor any guaranty for her established constitution, except in the instructions to her governor. The confidence of

loyalty was doomed to suffer heavy retribution; and to satisfy the greediness of favorite courtiers, Virginia was dismembered by lavish grants, till at last the whole colony was given away for a generation, as recklessly as a man would give away a life estate in a farm.

Meantime Sir William Berkeley made use of his presence in England for his own account, and set the example of narrowing the limits of the province for which he acted, by embarking with Clarendon and six other principal courtiers and statesmen of that day, in an immense speculation in lands. Berkeley, being about to return to America, was perhaps esteemed a convenient instrument. King Charles was caricatured in Holland, with a woman on each arm, and courtiers picking his pocket. This time they took whole provinces; the territory which they obtained, if divided among the eight, had given to each a tract as extensive as the kingdom of France.

To complete the picture of the territorial changes made by Charles II., it remains to be added, that, having given away the whole south, he, in 1664, enfeoffed his brother with the country between Pemaquid and the St. Croix. In 1677, the proprietary rights to New Hampshire and Maine were revived, with the intent to purchase them for the duke of Monmouth. The fine country from Connecticut River to Delaware Bay, tenanted by nearly ten thousand souls, in spite of the charter to Winthrop, and the possession of the Dutch, was, like part of Maine, given to the duke of York. The charter which secured a province to William Penn, and thus invested philanthropy with executive power on the western bank of the Delaware, was a grant from Charles II. After Philip's war in New England, Mount Hope was hardly rescued from a courtier, then famous as the author of two indifferent comedies. The grant of Nova Scotia to Sir Thomas Temple was not revoked, while, in 1667, Acadia, with indefinite boundaries, was restored to the French. From the outer cape of Nova Scotia to Florida, with few exceptions, the tenure of every territory was changed. Nay, further, the trade with Africa, the link in the chain of universal commerce that first bound Europe, Asia, and America together, and united the Caucasian, the Malay, and the Ethiopian races in indissoluble bonds, was given away to a company, which alone had the right of planting on the African coast. The frozen zone itself was invaded, and Prince Rupert and his associates were endowed with a monopoly of the regions on Hudson's Bay.

During the first four years of his power, Charles II. gave

away a large part of a continent. Had he possessed the means of continuing as lavish, in the course of his reign he would have given away the world.

CHAPTER XXI.

MASSACHUSETTS AND CHARLES II.

MASSACHUSETTS never enjoyed the favor of the restored government. The virtual independence which had been exercised for the last twenty years was too dear to be hastily relinquished. The news of the restoration, brought by the ships in which Goffe and Whalley were passengers, was received with skeptical anxiety; and no notice was taken of the event. At the session of the general court in October, 1660, a motion for an address to the king did not succeed; affairs in England were still regarded as unsettled. At last it became certain that the hereditary family of kings had recovered its authority, and that swarms of enemies to the colony had gathered round the new government; a general court was convened in December, and the colonists appealed to the king of England, as "a king who had seen adversity, and who, having himself been an exile, knew the hearts of exiles." They prayed for "the continuance of civil and religious liberties," and in return for the protection of them, they promised the blessing of a people whose trust is in God. At the same time, Leverett, the agent of the colony, was instructed to make interest in its behalf with members of parliament and the privy council; to intercede for its chartered liberties; and to resist appeals to England alike in cases civil or criminal.

A general expression of good-will from the king could not quiet apprehension. The committee for the plantations surmised that Massachusetts would, if it dared, cast off its allegiance, and resort to an alliance with Spain, or to any desperate remedy, rather than admit of appeals to England. Upon this subject a controversy immediately arose; and the royal government resolved to establish the principle which the Long Parliament had waived. It was therefore not without reason, that the colony foreboded collision with the crown; and, after a full report from a numerous committee, of which Bradstreet, Hawthorne, Mather, and Norton were members, the general court,

in June, 1661, published a declaration of natural and chartered rights.

Their liberties under God and their patent they declare to be, "to choose their own governor, deputy-governor, and representatives; to admit freemen on terms to be prescribed at their own pleasure; to set up all sorts of officers, superior and inferior, and point out their power and places; to exercise, by their annually-elected magistrates and deputies, all power and authority, legislative, executive, and judicial; to defend themselves by force of arms against every aggression; and to reject, as an infringement of their right, any parliamentary or royal imposition prejudicial to the country and contrary to any just act of colonial legislation." The duties of allegiance were narrowed to a few points, which conferred neither profit nor substantial power on the king.

Thus Massachusetts joined issue with the king, by denying the right of appeal, and with the parliament, by declaring the navigation act an infringement of chartered rights. It was not till these long and careful preparations had been completed, that, more than a year after his restoration, Charles II. was acknowledged by public proclamation. A few formalities were coldly observed. The day that saw monarchy renewed on this side the Atlantic was not esteemed a day of rejoicing.

The large majority in the colony still insisted on sustaining, with the charter, an independent administration in undiminished force; others were willing to make such concessions as would satisfy the ministry of Clarendon. The first party held the reins of government, and John Norton, a fine scholar and rigid Puritan, yet a friend to moderate counsels, was joined with the excellent Simon Bradstreet in the commission for England. They were instructed to persuade the king of the confiding loyalty of Massachusetts, and yet to suffer no appeals from the colony to his clemency or his consideration; to propitiate the monarch, and yet to save the independence of the country. Conscious that they were sent on an impossible mission, the envoys, in February, 1662, embarked with great reluctance.

King Charles received the messengers with courtesy; and they returned in the autumn with the royal answer, which probably originated with Clarendon. A confirmation of the charter was granted, with a conditional amnesty of offences. But the king asserted his right to reverse the judgments of the courts of the colony; he demanded a repeal of all laws derogatory to his authority; the administration of the oath of allegiance; the administration of justice in his name; the complete

toleration of the Church of England; and a concession of the elective franchise to every inhabitant possessing a competent estate.

The question of obedience was a question of liberty, and gave birth to the parties of prerogative and of freedom.

The representatives of Massachusetts, instead of complying with the wishes of the king, resolved on measures conducive "to the glory of God, and to the felicity of his people;" that is, to a continuance of their religious institutions, and their democratic independence.

Meantime the people of Massachusetts were not ignorant how great dangers they incurred by refusing to comply with the demand of their sovereign. False rumors were mingled with true reports, and assisted to incense the court at St. James. Whalley and Goffe, it was currently asserted, were at the head of an army; the union of the four New England colonies was believed to have had its origin in the express "purpose of throwing off dependence on England." The news was soon spread abroad, that commissioners would be appointed to regulate the affairs of New England.

Precautionary measures were promptly adopted. The patent was delivered to a committee of four, by whom it was to be kept safely and secretly for the country. To guard against danger from an armed force, officers and soldiers were forbidden to land from ships, except in small parties; and strict obedience to the laws of Massachusetts was required from them. In conformity to former usage, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed. That age was an age of religious faith: every man was required to attend public worship. Not an individual, but the sick, was ordinarily absent; for, in those days, the mother took with her the nursling whom she could not leave. To appoint a day of fasting on a special occasion was to call together, in their respective assemblies, every individual of the colony, and to engage the attention of the whole people to a single subject, under the sanction of the invisible presence of God.

At length, in July, 1664, the fleet, equipped for the reduction of the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, arrived at Boston, bearing commissioners hostile to colonial liberties, and charged to investigate the manner in which the charters of New England had been exercised, "with full authority to provide for the peace of the country, according to the royal instructions, and their own discretion."

At once the people descried the approach of tyranny. They feared discretion. They would never trust it to their own

magistrates; and should they now submit to the discretion of strangers and enemies? The general court assembled to meet the danger, and resist the commission as a flagrant violation of chartered rights. In regard to the obedience due to a government, the inhabitants of Massachusetts distinguished between natural obedience and voluntary subjection. The child born on the soil of England is necessarily an English subject; but they held to the original right of expatriation—that every man may withdraw from the land of his birth, and renounce all duty of allegiance with all claim to protection. This they themselves had done. They had emigrated to a new world, where they might have organized their government, on the basis of natural rights, and of perfect independence. The connection which they retained with England, they held to be purely voluntary; originally and solely established, and therefore exclusively defined, by the charter.

As the establishment of a commission with discretionary powers was not specially sanctioned by that charter, they resolved to resist the orders of the king, and nullify his commission. While, therefore, the fleet was engaged in reducing New York, Massachusetts published an order prohibiting complaints to the commissioners; and, in October, remonstrating not against deeds of tyranny, but the menace of tyranny,—not against actual wrong, but against a principle of wrong,—they, in a formal address, announced to King Charles II., that "the privilege of GOVERNMENT WITHIN THEMSELVES was their undoubted right in the sight of God and man. To be governed by rulers of their own choosing and laws of their own, was the fundamental privilege of their patent." They threaten "to seek new dwellings;" they positively refuse acquiescence in the rapacious designs of the English courtiers. "Our liberties," they add, "are far dearer to us than our lives; to obtain them we have willingly ventured our lives, and passed through many deaths.

"A poor people, destitute of outward favor, wealth, and power, now cry unto their lord the king. May your majestie regard their cause, and maintain their right; it will stand among the marks of lasting honor to after generations."

The spirit of the people corresponded with the address. Did any appear to pay court to the commissioners, they became objects of derision. Even the writing to the king and chancellor was not held to be a duty; the compact by the charter required only the payment to the king of one-fifth of all gold and silver ore; this was an obligation; any notice of the king beyond

this was but by way of civility. It was also hoped to weary the English government by a tedious correspondence, which might be continued till a new revolution. There were many in New England who confidently expected a revival of liberty after the restoration, and what was called "the slaying of the witnesses." "Who knows," it was also asked, "what the event of this Dutch war will be?" Public meetings of the people were held; the brave and liberal Hawthorne, at the head of a company of train-bands, made a speech which royalists deemed "seditious;" and the inflexible Endicot, just as the last sands of life were running out, addressed the people at their meeting-house in Boston. The aged Davenport was equally unbending. "The commission," said he from New Haven, "is but a tryal of our courage; the Lord will be with his people while they are with him. If you consent to this court of appeals, you pluck down with your own hands the house which wisdom has built for you and your posterity."

To Connecticut, the controversy of Massachusetts with the commissioners was fraught with beneficial results. It facilitated the entire union of the two colonies of Hartford and New Haven; and, as the commissioners were desirous to make friends in the other colonies, they avoided all angry collisions, gave no countenance to a claim advanced by the duke of Hamilton to a large tract of territory in the colony; and in arranging the limits of New York, though the charter of Clarendon's son-in-law extended to the River Connecticut, they established the boundary, on the main, in conformity with the claims of Connecticut itself. Long Island went to the duke of York. Satisfied with the harmony which they had secured by attempting nothing but for the interests of the colony, the commissioners saw fit to praise to the monarch "the dutifulness and obedience of Connecticut," which was "set off with the more lustre by the contrary deportment of Massachusetts."

The policy of Rhode Island, of relying on England for protection, secured to the royal agents in that province a more favorable reception. Plymouth, the weakest colony of all, though the commissioners, flattering the long-cherished hopes of the inhabitants, had promised them a charter if they would but set an example of compliance, stood firm for its independence. The general assembly, after due consideration, "with many thanks to the commissioners, and great protestations of loyalty to the king," "chose to be as they were."

If Plymouth could not be blinded by the dazzling prospect of a charter, there was no room to expect success in Massachusetts.

The conference held between the two parties, in May, 1665, soon degenerated into an altercation.

Tired of discussion, the commissioners resolved to act, and declared their intention of holding a court to decide a cause in which the colony was cited to appear as defendant. The general court forbade the procedure. The commissioners refused to recede; the morning for the trial dawned; the parties had been summoned; the commissioners were preparing to proceed with the cause, when, by order of the court, a herald stepped forth, and, having sounded the trumpet with due solemnity, made a public proclamation, in the name of the king, and by authority of the charter, declaring to all the people of the colony, that, in observance of their duty to God, to the king, and to their constituents, the general court could not suffer any to abet his majesty's honorable commissioners in their proceedings.

Some extraordinary form of publicity was thought necessary, to give validity to the remonstrance. The herald sounded the trumpet in three several places, and repeated publicly his proclamation. We may smile at this solitary imitation of a feudal ceremony. Yet when had the voice of a herald proclaimed the approach of so momentous a contest? It was not merely a struggle of the general court and the commissioners; nor yet of Charles II. and Massachusetts; it was a still more momentous combat—the dawning strife of the new system against the old system, of American politics against European politics.

The defeated commissioners, proceeding to the north, endeavored to inquire into the bounds of New Hampshire and Maine, and to prepare for the restoration of proprietary claims. Massachusetts was again equally active and fearless; its governor and council forbade the towns on the Piscataqua to meet, or in anything to obey the commission, at their utmost peril.

In Maine, the temper of the people was more favorable to royalty; they preferred the immediate protection of the king to an incorporation with Massachusetts, or a subjection to the heir of Gorges; and the commissioners, setting aside the officers appointed by Massachusetts, and neglecting the pretensions of Gorges, issued commissions to persons of their selection to govern the district. Secure in the support of a resolute minority, the Puritan commonwealth, after the departure of the commissioners, again established its authority over the province. From the southern limit of Massachusetts to the Kennebec, the colonial government maintained its independent jurisdiction. The agents of the king left not a trace of their presence.

The frowardness of Massachusetts was visited by reproofs

from the English monarch; to whom it was well known that "the people of that colony affirmed, his majesty had no jurisdiction over them." And Bellingham and Hawthorne were, by a royal mandate, in 1666, expressly commanded, on their allegiance, to attend in England, with two or three others, whom the magistrates of Massachusetts were to appoint as their colleagues.

The general court was convened in September, to consider the letter from the king. The morning of the second day was spent in prayer; six elders prayed. The next day, after a lecture, some debate was had; and petitions, proposing compliance with the king, were afterwards forwarded from Boston, Salem, Ipswich, and Newbury. "Let some regular way be propounded for the debate," said Bellingham, the governor, a man who emphatically hated a bribe. "The king's prerogative gives him power to command our appearance," said the moderate Bradstreet; "before God and men we are to obey." "You may have a trial at law," insinuated an artful royalist; "when you come to England, you may insist upon it and claim it." "We must as well consider God's displeasure as the king's," retorted Willoughby; "the interest of ourselves and of God's things, as his majesty's prerogative; for our liberties are of concernment, and to be regarded as to the preservation; for if the king may send for me now, and another to-morrow, we are a miserable people." "Prerogative is as necessary as law," rejoined the royalist. "Prerogative is not above law," said the inflexible Hawthorne, ever the advocate of popular liberty. After much argument, obedience was refused. "We have already"—such was the reply of the general court—"furnished our views in writing, so that the ablest persons among us could not declare our case more fully."

This decision of disobedience was made at a time when the ambition of Louis XIV. of France, eager to grasp at the Spanish Netherlands, and united with De Witt by a treaty of partition, had, in consequence of his Dutch alliance, declared war against England. It was on this occasion that the idea of the conquest of Canada was first distinctly proposed to New England. It was proposed only to be rejected as impossible. "A land march of four hundred miles, over rocky mountains and howling deserts," was too terrible an obstacle. But Boston equipped several privateers, and not without success. At the same time, colonial loyalty did not content itself with barren professions; it sent provisions to the English fleet in the West Indies, and to the navy in England a ship-load of masts.

The defiance of Massachusetts was not followed by immediate danger. The ministry of Clarendon was fallen; he himself was become an exile; and profligate libertines had gained places in the royal cabinet. While England remained without a good government, the colonies flourished in purity and peace. The affairs of New England were often discussed; but the privy council was overawed by the moral dignity which they could not comprehend. In 1671, there were great debates, in which the king took part, "in what style to write to New England." Charles himself commended this affair more expressly, because "the colony was rich and strong, able to contest with all other plantations about them." "There is fear," said the monarch, "of their breaking from all dependence on this nation." "Some of the council proposed a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humor of that colonie were utterly against." After many days, it was concluded, "that, if any, it should be only a conciliating paper at first, or civil letter; for it was understood they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence upon the crown." "Information of the present face of things was desired," and Cartwright, one of the commissioners, was summoned before the council, to give "a relation of that country;" but such was the picture that he drew, the council were more intimidated than ever, so that nothing was recommended beyond "a letter of amnesty." By degrees, it was proposed to send a deputy to New England, under the pretext of adjusting boundaries, but "with secret instructions to inform the council of the condition of New England, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his majesty, and declare for themselves, as independent of the crown." Their strength was reported to be the cause "which of late years made them refractory." What need of many words? The king was taken up by "the childish, simple, and baby face" of a new favorite, and his traffic of the honor and independence of England to the king of France. The duke of Buckingham, now in mighty favor, was revelling with a luxurious and abandoned rout; and the discussions at the council about New England, were, for the present, as fruitless as the inquiries how nutmegs and cinnamon might be naturalized in Jamaica.

Massachusetts prospered by the neglect. The "schismaticks to the church," and "rebels to the king," enjoyed the blessings of self-government and virtual independence. The villages of New England were already the traveller's admiration; the acts of navigation were not regarded; no custom-house was

established. Massachusetts, which now stretched to the Kennebec, possessed a widely-extended trade, acting as the carrier for nearly all the colonies, and sending its ships into the most various climes. Vessels from Spain and Italy, from France and Holland, might be seen in Boston harbor; commerce began to pour out wealth on the colonists. Villages extended; prosperity was universal. Beggary was unknown; theft was rare.

If "strange new fashions" prevailed among "the younger sort of women," if "superfluous ribbons" were worn on their apparel, at least "musicians by trade, and dancing schools," were not fostered. It was still remembered that the people were led into the wilderness by Aaron, not less than by Moses; and in spite of the increasing spirit of inquiry and toleration, it was resolved to retain the Congregational churches "in their purest and most athletick constitution."

Amidst the calmness of such prosperity, many of the patriarchs of the colony,—the hospitable, sincere, but persecuting Wilson; the uncompromising Davenport, ever zealous for Calvinism, and zealous for independence, who founded New Haven on a rock, and, having at first preached beneath the shade of a forest-tree, now lived to behold the country full of convenient churches; the tolerant Willoughby, who had pleaded for the Baptists; the incorruptible Bellingham, precise in his manners, and rigid in his principles of independence;—these, and others, the fathers of the people, lay down in peace, closing a career of virtue in the placid calmness of hope, and lamenting nothing so much as that their career was finished too soon for them to witness the fulness of New England's glory.

It is difficult to form exact opinions on the population of the several colonies in this earlier period of their history; the colonial accounts are incomplete; and those which were furnished by emissaries from England are extravagantly false. Perhaps no great error will be committed, if we suppose the white population of New England, in 1675, to have been fifty-five thousand souls. Of these, Plymouth may have contained not less than seven thousand; Connecticut, nearly fourteen thousand; Massachusetts proper, more than twenty-two thousand; and Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, each perhaps four thousand. The settlements were chiefly agricultural communities, planted near the sea-side, from New Haven to Pemaquid. The beaver trade, even more than traffic in lumber and fish, had produced the villages beyond the Piscataqua; yet in Maine, as in New Hampshire, there was "a great trade in deal boards." Cultivation had not extended far into the interior. Haverhill,

on the Merrimac, was a frontier town; from Connecticut, emigrants had ascended as far as the rich meadows of Deerfield and Northfield; but to the west, Berkshire was a wilderness; Westfield was the remotest plantation. Between the towns on Connecticut River, and the cluster of towns near Massachusetts Bay, Lancaster and Brookfield were the solitary abodes of Christians in the desert. The government of Massachusetts extended to the Kennebec, and included more than half the population of New England; the confederacy of the colonies had also been renewed, in anticipation of dangers.

The number of the Indians of that day hardly amounted to thirty thousand in all New England west of the St. Croix. Of these, perhaps about five thousand dwelt in the territory of Maine; New Hampshire may have hardly contained three thousand; and Massachusetts, with Plymouth, never from the first peopled by many Indians, seems to have had less than eight thousand. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, never depopulated by wasting sickness, the Mohegans, the Narragansetts, the Pokanokets, and kindred tribes, had multiplied their villages round the sea-shore, the inlets, and the larger ponds, which increased their scanty supplies by furnishing abundance of fish. Yet, of these, the exaggerated estimates melt away, when subjected to criticism. To Connecticut, rumor, in the days of the elder Winthrop, gave three or four thousand warrior Indians; and there may have been half of the larger number; the Narragansetts, like so many other tribes, boasted of their former grandeur; but they could not bring into action a thousand bowmen. Thus, therefore, west of the Piscataqua, there were probably about fifty thousand whites, and hardly twenty-five thousand Indians; while east of the same stream, there were about four thousand whites, aud perhaps more than that number of red men.

A sincere attempt had been made to redeem these "wrecks of humanity," by planting in their hearts the seeds of conscious virtue, and gathering them into permanent villages. Foremost among the early missionaries—the morning star of missionary enterprise—was John Eliot, whose benevolence almost amounted to the inspiration of genius. An Indian grammar was a pledge of his earnestness; the pledge was redeemed by his preparing and publishing a translation of the whole Bible into the Massachusetts dialect. His actions, his thoughts, his desires, all wore the hues of disinterested love. His uncontrollable charity welled out in a perpetual fountain.

Nor was Eliot alone. In the islands round Massachusetts,

and within the limits of the Plymouth patent, missionary zeal and charity were active; and "that young New England scholar," the gentle Mayhew, forgetting the pride of learning, endeavored to win the natives to a new religion. At a later day, he took passage for England, to awaken interest there; and the ship in which he sailed was never more heard of. But such had been the force of his example, that his father, though bowed down by the weight of seventy years, resolved on assuming the office of the son whom he had lost, and, till beyond the age of fourscore years and twelve, continued to instruct the natives of the isles; and with the happiest results. The Indians within his influence, though twenty times more numerous than the whites in their immediate neighborhood, preserved an immutable friendship with Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE INDIAN WAR IN NEW ENGLAND.

THUS churches were gathered among the heathen; villages of "praying Indians" established; at Cambridge, in 1665, an Indian actually became a bachelor of arts. Yet Christianity hardly spread beyond the Indians on Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket, and the seven feeble villages round Boston. The Narragansetts, a powerful tribe, counting at least a thousand warriors, hemmed in between Connecticut and Plymouth, restless and jealous, retained their old belief; and Philip of Pokanoket, at the head of seven hundred warriors, professed with pride the faith of his fathers.

The aged Massasoit—he who had welcomed the Pilgrims to the soil of New England, and had opened his cabin to shelter the founder of Rhode Island—now slept with his fathers; and his son, Philip of Pokanoket, had succeeded him as chief over allied tribes. Repeated sales of land had narrowed their domains; and the English had artfully crowded them into the tongues of land, as "most suitable and convenient for them." There they could be more easily watched; for the frontiers of the narrow peninsulas were inconsiderable. Thus the two chief seats of the Pokanokets were the necks of land which we now call Bristol and Tiverton; and as the villages of the English drew nearer and nearer to them, their hunting-grounds

were put under culture; their natural parks were turned into pastures; their best fields for planting corn were gradually alienated; till they found themselves deprived of their broad acres, and, by their own legal contracts, driven, as it were, into the sea.

Collisions and mutual distrust were the necessary consequence. When the young warriors came together, how could they fail to regret the wide domains of their ancestors? They spurned the English claim of jurisdiction, and were indignant that Indian chiefs or warriors should be arraigned before a jury. And what, in their eyes, were paper deeds, the seals and signatures of which they could not comprehend the binding force? When the expressions of common passion were repeated by an Indian tale-bearer, fear magnified the plans of the tribes into an organized scheme of resistance.

The haughty chieftain, who had once before been compelled to surrender his "English arms," and pay an onerous tribute, was, in 1674, summoned to submit to an examination, and could not escape suspicion. The wrath of his tribe was roused, and the informer was murdered. The murderers, in their turn, were identified; seized, in June, 1675; tried by a jury, of which one-half were Indians, and, on conviction, were hanged. The young men of the tribe panted for revenge: on the twenty-fourth of the same month, eight or nine of the English were slain in or about Swansey; and the alarm of war spread through the colonies.

Thus was Philip hurried into "his rebellion;" and he is reported to have wept as he heard that a white man's blood had been shed. He had kept his men about him in arms, and had welcomed every stranger; and now, against his judgment and his will, he was involved in war. For what prospect had he of success? Destiny had marked him and his tribe. The English were united; the Indians had no alliance;—the English made a common cause; half the Indians were allies of the English, or were quiet spectators of the fight;—the English had guns enough; but few of the Indians were well armed, and they could get no new supplies;—the English had towns for their shelter and safe retreat; the miserable wigwams of the natives were defenceless; the English had sure supplies of food; the Indians might easily lose their precarious stores. The individual, growing giddy by danger, rushes, as it were, towards his fate; so did the Indians of New England. Frenzy prompted their rising. It was but the storm in which the ancient inhabitants of the land were to vanish away. They rose without

hope, and, therefore, they fought without mercy. For them, as a nation, there was no to-morrow.

The minds of the English were appalled by the horrors of the impending conflict, and superstition indulged in its wild inventions. At the time of the eclipse of the moon, you might have seen the figure of an Indian scalp imprinted on the centre or its disk. The perfect form of an Indian bow appeared in the sky. The sighing of the wind was like the whistling of bullets. Some distinctly heard invisible troops of horses gallop through the air, while others found the prophecy of calamities in the howling of the wolves.

At the very beginning of danger, the colonists exerted their wonted energy. Volunteers from Massachusetts joined the troops from Plymouth; within a week from the commencement of hostilities, the insulated Pokanokets were driven from Mount Hope, and in less than a month, Philip was a fugitive among the Nipmucks, the interior tribe of Massachusetts. The little army of the colonists then entered the territory of the Narragansetts, and from the reluctant tribe extorted a treaty of neutrality, with a promise to deliver up every hostile Indian. Victory seemed promptly assured. But it was only the commencement of horrors. Canonchet, the chief sachem of the Narragansetts, was the son of Miantonómoh, and could not forget his father's wrongs. And would the tribes of New England permit the nation that had first given a welcome to the English to perish unavenged? Desolation extended along the whole frontier. Banished from his patrimony, where the Pilgrims found a friend, and from his cabin, which had sheltered the exiles, Philip, with his warriors, spread through the country, awakening their brethren to a warfare of extermination.

The war, on the part of the Indians, was one of ambushes and surprises. They never once met the English in open field, but always, even if eightfold in numbers, fled timorously before infantry. But they were secret as beasts of prey, skilful marksmen, and in part provided with fire-arms; fleet of foot, conversant with all the paths of the forest, patient of fatigue, and mad with a passion for rapine, vengeance, and destruction; retreating into swamps for their fastnesses, or hiding in the greenwood thickets, where the leaves muffled the eyes of the pursuer. By the rapidity of their descent, they seemed omnipresent among the scattered villages, which they ravaged like a passing storm; and for a full year they kept all New England in a state of terror and excitement. The exploring party was waylaid and cut off, and mangled carcasses and disjointed limbs

were hung upon the trees to terrify pursuers. The laborer in the field, the reapers as they went forth to the harvest, men as they went to mill, the shepherd's boy among the sheep, were shot down by skulking foes, whose approach was invisible. Who can tell the heavy hours of woman? The mother, if left alone in the house, feared the tomahawk for herself and children: on the sudden attack, the husband would fly with one child, the wife with another, and, perhaps, one only escape: the village cavalcade, making its way to meeting on Sunday, in files on horseback, the farmer holding the bridle in one hand, and a child in the other, his wife seated on a pillion behind him, it may be with a child in her lap, as was the fashion in those days, could not proceed safely; but, at the moment when least expected, bullets would come whizzing amongst them, discharged from an ambuscade by the wayside. The forest, that protected the ambush of the Indians, secured their retreat. They hung upon the skirts of the English villages, "like the lightning on the edge of the clouds."

What need of repeating the same tale of horrors? Brookfield was set on fire, and rescued only to be abandoned; Deerfield was burned; Hadley, surprised during a time of religious service, was saved only by the daring of Goffe, the regicide, now bowed with years, a heavenly messenger of rescue, who darted from his hiding-place, rallied the disheartened, and, having achieved a safe defence, sunk away into his retirement, to be no more seen. The plains of Northfield were wet with the blood of Beers and twenty of his valiant associates. As, on the eighteenth of September, Lathrop's company of young men, the very flower of the young men of Essex, all "culled" out of the towns of that county, were conveying the harvests of Deerfield to the lower towns, they were suddenly surrounded by a horde of Indians; and, as each party fought from behind trees, victory declared for the far more numerous savages. Hardly a white man escaped; the little stream that winds through the tranquil scene, by its name of blood, commemorates the massacre of that day. Springfield was burned, and Hadley once more assaulted. The remoter villages were deserted; the pleasant residences that had been won by hard toil in the desert, the stations of civilization in the wilderness, were laid waste.

But the English were not the only sufferers. In winter, it was the custom of the natives to dwell together in their wigwams; in spring, they would be dispersed through the woods. In winter, the warriors who had spread misery through the west were sheltered among the Narragansetts; in spring, they

would renew their devastations. In winter, the absence of foliage made the forests less dangerous; in spring, every bush would be a hiding-place. It was resolved to regard the Narragansetts as enemies; and a little before the winter solstice, a thousand men, levied by the United Colonies, and commanded by the brave Josiah Winslow, a native of New England, invaded their territory. After a night spent in the open air, they waded through the snow from daybreak till an hour after noon, and at last reached the cluster of wigwams which a fort protected. Davenport, Gardner, Johnson, Gallop, Siely, Marshall, led their companies through the narrow entrance, in the face of death, and left their lives as a testimony of their patriotism. But victory was with the white men; nothing could check their determined valor; and the group of Indian cabins was set on fire. Thus were swept away the humble glories of the Narragansetts: the winter's stores of the tribe, their curiously-wrought baskets, full of corn, their famous strings of wampum, their wigwams nicely lined with mats,—all the little comforts of savage life were consumed. And more—their old men, their women, their babes, perished by hundreds in the fire.

Then, indeed, was the cup of misery full for these red men. Without shelter and without food, they hid themselves in a cedar-swamp, with no defence against the cold but the boughs of evergreen trees. They prowled the forests, and pawed up the snow, to gather nuts and acorns; they dug the earth for ground-nuts; they ate remnants of horseflesh as a luxury; they sunk down from feebleness and want of food. Winter and famine, and disease consequent on vile diet, were the allies of the English; while the English troops, after much severe suffering, found their way to firesides.

The spirit of Canonchet did not droop under the disasters of his tribe. "We will fight to the last man," said the gallant chieftain, "rather than become servants to the English." Taken prisoner, in April, 1676, near the Blackstone, a young man began to question him. "Child," replied he, "you do not understand war; I will answer your chief." His life was offered him, if he would procure a treaty of peace; he refused the offer with disdain. "I know," added he, "the Indians will not yield." Condemned to death, he only answered, "I like it well; I shall die before I speak anything unworthy of myself."

Meantime the Indian warriors were not idle. "We will fight," said they, "these twenty years; you have houses, barns, and corn; we have now nothing to lose." And one town in

Massachusetts after another—Lancaster, Medfield, Weymouth, Groton, Marlborough—was laid in ashes.

Nowhere was there more distress than at Lancaster. Forty-two persons sought shelter under the roof of Mary Rowlandson; and, after a hot assault, the Indians succeeded in setting the house on fire. Will the mothers of the United States, happy in the midst of unexampled prosperity, know the sorrows of woman in a former generation? "Quickly," writes Mary Rowlandson, "it was the dolefulest day that ever mine eyes saw. Now the dreadful hour is come. Some in our house were fighting for their lives; others wallowing in blood; the house on fire over our heads, and the bloody heathen ready to knock us on the head, if we stirred out. I took my children to go forth; but the Indians shot so thick, that the bullets rattled against the house, as if one had thrown a handful of stones. We had six stout dogs, but none of them would stir. * * * The bullets flying thick, one went through my side, and through my poor child in my arms." The brutalities of an Indian massacre followed. "There remained nothing to me," she continues, now in captivity, "but one poor wounded babe. Down I must sit in the snow, with my sick child, the picture of death, in my lap. Not the least crumb of refreshing came within either of our mouths from Wednesday night to Saturday night, except only a little cold water. * * * One Indian, and then a second, and then a third, would come and tell me. 'Your master will quickly knock your child on the head.' This was the comfort I had from them; miserable comforters were they all."

Nor were such scenes of ruin confined to Massachusetts. At the south the whole Narragansett country was deserted by the English. Warwick was burned; Providence was attacked and set on fire. There was no security but to seek out the hiding-places of the natives, and destroy them by surprise. On the banks of the Connecticut, just above the falls that take their name from the gallant Turner, was an encampment of large bodies of hostile Indians; on the nineteenth of May, a band of one hundred and fifty volunteers, from among the yeomanry of Springfield, Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton, led by Turner and Holyoke, making a silent march in the dead of night, came at daybreak upon the wigwams. The Indians are taken by surprise; some are shot down in their cabins; others rush to the river, and are drowned; others push from shore in their birchen canoes, and are hurried down the cataract.

As the season advanced, the Indians abandoned every hope. Their forces were wasted; they had no fields that they could

plant. Such continued warfare without a respite was against their usages. They began, as the unsuccessful and unhappy so often do, to quarrel among themselves; recriminations ensued; those of Connecticut charged their sufferings upon Philip; and those who had been his allies became suppliants for peace. Some surrendered to escape starvation. In the progress of the year, between two and three thousand Indians were killed or submitted. Church, the most famous partisan commander, went out to hunt down parties of fugitives. Some of the tribes wandered away to the north, and were blended with the tribes of Canada. Philip himself, a man of no ordinary elevation of character, was chased from one hiding-place to another. He had vainly sought to engage the Mohawks in the contest; now that hope was at an end, he still refused to hear of peace, and struck dead the warrior who proposed it. At length, after the absence of a year, he resolved to return to the beautiful land where were the graves of his forefathers, the cradle of his infancy, and the nestling-place of his tribe. On the third day of August, he escaped narrowly, leaving his wife and only son as prisoners. "My heart breaks," cried the tattooed chieftain, in the agony of his grief; "now I am ready to die." His own followers began to plot against him, to make better terms for themselves, and in a few days he was shot by a faithless Indian. The captive orphan was transported. So perished the princes of the Pokanokets. Sad to them had been their acquaintance with civilization. The first ship that came on their coast kidnapped men of their kindred; and now the harmless boy, that had been cherished as an only child, and the future sachem of their tribes, the last of the family of Massasoit, was sold into bondage to toil as a slave under the suns of Bermuda. Of the once prosperous Narragansetts, of old the chief tribe of New England, hardly one hundred men remained. The sword, fire, famine, and sickness had swept them from the earth.

During the whole war, the Mohegans remained faithful to the English; and no blood was shed on the happy soil of Connecticut. So much the greater was the loss in the adjacent colonies. Twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed; the disbursements and losses equalled in value half a million of dollars—an enormous sum for the few of that day. More than six hundred men, chiefly young men, the flower of the country, of whom any mother might have been proud, perished in the field. As many as six hundred houses were burned. Of the able-bodied men in the colony, one in twenty had fallen; and one family in twenty had been burnt out. The loss of lives and property

was, in proportion to numbers, as distressing as in the revolutionary war. There was scarcely a family from which death had not selected a victim.

Let us not forget a good deed of the generous Irish; they sent over a contribution, small, it is true, to relieve in part the distresses of Plymouth colony. Connecticut, which had contributed soldiers to the war, now furnished the houseless with more than a thousand bushels of corn. "God will remember and reward that pleasant fruit." Boston imitated the example; for "the grace of Christ," it was said, "always made Boston exemplary" in works of that nature.

The eastern hostilities with the Indians had a different origin, and were of longer continuance. The news of the rising of the Pokanokets was, indeed, the signal for the commencement of devastations; and, within a few weeks, the war extended over a space of nearly three hundred miles. But in Maine it was a border warfare, growing out of a consciousness of wrongs, and a thirst for revenge. Sailors had committed outrages, and the Indians avenged the crimes of a corrupt ship's crew on the villages. There was no general rising of the Abenakis, or eastern tribes, no gatherings of large bodies of men. Of the English settlements, nearly one-half were destroyed in detail; the inhabitants were either driven away, killed, or carried into captivity; for covetousness sometimes provoked to mercy, by exciting the hope of a ransom.

The escape of ANNE BRACKETT, granddaughter of George Cleeves, the first settler of Portland, was the marvel of that day. Her family had, in August, 1676, been taken captives at the sack of Falmouth. When her captors hastened forward to further ravages on the Kennebec, she was able to loiter behind; the eye of the mother discerned the wreck of a birchen bark, which, with needle and thread from a deserted house, she patched and repaired; then, with her husband, a negro servant, and her infant child, she trusted herself to the sea in the tattered canoe, which had neither sail nor mast, and was like a feather on the waves. She crossed Casco Bay, and, arriving at Black Point, where she feared to find Indians, and at best could only have hoped to find a solitude, how great was her joy, as she discovered a vessel from Piscataqua, that had just sought an anchoring place in the harbor!

The surrender of Acadia to the French had made the struggle more arduous; for the eastern Indians obtained supplies of arms from the French on the Penobscot. In 1677, the Mohawks were invited to engage in the war; a few of them took

up the hatchet, but distance rendered coöperation impossible. After several fruitless attempts at treaties, in April, 1678, peace was established by Andros as governor of Pemaquid, but on terms which acknowledged the superiority of the Indians.

The defence of New England had been made by its own resources. Jealous of independence, it never applied to the parent country for assistance; and the earl of Anglesey reproached the people with their public spirit. "You are poor," said he, "and yet proud." The English ministry contributing nothing to repair colonial losses, made no secret of its intention to "reassume the government of Massachusetts into its own hands;" and, in 1676, while the Indian war-cry was yet ringing in the forests of Maine, Edward Randolph, at once the agent for Mason, and the emissary from the privy council, a hungry adventurer, whose zeal led him, in the course of nine years, to make eight voyages to America, arrived in New England, with a royal message, requiring submission. The colony, reluctantly yielding to the direct commands of Charles II., resolved to send William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley as envoys to England; grieving at the hardship of being required, at one and the same time, to maintain before courts of law a title to the provinces, and to dispute with a savage foe the possession of dismal deserts.

Remonstrance was of no avail. In 1677, a committee of the privy council, which examined all the charters, denied to Massachusetts the right of jurisdiction over Maine and New Hampshire. The decision was so manifestly in conformity with English law, that the colonial agents attempted no serious defence.

The provinces being thus severed from the government of Massachusetts, King Charles was willing to secure them as an appanage for his reputed son, the kind-hearted, but worthless duke of Monmouth, the Absalom of that day, whom frivolous ambition at last conducted to the scaffold. But in May, 1677, before the monarch, whom extravagance had impoverished, could resolve on a negotiation, Massachusetts, through the agency of a Boston merchant, obtained possession of the claims of Gorges, by a purchase and regular assignment. The price paid was £1250—about six thousand dollars. But Massachusetts did not, at this time, come into possession of the whole territory which now constitutes the state of Maine. France, under the treaty of Breda, claimed and occupied the district from St. Croix to the Penobscot; the duke of York held the tract between the Penobscot and the Kennebec, claiming, in-

deed, to own the whole tract between the Kennebec and the St. Croix; while Massachusetts was proprietary only of the district between the Kennebec and the Piscataqua.

A novel form of political institution ensued. Massachusetts, in her corporate capacity, was become the lord proprietary of Maine; the little republic on the banks of the Charles was the feudal sovereign of this eastern lordship. Maine had thus far been represented in the Massachusetts house of representatives; henceforward she was to be governed as a province, according to the charter to Gorges.

The change of government in New Hampshire was less quietly effected. The patent of Mason was duly investigated in England; it was found that he had no right to jurisdiction; the unappropriated lands were allowed to belong to him; but the rights of the settlers to the soil which they actually occupied were reserved for litigation in colonial courts.

In July, 1679, New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts, and organized as a royal province. It was the first royal government ever established in New England. The king, reserving a negative voice to himself and his officers, engaged to continue the privilege of an assembly, unless he or his heirs should deem that privilege "an inconvenience."

In March, 1680, a general assembly was convened at Portsmouth, and the colony asserted its rights in the first decree of their new code—"No act, imposition, law, or ordinance, shall be valid, unless made by the assembly and approved by the people." Thus did New Hampshire seize the earliest moment of its separate existence, to express the great principle of self-government, and take her place by the side of Massachusetts and Virginia. Nor was Mason successful in establishing his claims to the soil. The colonial government protected the colonists, and restrained his exactions.

Hastening to England, Mason was authorized to select the person to be appointed governor. He found a fit agent in Edward Cranfield, a man who had no object in banishing himself to the wilds of America, but to wrest a fortune from the sawyers and lumber-dealers of New Hampshire.

But the first assembly which Cranfield convened, in November, 1682, dispelled all his golden visions of an easy acquisition of fortune. The "rugged" legislators would not yield their liberties; and, in January, 1683, the governor in anger dissolved the assembly.

The dissolution of an assembly—a novel procedure in New England—was followed by popular discontent, and a cry for

"liberty and reformation." The lawsuits about land were multiplied. Packed juries and partial judges settled questions rapidly; but Mason derived no benefit from a decision in his favor; for he could neither get possession of the estates, nor find a purchaser.

Cranfield still sighed for money; and now, stooping to falsehood, and hastily calling an assembly, on a vague rumor of an invasion, in January, 1684, he demanded a sudden supply of the means of defence. The representatives of New Hampshire would not be hastened; they took time to consider; and, after debate, they negatived the bill which the governor had prepared.

Cranfield next resolved to intimidate the clergy, and forbade the usual exercise of church discipline. In Portsmouth, Moody, the minister, replied to his threats by a sermon, and the church was inflexible.

The governor could only give information in England, that "while the clergy were allowed to preach, no true allegiance could be found." "There could be no quiet, till the factious preachers were turned out of the province."

In February, 1684, one more attempt was made to raise an income, by means of taxes, imposed by the vote of the subservient council. But illegal taxes could not be gathered; associations were formed for mutual support in resisting their collection. If rioters were committed, they were rescued by a new riot; if the troop of horse of the militia were ordered out, not a man obeyed the summons.

"These unreasonable people," wrote Cranfield, "cavil at the royal commission, and not at my person. No one will be accepted by them who puts the king's commands in execution." New Hampshire was ever esteemed in England "factious in its economy, affording no exemplary precedents" to the friends of arbitrary power.

Massachusetts might, perhaps, still have defied the king, and escaped or overawed the privy council; but the merchants and manufacturers of England, fearing the colony as their rival, persisted in demanding that their monopoly should be sustained: and it was resolved to reduce Massachusetts to "a more palpable dependence."

The colony was unwilling to forfeit its charter and its religious liberties on a pecuniary question; and, yet, to acknowledge its readiness to submit to an act of parliament, was regarded as a cession of the privilege of independent legislation. It devised, therefore, an expedient. In 1679, before the return of its

agents from England, it declared that "the acts of navigation were an invasion of the rights and privileges of the subjects of his majesty in the colony, they not being represented in parliament." "The laws of England," they add, "do not reach America." In connection with this declaration, the general court gave validity to the laws of navigation by an act of its own.

Twice did Charles II. remonstrate against the disobedience of his subjects; twice did Randolph cross the Atlantic, and return to England, to assist in directing the government against Massachusetts. The commonwealth was inflexible. At length, in February, 1682, the aspect of affairs in England rendered delay more dangerous; and Dudley and Richards were selected as agents.

On reaching England, they found the condition of the colony desperate. A war against corporations was begun; many cities in England had surrendered. Was it not safest for the colony to decline a contest, and throw itself upon the favor or forbearance of the king? Such was the theme of universal discussion throughout the colony; the people spoke of it at their firesides; the topic went with them to church; it entered into their prayers; it filled the sermons of the ministers; and, finally, Massachusetts resolved, in a manner that showed it to be distinctly the sentiment of the people, to resign the territory of Maine, which was held by purchase, but not to concede one liberty or one privilege which was held by charter. If liberty was to receive its death-blow, better that it should be done by the violence and injustice of others, than by their own weakness.

The message closed the duties of the agents. In 1683, a *quo warranto* was issued; Massachusetts was arraigned before an English tribunal, under judges holding their office at the pleasure of the crown; and, in October, Randolph, the hated messenger, arrived with the writ.

The governor and assistants, the patrician branch of the government, were persuaded of the hopelessness of further resistance; even a tardy surrender of the charter might conciliate the monarch. They, therefore, resolved to remind the king of his promises, and "not to contend with his majesty in a court of law;" they would "send agents empowered to receive his majesty's commands."

The magistrates referred this vote to "their brethren the deputies" for concurrence. During a full fortnight the subject was debated, that a decision might be made in harmony with the people.

"Better suffer," thought they, "than sin. It is better to trust the God of our fathers, than to put confidence in princes. If we suffer because we dare not comply with the wills of men against the will of God, we suffer in a good cause, and shall be accounted martyrs in the next generation and at the great day."

The decision of the colony, by its representatives, is on record:—"The deputies consent not, but adhere to their former bills."

Addresses were forwarded to the king, urging forbearance; but entreaty and remonstrance were vain. A *scire facias* was issued in England; and before the colony could act upon it, on the eighteenth of June, 1684, just one year and six days after the judgment against the city of London, the charter was conditionally adjudged to be forfeited; and the judgment was confirmed on the first day of the Michaelmas term. A copy of the judgment was received in Boston in July of the following year.

Thus fell the charter which the fleet of Winthrop had brought to the shores of New England, which had been cherished with anxious care through every vicissitude, and on which the fabric of New England liberties had rested. There was now no barrier between the people of Massachusetts and the absolute will of the court of England. Gloomy forebodings overspread the colony.

CHAPTER XXIII.

COLONIZATION OF NORTH CAROLINA.

MEANTIME civilization had advanced at the south, and twin stars were emerging beyond the limits of Virginia. The country over which Soto had rambled in quest of gold, where Calvinists, befriended by Coligny, had sought a refuge, and where Raleigh had hoped to lay the foundations of colonial principalities, was beginning to submit to the culture of civilization.

The southern part of our republic, ever regarded as capable of producing all the staples that thrive on the borders of the tropics, was coveted by statesmen who controlled the whole patronage of the British realms. In March, 1663, the province of Carolina, extending from the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude to the River San Matheo, was accordingly erected into

one territory; and the historian Clarendon, the covetous though experienced minister; Monk, so conspicuous in the restoration, and now ennobled as duke of Albemarle; Lord Craven; Lord Ashley Cooper, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury; Sir John Colleton; Lord John Berkeley, with his younger brother, Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia; and the passionate, ignorant, and not too honest Sir George Carteret,—were constituted its proprietors and immediate sovereigns.

The grant had hardly been made before it became apparent that there were competitors claiming possession of the same territory. It was included by the Spaniards within the limits of Florida; and the castle of St. Augustine was deemed proof of the actual possession of an indefinite adjacent country. Spain had never formally acknowledged the English title to any possessions in America; and when, in May, 1667, a treaty was finally concluded at Madrid, it did but faintly concede the right of England to her transatlantic colonies, and to a continuance of commerce in "the accustomed seas."

But Spain did not alone claim Carolina. In 1630, a patent for all the territory had been issued to Sir Robert Heath; and there is room to believe that, in 1639, permanent plantations were planned, and perhaps attempted, by his assign. But that was now declared void, because the purposes for which it was granted had never been fulfilled.

More stubborn rivals were found to have already planted themselves on the River Cape Fear. In 1660 or 1661, a few New England men, navigating a little bark, had made their way into the Cape Fear River, and, purchasing of the Indian chiefs a title to the soil, began a little colony of herdsmen far to the south of any English settlement on the continent. The infant town planted on Oldtown Creek, near the south side of Cape Fear River, did not prosper; but New England planters and New England principles of popular liberty remained in North Carolina; and to them may fairly be traced something of the resolute spirit for which the colony was distinguished.

The first settlements on Albemarle Sound were a result of spontaneous overflowings from Virginia. Perhaps a few vagrant families were planted within the limits of Carolina before the restoration. At that period, men who were impatient of interference, who dreaded the enforcement of religious conformity, who distrusted the spirit of the new government in Virginia, plunged more deeply into the forests. It is known that, in in 1662, the chief of the Yeopim Indians granted to George Durant the neck of land which still bears his name; and, in the

following year, George Cathmaid could claim from Sir William Berkeley a large grant of land upon the Sound, as a reward for having established sixty-seven persons in Carolina. This may have been the oldest considerable settlement; there is reason to believe that volunteer emigrants had preceded them. In September the colony had attracted the attention of the proprietaries, and Berkeley was commissioned to institute a government over the region, which, in honor of Monk, received the name of Albemarle, that time has transferred to the bay. The plantations were chiefly on the north-east bank of the Chowan; and, as the mouth of that river is north of the thirty-sixth parallel of latitude, they were not included in the first patent of Carolina. Yet Berkeley, who was but governor of Virginia, and was a joint proprietary of Carolina, obeyed his interest as land-holder more than his duty as governor, and, severing the settlement from the Ancient Dominion, established a separate government over men who had fled into the woods for the enjoyment of independence, and who had already, at least in part, obtained a grant of their lands from the aboriginal lords of the soil.

Berkeley did not venture to discuss the political principles, or dispute the possessions, of these bold pioneers. He appointed William Drummond—an emigrant to Virginia from Scotland, probably a Presbyterian, a man of prudence and popularity, deeply imbued with the passion for popular liberty—to be the governor of Northern Carolina; and, instituting a simple form of government, a Carolina assembly, and an easy tenure of lands, he left the infant people to take care of themselves; to enjoy liberty of conscience and of conduct in the entire freedom of innocent retirement; to forget the world, till, in 1666, rent-day should draw near, and quitrents be demanded. Such was the origin of fixed settlements in North Carolina. The child of ecclesiastical oppression was swathed in independence.

But not New England and Virginia only turned their eyes to the southern part of our republic. Several planters of Barbadoes had, in 1663, despatched a vessel to examine the country, and purchase a tract of land on Cape Fear River. Under an ample grant of liberties from the proprietaries, Sir John Yeamans conducted, in the autumn of 1665, a band of emigrants from Barbadoes, and on the south bank of Cape Fear River laid the foundation of a town, which flourished so little, that its site is at this day a subject of dispute.

Meantime the proprietaries, indifferent to the claims of Virginia, and in open contempt of Spain, in June, 1665, obtained

from the king a new charter, which granted to them, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, all the land lying between twenty-nine degrees and thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, north latitude; a territory extending seven and a half degrees from north to south, and more than forty degrees from east to west; comprising all the territory of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, much of Florida and Missouri, nearly all of Texas, and a large portion of Mexico. The soil, and, under the limitation of a nominal allegiance, the sovereignty also, were theirs, with the power of legislation, subject to the consent of the future freemen of the colony. The grant of privileges was ample, like those to Rhode Island and Connecticut. An express clause opened the way for religious freedom; another gave them the power of erecting cities and manors, counties and baronies, and of establishing orders of nobility, with other than English titles.

With the new charters the designs of the company expanded. The germs of colonies already existed; imagination encouraged in futurity every extravagant anticipation; and, in 1668, Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury, the most active and the most able of the corporators, was deputed to frame for the dawning states a constitution.

Shaftesbury was at this time in the full maturity of his powers; celebrated for eloquence, philosophic genius, and sagacity; high in power, and of aspiring ambition. Born to great hereditary wealth, the pupil of Prideaux had given his early years to the assiduous pursuit of knowledge; the intellectual part of his nature had from boyhood obtained the mastery over the love of indulgence and luxury. Connected with the great landed aristocracy of England, cradled in politics, and chosen a member of parliament at the age of nineteen, his long public career was checkered by the greatest varieties of success. But though, with his changing fortunes, he often changed his associates, he never changed his purposes: alike the enemy to absolute monarchy and to democratic influence, he resolutely connected his own aggrandizement with the privileges and interests of British commerce, of Protestant religious liberty, and of the landed aristocracy of England. The "nobility" was, in his view, the "rock" of "English principles;" the power of the peerage, and of arbitrary monarchy, were "as two buckets, of which one goes down exactly as the other goes up." In the people of England, as the depository of power and freedom, Shaftesbury had no confidence; his system protected wealth and privilege."

At a time when John Locke was unknown to the world, the sagacity of Shaftesbury had detected the deep riches of his mind, and selected him for a bosom friend and adviser in the work of legislation for Carolina. Locke was at this time in the midway of life, adorning the clearest understanding with the graces of gentleness, good humor, and beautiful ingenuousness. Of a sunny disposition, he could be choleric without malice, and gay without levity. Like the younger Winthrop, he was a most dutiful son. His lucid mind despised the speculations of a twilight philosophy, esteeming the pursuit of truth the first object of life, and its attainment as the criterion of dignity; and therefore he never sacrificed a conviction to an interest. The ill-success of the democratic revolution of England had made him an enemy to popular innovations; and he regarded the privileges of the nobility as the guaranties of English liberties. Destitute of a love for ideal excellence, he believed it possible to construct the future according to the forms of the past. No voice of God within his soul called him away from the established usages of England; and, as he went forth to lay the foundations of civil government in the wilderness, he bowed his mighty understanding to the persuasive influence of Shaftesbury.

But the formation of political institutions in the United States was not effected by "nobles after the flesh." American history knows but one avenue to success in American legislation —freedom from ancient prejudice. The truly great lawgivers in our colonies first became as little children.

"The interests of the proprietors," the desire of "a government most agreeable to monarchy," and the dread of "a numerous democracy," are avowed as the motives for forming the fundamental constitutions of Carolina.

The proprietaries, as sovereigns, constituted a close corporation of eight—a number which was never to be diminished or increased. The dignity was hereditary; in default of heirs, the survivors elected a successor. Thus was formed an upper house.

The creation of two orders of nobility, one of landgrave or earl, of two caciques or barons for each country, preceded the distribution of lands into five equal parts, of which one remained the inalienable property of the proprietaries, and another formed the inalienable and indivisible estates of the nobility. The remaining three-fifths were reserved for what was called the people. The number of the nobility might neither be increased nor diminished; election supplied the places left vacant

for want of heirs; for, by an agrarian principle, estates and dignities were not allowed to accumulate.

The leet-men, or tenants, were to be adscripts to the soil, "under the jurisdiction of their lord, without appeal;" and it was added, "all the children of leet-men shall be leet-men, and so to all generations." "Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves." No elective franchise could be conferred on a freehold of less than fifty acres. All executive power, and, in the last resort, all judiciary power, rested with the proprietaries themselves. Of the fifty who composed the grand council of Carolina, fourteen only represented the commons, and of these fourteen the tenure of office was for life.

The constitutions recognized four estates—the proprietaries, the landgraves, the caciques, and the commons. In the parliament, all the estates assembled in one chamber; apart from the proprietaries, who might appear by deputies, the commons elected four members for every three of the nobility; but none but large proprietaries were eligible. Thus executive, judicial, and even legislative power was virtually independent of the people.

While every religion was tolerated, the Church of England—it is the only clause ingrafted upon the constitutions by the proprietaries against the wishes of Locke—was declared to be the only true and orthodox, the national religion of Carolina, and therefore alone to receive public maintenance by grants from the colonial parliament.

The constitutions were signed in March, 1670, and in England became the theme of extravagant applause; and the proprietaries believed they had set their seals to "a sacred and unalterable" instrument, which they fearlessly decreed should endure "forever." As far as depended upon the proprietaries, the government was immediately organized; and Monk, duke of Albemarle, was constituted palatine.

Albemarle had been increased by fresh emigrants from New England, and by a colony of ship-builders from the Bermudas, who, in 1667, lived contentedly with Stevens as chief magistrate, under a very wise and simple form of government. A few words express its outlines: a council of twelve, six named by the proprietaries, and six chosen by the assembly; an assembly, composed of the governor, the council, and twelve delegates from the freeholders of the incipient settlements,—formed a government worthy of popular confidence.

The authentic record of the legislative history of North Caro-

lina begins with the autumn of 1669. It was then enacted that none should for five years be sued for any cause of action arising out of the country. Marriage was made a civil contract. New settlers were exempted from taxation for a year. Strangers were prohibited from trading with the neighboring Indians. As every adventurer who joined the colony received a bounty in land, frauds were checked by withholding a perfect title, till the emigrant should have resided two years in the colony. The members of this early legislature probably received no compensation; to meet the expenses of the governor and council, a fee of thirty pounds of tobacco was exacted in every lawsuit. Such was the simple legislation of men, who, being destitute of fortune, had roamed in quest of it. The laws were confirmed by the proprietaries, were reënacted in 1715, and were valid in North Carolina for more than half a century.

Hardly had these few laws been established, when the new constitution was forwarded to Albemarle; but the nature of the people rendered its introduction impossible. The proprietaries, contrary to stipulations with the colonists, superseded the existing government; and the colonists resolutely rejected the substitute.

Far different was the welcome with which the people of North Carolina, in 1672, met the first messengers of religion. From the commencement of the settlement, there seems not to have been a minister in the land. But when, in 1672, William Edmundson came to visit his Quaker brethren among the groves of Albemarle, "he met with a tender people." A quarterly meeting of discipline was established; and the sect, of which opposition to spiritual authority is the badge, was the first to organize a religious government in Carolina.

In the autumn of the same year, George Fox, the father of the sect, the upright man, who could say of himself, "What I am in words, I am the same in life," travelled across "the great bogs" of the Dismal Swamp, commonly "laying abroad anights in the woods by a fire," till at last he reached a house in Carolina, and obtained the luxury of a mat by the fireside. Carolina had ever been the refuge of fugitives from ecclesiastical oppression. The people "lived lonely in the woods," with no other guardian to their solitary houses than a watch-dog. The plantations of that day were upon the bay, and along the streams that flow into it; the rivers and the inlets were the highways of Carolina; the boat and the lighter birchen skiff the only equipage; every man knew how to handle the oar; and there was hardly a woman in the land but could paddle a canoe.

Here was a colony of men from civilized life, scattered among the forests, hermits with wives and children, resting on the bosom of nature, in perfect harmony with the wilderness of their gentle clime. With absolute freedom of conscience, benevolent reason was the simple rule of their conduct. Such was the people to whom George Fox "opened many things concerning the light and spirit of God that is in every one," without distinction of education or race. The governor of the province, with his wife, "received him lovingly." From the house of the governor the traveller continued his journey to the residence of "Joseph Scot, one of the representatives of the country," where he had "a sound and precious meeting" with the people. His eloquence reached their hearts, for he did but assert the paramount value of the impulses and feelings which had guided them in the wilderness. At another meeting, "the chief secretary of the province," who "had been formerly convinced," was present; and Fox became his guest, yet not without "much ado;" for, as the boat approached his plantation, it grounded in the shallow channel, and could not be brought to shore. But a little skiff shot promptly to the traveller's relief; the wife of the secretary of state came herself in a canoe, and brought him to her hospitable home. Among emigrants like these, the introduction of the constitutions of Locke was impossible.

In 1674, while it was thus practically uncertain what was the government of North Carolina, the country was left without a governor by the death of Stevens. The assembly, conforming to a prudent instruction of the proprietaries, continued to elect a successor; until, in 1677, Miller arrived in the province, in which he was to hold the triple office of president or governor, secretary, and collector.

At that time North Carolina hardly contained four thousand inhabitants; a few fat cattle, a little maize, and eight hundred hogsheads of tobacco formed all their exports; their humble commerce had attracted none but small vessels from New England; and the mariners of Boston, guiding their vessels through the narrow entrances of the bay, brought to the doors of the scattered planters the few foreign articles which the exchange of their produce could purchase. And yet this inconsiderable traffic, so little alluring, but so convenient to the colonists, was envied by the English merchant; the law of 1672 was now to be enforced; the traders of Boston were to be crowded from the market by an unreasonable duty, and the planters to send their harvests to England as they could.

The attempt at enforcing the navigation acts in 1678 hastened an insurrection, which was fostered by refugees from Virginia, and by New England men; and which, having been the effect of deliberate contrivance, was justified by the first American manifesto. Excessive taxation, an abridgment of political liberty by the change in the form of government, with the "denial of a free election of an assembly," and the unwise interruption of the natural channels of commerce, were the threefold grievances of the colony. The leader in the insurrection was John Culpepper, one of those "very ill men" who loved popular liberty, and whom the royalists of that day denounced as having merited "hanging, for endeavoring to set the poor people to plunder the rich." One of the counsellors joined in the rebellion; the rest, with Miller, were imprisoned, "that thereby the country may have a free parliament, and may send home their grievances." Having deposed and imprisoned the president and the deputies of the proprietaries, and set at naught the acts of parliament, the people recovered from anarchy, tranquilly organized a government, and established courts of justice. The insurgents, having completed their institutions, in 1679, sent Culpepper and another to England to negotiate a compromise. It proves in Culpepper a conviction of his own rectitude, that he did not hesitate to accept the trust.

To a struggle between the planters and the proprietaries, the English public had been indifferent; but Miller, escaping from Carolina, presented himself as the champion of the navigation acts, and enlisted in his favor the jealous anger of the mercantile cities. Culpepper was taken into custody, and his opposition to the proprietaries was held, under a statute of Henry VIII., to justify an indictment for high treason, committed without the realm. Against the act of tyranny Culpepper vainly protested, claiming "to be tried in Carolina, where the act was committed." "Let no favor be shown him," said Lauderdale and the lords of the plantations. But when, in June, 1680, he was brought up for trial, Shaftesbury, who at that time was in the zenith of popularity, with clear sagacity, penetrated the injustice of the accusation, appeared in his defence, and procured his acquittal. Thus was the insurrection in Carolina excused by the verdict of an English jury.

But how should the proprietaries establish their authority in the plantations? It was a natural expedient to send one of the proprietaries themselves to look after the interests of the company; and, in 1680, Seth Sothel, who had purchased the rights of Lord Clarendon, was selected for the purpose. Sothel, on

reaching the colony, in 1683, found tranquillity established. The counties were quiet and well regulated, because not subjected to a foreign sway; the planters, in peaceful independence, enjoyed the freedom of the wilderness. The proprietary arrived and the scene was changed.

To introduce the constitutions was impossible, unless for one who could transform a log-cabin into a baronial castle, a negro slave into a herd of leet-men. And how could one man, without soldiers, and without a vessel of war, enforce the navigation acts? Having neither the views nor the qualities of a statesman, Sothel had no higher purpose than to satiate his sordid passions, and, like so many others, employed his power to gratify his covetousness, by exacting unjust fees, or by engrossing traffic with the Indians. His object was money, and he valued his office as the means of gaining it. His avarice was not unusually exorbitant. He did but practise the arts of exaction with which nearly every royal province was becoming familiar. But the people of North Carolina were already experienced in rebellion. They bore with him about five years, and, in 1688, deposed him without bloodshed, condemning him to a twelve months' exile, and a perpetual incapacity for the government.

Here was a double grief to the proprietaries; the rapacity of Sothel was a breach of trust, the judgment of the assembly an ominous usurpation. The planters of North Carolina recovered tranquillity as soon as they escaped the misrule from abroad, and, sure of amnesty, esteemed themselves the happiest people on earth. They loved the pure air and clear skies of their "summer land." True, there was no fixed minister in the land till 1703; no church erected till 1705; no separate building for a court-house till 1722; no printing-press till 1754. Careless of religious sects, or colleges, or lawyers, or absolute laws, the early settlers enjoyed liberty of conscience and personal independence, freedom of the forest and of the river, and they desired no greater happiness than they enjoyed.

CHAPTER XXIV.

COLONIZATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Of South Carolina, the first settlement was founded by the proprietaries, and resembled in its origin an investment of capital by a company of land-jobbers, who furnished the emigrants with the means of embarking for America, established on its shores their own commercial agent, and undertook for themselves the management of all commercial transactions. But success attended neither the government which they formed, nor the industry which they fostered. South Carolina was a scene of turbulence till the constitutions were abandoned; and industry was unproductive till the colonists despised patronage and relied on themselves.

It was in January, 1670, more than a month before the Grand Model was signed, a considerable number of emigrants set sail for Carolina, which, both from climate and soil, was celebrated in advance as "the beauty and envy of North America." They were conducted by Joseph West, as commercial agent for the proprietaries, and by William Sayle, who was probably a Presbyterian, and was now constituted a proprietary governor, with jurisdiction extending as far north as Cape Carteret, as far south as the Spaniards would tolerate. Having touched at Ireland and Bermuda, the ships which bore the company entered the well-known waters where the fleet of Ribault had anchored, and examined the spot where the Huguenots had engraved the lilies of France, and erected the fortress of Carolina. But the vicinity of Beaufort was not destined to harbor the first colony of the English; the emigrants, after short delay, sailed into Ashley River, and on "the first highland," in a spot that seemed "convenient for tillage and pasturing," the three shiploads of emigrants, who as yet formed the whole people of South Carolina, selected their resting-place, and began their first town. Of this town not a vestige remains, except the line of a moat, which served as a defence against Indians. Every log-house has vanished, and the site is absorbed in a plantation.

The emigrants had hardly landed, before they instituted a government on the basis of liberty. An unfinished copy of the fundamental constitutions had been furnished them; but it

was indeed impossible "to execute the grand model." As easily might trees have been turned into cathedrals, or castles, at a word, erected in these solitary groves on the savannas. A parliamentary convention was held; five members of the grand council were elected to act with five whom the proprietaries had appointed; the whole body possessed a veto on the executive; and, with the governor and twenty delegates, who were now elected by the people, became the legislature of the province. Representative government was established, and continued to be cherished. The proprietaries indulged the vision of realizing the introduction of the constitutions. John Locke, Sir John Yeamans, and James Carteret were created landgraves; and a complete copy of the Model was sent over, with a set of rules and instructions. But Shaftesbury misjudged; there was already a people in South Carolina; and the validity of the constitutions was firmly resisted by the popular representatives. Thus the organization of the commonwealth contained a political feud, and led to the party of the proprietaries and the party of the people; religious divisions combining with political feuds, the friends of the High Church, always a minority, favored the former, while all classes of dissenters united with the latter.

The first site for a town had been chosen without regard to commerce. The point between the two rivers, to which the names of Shaftesbury were given, soon attracted attention; in 1672, those who had obtained grants there, desirous of neighbors, willingly offered to surrender one-half of their land as "commons of pasture." The offer was in part refused; in 1680, on Oyster Point, the neck of land now covered by Charleston, the cabins of graziers began the city. The settlement, though for some years it struggled against an unhealthy climate, steadily increased.

The institutions of Carolina were still further modified by the character of the emigration that began to throng to her soil. The proprietaries continued to send emigrants, who were tempted by the offer of land at an easy quitrent. Clothes and provisions were distributed to those who could not provide themselves.

In 1671, Sir John Yeamans arrived from Barbadoes with African slaves. Thus the institution of negro slavery is coëval with the first plantations on Ashley River. Of the original thirteen states, South Carolina alone was from its cradle essentially a planting state with slaves. The labor of felling the forest, of tilling the soil, was avoided by the white man; cli-

mate favored the purposes of commercial avarice; and the negro race was multiplied so rapidly by importations, that in a few years, we are told, the blacks were to the whites as twenty-two to twelve—a proportion that had no parallel north of the West Indies.

The changes that were taking place on the banks of the Hudson had excited discontent; the rumor of wealth to be derived from the fertility of the south, cherished the desire of emigration; and almost within a year from the arrival of the first fleet in Ashley River, two ships came with Dutch emigrants from New York, and were followed by others of their countrymen from Holland.

Imagination already regarded Carolina as the chosen spot for the culture of the olive; and, in the region where flowers bloom every month in the year, orange-trees were to supplant the cedar, silkworms to be fed from plantations of mulberries, and choicest wines to ripen under a nearly tropical sun. For this end, in April, 1679, Charles II., with an almost solitary exercise of munificence towards a colony, provided, at his own expense, two small vessels, to transport to Carolina a few foreign Protestants, who might there domesticate the productions of the south of Europe.

From England, also, emigrations were considerable. The character of the proprietaries was a sufficient invitation to the impoverished Cavalier; and the unfortunate of the Church of England could look to the shores of Carolina as the refuge where they were assured of favor. Even Shaftesbury, in 1681, when he was committed to the Tower, desired leave to expatriate himself, and inhabit Carolina.

Nor did Churchmen alone emigrate. The promise of equal immunities tempted dissenters beyond the Atlantic, to colonies where their worship was tolerated. Of these, many were attracted to the glowing clime of Carolina, carrying with them intelligence, industry, and sobriety.

A colony of Irish, under Ferguson, were lured by the fame of the fertility of the south, and were received with so hearty a welcome that they were soon merged among the other colonists.

The condition of Scotland, also, compelled its inhabitants to seek peace by abandoning their native country. In 1683, just after the death of Shaftesbury, a scheme, which had been concerted during the tyranny of Lauderdale, was revived. Thirty-six noblemen and gentlemen entered into an association for planting a colony in the New World; their agents had contracted with the patentees of South Carolina for a large district

of land, where Scottish exiles for religion might enjoy freedom of faith and a government of their own. Yet the design was never completely executed. It was with but a small colony that the Presbyterian Lord Cardross, many of whose friends had suffered imprisonment, the rack, and death itself, and who had himself been persecuted under Lauderdale, set sail for Carolina. But, even there, the ten families of outcasts found no peace. They planted themselves, in 1684, at Beaufort, in Port Royal; the colony of Ashley River claimed over them a jurisdiction which was reluctantly conceded. Cardross returned to Europe, to render service in the approaching revolution; and the Spaniards, taking umbrage at a plantation established on ground which they claimed as a dependency of St. Augustine, in 1686, invaded the frontier settlement, and laid it entirely waste. Of the unhappy emigrants, some returned to Scotland, some mingled with the earlier planters of Carolina.

More than a hundred years had elapsed since Coligny, with the sanction of the French monarch, had selected the southern regions of the United States as the residence of the Huguenots. The realization of that design is the most remarkable incident in the early history of South Carolina.

John Calvin, by birth a Frenchman, was to France the apostle of the reformation; but his faith had ever been feared as the creed of republicanism; his party had been pursued as the sect of rebellion; and it was only by the force of arms that the Huguenots had obtained a conditional toleration. Even the edict of Nantes placed their security, not on the acknowledgment of the permanent principle of legislative justice, but on a compromise between contending parties. It was but a confirmation of privileges which had been extorted from the predecessors of Henry IV. And yet it was the harbinger of religious peace; so long as the edict of Nantes was honestly respected, the Huguenots of Languedoc were as tranquil as the Lutherans of Alsace. But their tranquillity invited from their enemies a renewal of attacks; no longer a powerful faction, they were oppressed with rigor; having ceased to be feared, they were exposed to persecution.

At length, on the twenty-second of October, 1685, the edict of Nantes was formally revoked. Calvinists might no longer preach in churches or in the ruins of churches; all public worship was forbidden them; and Louis XIV. believed his glory perfected by an absolute union of all dissenters with the Roman church.

But the efforts of tyranny were powerless. Truth enjoys se-

renely her own immortality ; and opinion, which always yields to a clearer conviction, laughs violence to scorn. The unparalleled persecution of vast masses of men for their religious creed occasioned but a new display of the power of humanity ; the Calvinists preserved their faith over the ashes of their churches, and the bodies of their murdered ministers. The power of a brutal soldiery was defied by whole companies of faithful men, that still assembled to sing their psalms ; and from the country and the city, from the comfortable homes of wealthy merchants, from the abodes of an humbler peasantry, from the workshops of artisans, hundreds of thousands of men rose up, as with one heart, to bear testimony to the indefeasible, irresistible right to freedom of mind.

Every wise government was eager to offer a refuge to the upright men who could carry to other countries the arts, the skill in manufactures, and the wealth of France. Emigrant Huguenots put a new aspect on the north of Germany, where they formed towns and sections of cities, introducing manufactures before unknown. A suburb of London was filled with French mechanics ; the prince of Orange gained entire regiments of soldiers, as brave as those whom Cromwell led to victory ; a colony of them reached even the Cape of Good Hope. In our American colonies, they were welcome everywhere. The religious sympathies of New England were awakened. Did any arrive in poverty, having barely escaped with life—the towns of Massachusetts contributed liberally to their support, and provided them with lands. Others repaired to New York ; but a warmer climate was more inviting to the exiles of Languedoc, and South Carolina became the chief resort of the Huguenots. What though the attempt to emigrate was by the law of France a felony? In spite of every precaution of the police, five hundred thousand persons escaped from their country. The unfortunate were more wakeful to fly than the ministers of tyranny to restrain.

"We quitted home by night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house with its furniture," said Judith, the young wife of Pierre Manigault. "We contrived to hide ourselves for ten days at Romans, in Dauphiny, while a search was made for us ; but our faithful hostess would not betray us." Nor could they escape to the seaboard, except by a circuitous journey through Germany and Holland, and thence to England in the depths of winter. "Having embarked at London, we were sadly off. The spotted fever appeared on board the vessel, and many died of the disease ; among these

our aged mother. We touched at Bermuda, where the vessel was seized. Our money was all spent; with great difficulty we procured a passage in another vessel. After our arrival in Carolina, we suffered every kind of evil. In eighteen months, our eldest brother, unaccustomed to the hard labor which we were obliged to undergo, died of a fever. Since leaving France, we had experienced every kind of affliction—disease, pestilence, famine, poverty, hard labor. I have been for six months, without tasting bread, working the ground like a slave; and I have passed three or four years without having it when I wanted it. And yet," adds the excellent woman, "God has done great things for us, in enabling us to bear up under so many trials."

This family was but one of many that found a shelter in Carolina, the general asylum of the Calvinist refugees. Escaping from a land where the profession of their religion was a felony, where their estates were liable to be confiscated in favor of the apostate, where the preaching of their faith was a crime to be expiated on the wheel, where their children might be torn from them, to be subjected to the nearest Catholic relation,—the fugitives from Languedoc on the Mediterranean, from Rochelle, and Saintange, and Bordeaux, the provinces on the Bay of Biscay, from St. Quentin, Poictiers, and the beautiful valley of Tours, from St. Lo and Dieppe, men who had the virtues of the English Puritans, without their bigotry, came to the land to which the tolerant benevolence of Shaftesbury had invited the believer of every creed. Here they obtained an assignment of lands, and soon had tenements. Their church was in Charleston; and thither, on every Lord's day, gathering from their plantations upon the banks of the Cooper, and taking advantage of the ebb and flow of the tide, they might all regularly be seen, the parents with their children, whom no bigot could now wrest from them, making their way in light skiffs towards the flourishing village at the confluence of the rivers.

Other Huguenot emigrants established themselves on the south bank of the Santee, in a region which has since been celebrated for affluence and refined hospitality.

It has been usual to relate, that religious bigotry denied to the Huguenot emigrants immediate denization. If full hospitality was for a season withheld, the delay grew out of a controversy in which all Carolinians had a common interest; and the privileges of citizenship were conceded as soon as it could be done by Carolinians themselves. It was not yet determined with whom the power of naturalizing foreigners resided, nor how Carolina should be governed. The great mass of the

people were intent on framing their own institutions; and collisions with the lords proprietors long kept the government in confusion.

At first the proprietaries acquiesced in a government which had little reference to the constitutions. The first governor had sunk under the climate and the hardships of founding a colony. His successor, Sir John Yeamans, was a sordid calculator, bent on acquiring a fortune. He encouraged his employers in expense, and enriched himself, without gaining respect or hatred. "It must be a bad soil," said his weary employers, "that will not maintain industrious men, or we must be very silly that would maintain the idle."

From 1674 to 1683, the moderation and good sense of West were able to preserve tranquillity; but the lords, who had first purchased his services by the grant of all their merchandise and debts in Carolina, in the end dismissed him from office, on the charge that he favored the popular party.

The continued struggles with the proprietaries hastened the emancipation of the people from their rule; but the praise of having been always in the right cannot be awarded to the colonists. The latter claimed the right of weakening the neighboring Indian tribes by a partisan warfare, and a sale of the captives into West Indian bondage; their antagonists demanded that the treaty of peace with the natives should be preserved.

England had always favored its merchants in the invasion of the Spanish commercial monopoly; had sometimes protected pirates; and Charles II. had conferred the honors of knighthood on a freebooter. The treaty of 1667 changed the relations of the pirate and the contraband trader. But men's habits do not change so easily; and in Carolina, especially after Port Royal had been laid waste by the Spaniards, there were not wanting those who regarded the buccaneers as their natural allies against a common enemy, and thus opened one more issue with the proprietaries.

When, in 1685, a collector of plantation duties was appointed, a new struggle arose. The palatine court, careful not to offend the king, who, nevertheless, was not diverted from the design of annulling their charter by a process of law, gave orders that the acts of navigation should be enforced. The colonists, who had made themselves independent of the proprietaries in fact, esteemed themselves independent of parliament of right. Here, as everywhere, the acts were indignantly resisted as at war with natural equity; here they were also hated as an infringement

of the conditions of the charter, of which the validity was their motive to emigrate.

The pregnant cause of dissensions in Carolina could not be removed till the question of powers should be definitively settled. The proprietaries were willing to believe, that the cause existed in the want of dignity and character in the governor. That affairs might be more firmly established, James Colleton, a brother of a proprietary, was appointed governor, with the rank of landgrave and an endowment of forty-eight thousand acres of land; but neither his relationship, nor his rank, nor his reputation, nor his office, nor his acres, could procure for him obedience; because the actual relations between the contending parties were in no respect changed. When Colleton, in November, 1686, met the colonial parliament which had been elected before his arrival, a majority refused to acknowledge the binding force of the constitutions; by a violent act of power, Colleton excluded the refractory members from the parliament. What could follow but a protest from the disfranchised members against any measures which might be adopted by the remaining minority?

The new parliament of 1687 was still more intractable; and the "standing laws" which they adopted were negatived by the palatine court.

From questions of political liberty, the strife between the parties extended to all their relations. When Colleton endeavored to collect quitrents, not only on cultivated fields, but on wild lands also, direct insubordination ensued; and the assembly, imprisoning the secretary of the province, and seizing the records, defied the governor and his patrons, and entered on a career of absolute opposition.

In 1689, Colleton resolved on one last, desperate effort, and, pretending danger from Indians or Spaniards, called out the militia, and declared martial law. But who were to execute martial law? The militia were the people, and there were no other troops. Colleton was in a more hopeless condition than ever; for the assembly believed itself bound to protect the country against a military despotism. It was evident the people were resolved on establishing a government agreeable to themselves. The English revolution of 1688 was therefore imitated on the banks of the Ashley and Cooper. In 1690, soon after William and Mary were proclaimed, a meeting of the representatives of South Carolina disfranchised Colleton, and banished him from the province.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE GRAND REBELLION IN VIRGINIA.

For more than eight years, "THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA" had governed themselves; and their government had been conducted with wise moderation. Tranquillity and a rapid increase of population promised the extension of its borders, and colonial life was sweetened by the enjoyment of equal franchises. Every officer was, directly or indirectly, chosen by the people.

The power of the people naturally grew out of the character of the early settlers, who were, most of them, adventurers, bringing to the New World no wealth but enterprise, no rank but that of manhood, no privileges but those of Englishmen. Unlike Massachusetts, Virginia was a continuation of English society. The first colonists were not fugitives from persecution; they came, rather, under the auspices of the nobility, the church, and the mercantile interests of England; they brought with them an attachment to monarchy, a deep reverence for the Anglican church, a love for England and English institutions. The principle of the English law which grants real estate to the eldest born was respected; but generations of Virginians had hardly as yet succeeded each other; the rule had produced no effect upon society, and, from the beginning, had been modified in many counties by custom. Yet a body of large proprietors had existed from the infancy of the settlement; and their vast possessions began to awaken the feelings of family pride.

The power of the rising aristocracy was still further increased by the character of the plebeian population of Virginia. Many of them had come as servants, doomed, according to the severe laws of that age, to a temporary bondage; and this division of society into classes was unmitigated by public care for education. The system of common schools was unknown. "Every man," said Sir William Berkeley, in 1671, "instructs his children according to his ability"—a method which left the children of the ignorant to hopeless ignorance. "The ministers," continued Sir William, in the spirit of the aristocracy of the Tudors, "should pray oftener and preach less. But, I thank God, there are no free schools, nor printing; and I hope we shall not have, these hundred years; for learning has brought

disobedience, and heresy, and sects, into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!"

Still white laborers were emancipated, when their years of servitude were ended; and the law was designed to secure and to hasten their enfranchisement. The insurrection which was plotted by a number of servants in 1663 did not extend beyond a scheme of indented servants to anticipate the period of their freedom. The effort was the work of ignorant men, and was easily suppressed.

Towards the negro the laws were less tolerant. The statute which declares who are slaves followed the old idea, long prevalent through Christendom, "All servants, not being Christians, imported into this country by shipping, shall be slaves." Yet it was added, "conversion to the Christian faith doth not make free." Doubts arose, if the offspring of an Englishman by a negro woman should be bond or free; and the rule of the Roman law prevailed over the Anglo-Saxon: the offspring followed the condition of its mother. "The death of a slave from extremity of correction was not accounted felony." Finally, it was made lawful for "persons, pursuing fugitive colored slaves, to wound, or even to kill them." The master was absolute lord over the negro.

The aristocracy, which was thus confirmed in its influence by the extent of its domains, by its superior intelligence, and by the character of a large part of the laboring class, naturally aspired to the government of the country; from among them the council was selected; many of them were returned as members of the legislature; and in the organization of the militia, they also held commissions. The entire absence of local municipal governments necessarily led to an extension of the power of the magistrates. The justices of the peace for each county fixed the amount of county taxes, assessed and collected them, and superintended their disbursement; so that military, judicial, legislative, and executive powers were often deposited in the hands of men, who, as owners of large estates, masters of many indented servants, and lords of slaves, already indicated an established aristocracy.

The emigrant royalists had hitherto not acted as a political party, but took advantage of peace to establish their fortunes. On the tidings of the restoration of Charles II., the fires of loyalty blazed up, perhaps the more vehemently for their long inactivity. Virginia shared the passionate joy of England; and, with general consent, Sir William Berkeley, no longer acting

as governor, elected by the people, but assuming such powers as his royal commission bestowed, issued writs for an assembly in the name of the king. The sovereignty over itself, which Virginia had exercised so well, had come to an end.

The apprehensions of Virginia were awakened by the establishment of the colonial monopoly in the navigation act; and the assembly, alarmed at this open violation of the natural and prescriptive "freedoms" of the colony, appointed Sir William Berkeley its agent, to present the grievances of Virginia and procure their redress. Here, again, the influence of royalist legislation is perceptible.

But Sir William Berkeley did not, even after years of experience, understand the principles of the act against which he was deputed to expostulate. We have seen that he obtained for himself and partners a portion of the territory of Virginia; for the colony he did not secure one franchise; and Virginia long and vainly attempted to devise a remedy against the commercial oppression of England.

Thus, at the very season when the rising aristocracy of Virginia was seeking, by the aid of royal influence, to confirm its supremacy, the policy of the English government oppressed colonial industry so severely as to excite the hostility of the province. The party which united with the officers of the crown in the desire of gaining a triumph over democratic influences, was always on the point of reconciling itself with the people, and making a common cause against the tyranny of the metropolis.

At the epoch of the restoration, the royalist party had gained the ascendency in the legislature, elected under the first influence of excited loyalty. At once it disfranchised "a factious and schismatical magistrate;" and, in the course of its long-continued sessions, it modified the democratical features of the constitution, till a radical change was effected. In 1662, the English Episcopal church became once more the religion of the state. For assessing parish taxes, twelve vestrymen were now to be chosen in each parish, with power to fill all vacancies in their own body; so that the control of church affairs passed from the parish to a close corporation. No non-conformist might teach, even in private, under pain of banishment; no reader might expound the Catechism or the Scriptures. The obsolete severity of the laws of Queen Elizabeth was revived against the Quakers. Absence from church was for them an offence, punishable by a monthly fine of twenty pounds sterling. To meet in conventicles of their own was forbidden under fur-

ther penalties. To the remonstrance of the Quaker Owen, that "tender consciences must obey the law of God, however they suffer," the answer was, "There is no toleration for wicked consciences."

Virginia permitted no ceremony of marriage but according to the rubric in the Book of Common Prayer. The "new-fangled conceits" of the Baptists were punished by a heavy mulct. In 1663, Virginia, as if resolved to hasten the colonization of North Carolina, sharpened her laws against all separatists, punished their meetings by heavy fines, and ordered the more affluent to pay the forfeitures of the poor. The colony, that should have opened its doors wide to all the persecuted, punished the ship-master that received non-conformists as passengers, and threatened such as resided in the colony with banishment. John Porter, the burgess for Lower Norfolk, was expelled from the assembly, "because he was well affected to the Quakers."

The legislature was equally friendly to the power of the crown. In every colony where Puritanism prevailed, there was a uniform disposition to refuse a fixed salary to the royal governor. The royalist legislature of Virginia, for the purpose of well paying his majesty's officers, established, in 1662, a constant revenue by a permanent imposition on all exported tobacco; and the royal officers, requiring no further action of an assembly for granting taxes, were placed above the influence of colonial legislation.

The organization of the judiciary placed that department of the government almost entirely beyond the control of the people. The governor and council were the highest ordinary tribunal; and these were all appointed, directly or indirectly, by the crown: besides this, there were in each county eight unpaid justices of the peace, commissioned by the governor during his pleasure. These justices held monthly courts, in their respective counties. Thus the administration of justice, in the counties, was in the hands of persons holding their offices at the good-will of the governor; while the governor himself, and his executive council, constituted the general court, and had cognizance of all sorts of causes. Was an appeal made to chancery —it was but for another hearing before the same men; and it was only for a few years longer that appeals were permitted from the general court to the assembly. The place of sheriff in each county was conferred on one of the justices for that county, and so devolved to every commissioner in course.

But the county courts, thus independent of the people, pos-

sessed and exercised the arbitrary power of levying county taxes, which in their amount usually exceeded the public levy. This system proceeded so far, that the commissioners, of themselves, levied taxes to meet their own expenses. In like manner, the self-perpetuating vestries made out their lists of tithables, and assessed taxes without regard to the consent of the parish. These private levies were unequal and oppressive; were seldom —it is said, never—brought to audit; and were, in some cases at least, managed by men who combined to defraud the public.

For the organization of the courts, ancient usage could be pleaded. A series of innovations gradually effected a revolution in the system of representation. The law which limited the duration of legislative service to two years was silently but "utterly abrogated and repealed;" and the legislators assumed to themselves, by their own act, an indefinite continuance of power. The parliament of England, chosen on the restoration, was not dissolved for eighteen years. The legislature of Virginia retained its authority for almost as long a period, and yielded it only to an insurrection.

The rate of wages of the burgesses—far greater than is tolerated in these days of opulence—was fixed by the same assembly, and for its own members, who had usurped, as it were, a perpetuity of office. The taxes for this purpose were paid with great reluctance, and, as they amounted to about two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco for the daily emoluments of each member, were for a new country an intolerable grievance.

The freedom of elections was further impaired by "frequent false returns" made by the sheriffs. Against these the people had no sufficient redress; for the sheriffs were responsible neither to them nor to officers of their appointment.

The system of universal suffrage could not permanently find favor with an assembly which had given to itself an indefinite existence. The restrictions adopted by the monarchical government of England were cited as a fit precedent for English colonies; and, in 1670, it was enacted that "none but freeholders and housekeepers shall hereafter have a voice in the election of any burgesses."

Thus was a majority of the people of Virginia disfranchised by the act of their own representatives. An assembly continuing for an indefinite period at the pleasure of the governor, and decreeing to its members extravagant and burdensome emoluments; a royal governor, whose salary was established by a permanent system of taxation; a constituency restricted and diminished; also religious liberty taken away almost as soon as

it had been won; arbitrary taxation in the counties by irresponsible magistrates; a hostility to popular education, and to the press;—these were the changes which, in about ten years, were effected in a province that had begun to enjoy a virtual independence.

The English parliament had crippled the industry of the planters of Virginia; the colonial assembly had diminished the franchises and impaired the powers of its people; Charles II. was equally careless of the rights and property of its tens of thousands of inhabitants. In 1649, just after the execution of Charles I., during the extreme anxiety and despair of the royalists, a patent for the Northern Neck, that is, for the country between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, had been granted to a company of Cavaliers, as a refuge for their partisans. In May, 1669, this patent was surrendered, that a new one might be issued to Lord Culpepper, who had succeeded in acquiring the shares of all the associates. The grant was extremely oppressive, for it included plantations which had long been cultivated. But the prodigality of the king was not exhausted. To Lord Culpepper, and to Henry, earl of Arlington, the lavish sovereign of England, in February, 1673, gave away "all the dominion of land and water, called Virginia," for the full term of thirty-one years.

Thus the royalist party in Virginia drew on itself indignation by its suppression of colonial liberties, and equally lost favor from the wanton ingratitude and reckless prodigality of the English king. Virginia was at once distracted by domestic contests, and stung to rebel by the royal invasion of civil rights and property.

The assembly of Virginia, composed, in part at least, of opulent landholders, were excited to alarm by dangers which were menaced by the thoughtless grants of a profligate prince; and, in 1674, Francis Morryson, Thomas Ludwell, and Robert Smith, were appointed agents to sail for England, and enter on the difficult duty of recovering for the king that supremacy which he had so foolishly dallied away. "We are unwilling," said the assembly, "and conceive we ought not, to submit to those to whom his majesty, upon misinformation, hath granted the dominion over us." At the same time they asked for the immunities of a corporation.

The messengers of Virginia more than fulfilled their instructions. They asserted the natural liberties of the colonists; claimed, with earnest zeal, an exemption for them from arbitrary taxation; and insisted on their indefeasible right to the

enjoyment of legislative powers, as the birthright of the children of Englishmen. But fidelity, justice, and favor were not enough to secure the object. A secret influence was irrevocably exerted against the grant of a charter. The agents were detained a twelvemonth without making any progress, when the news reached England of events which involved the Ancient Dominion in gloomy disasters.

For, at the time when the envoys were appointed, Virginia was rocking with the excitements that grew out of its domestic griefs. The rapid and effectual abridgment of its popular liberties, joined to the uncertain tenure of property that followed the announcement of the royal grants, would have roused any nation; how much more a people like the Virginians! The generation now in existence were chiefly the fruit of the soil; they were children of the woods, nurtured in the freedom of the wilderness, and dwelling in lonely cottages, scattered along the streams. No newspapers entered their houses; no printing-press furnished them a book. They had no recreations but such as Nature provides in her wilds, no education but such as parents in the desert could give their offspring. The paths were bridleways rather than roads; and the highway surveyors aimed at nothing more than to keep them clear of logs and fallen trees. I doubt if there existed what we should call a bridge in the whole Dominion. Visits were made in boats, or on horseback through the forests; and the Virginian, travelling with his pouch of tobacco for currency, swam the rivers where there was neither ferry nor ford. Almost every planter was his own mechanic. The houses, for the most part of but one story, and made of wood, often of logs, the windows closed by convenient shutters for want of glass, were sprinkled at great distances on both sides of the Chesapeake, from the Potomac, to the line of Carolina. There was hardly such a sight as a cluster of three dwellings. Jamestown was but a place of a state-house, one church, and eighteen houses. Till recently, the legislature had assembled in an ale-house. Virginia had neither towns nor lawyers. A few of the wealthier planters lived in braver state at their large plantations, and, surrounded by indented servants and slaves, produced a form of society that has sometimes been likened to the manners of the patriarchs, and sometimes to the baronial pride of feudalism. The inventory of Sir William Berkeley gave him seventy horses, as well as large flocks of sheep. "Almost every man lived within sight of a lovely river." The parish was of such extent, spreading over a tract which a day's journey could

not cross, that the people met together but once on the Lord's day, and sometimes not at all; the church, rudely built in some central solitude, was seldom visited by the more remote families, and was liable to become inaccessible by the broken limbs from forest trees, or the wanton growth of underwood and thickets.

Here was a new form of human nature. A love of freedom inclining to anarchy pervaded the country. In Europe, people gathered in towns; here they lived by themselves. In the Old World, even the peasantry crowded together into compact villages. The farmers of Virginia lived asunder, and in their mild climate were scattered very widely, rarely meeting in numbers, except at the horse-race or the county court.

It was among such a people, which had never been disciplined to resistance by the heresies of sects, or the new opinions of "factious" parties,—which, till the restoration, had found the wilderness a safe protection against tyranny, and had enjoyed "a fifty years' experience of a government easy to the people," —that the pressure of increasing grievances began to excite open discontent. Men gathered together in the gloom of the forests to talk of their hardships. The common people, half conscious of their wrongs, half conscious of the rightful remedy, were ripe for insurrection. To effect it, nothing was wanting but an excuse for appearing in arms.

In 1674, the Seneca Indians, a tribe of the Five Nations, had driven the Susquehannahs from their abode at the head of the Chesapeake to the vicinity of the Piscataways on the Potomac; and Maryland had become involved in a war with the Susquehannahs and their confederates. In the next year, murders were committed on the soil of Virginia, and were avenged by the militia on the borders. As the conflict continued, in 1676, the Indians subject to Virginia began to assert independence. The horrors of insecurity visit every log-house on the frontier; the plantations are laid waste; death ranges the land under the hideous forms of savage cruelty. The spirit that favored popular liberty awakes to demand the natural right of self-defence. The people despise the system of defence by forts. With Bacon for their leader, they demand of the governor leave to rise and protect themselves.

Permission was withheld; for the governor distrusted Nathaniel Bacon, because he was "popularly inclined." A native of England, born during the contests between the parliament and the king, well educated in a period when every active mind had been awakened to a consciousness of popular rights and popular power,—he had not yielded the love of freedom to the enthusi-

asm of royalty. Possessing a pleasant address, and a powerful elocution, he had rapidly risen to distinction in Virginia. Quick of apprehension, brave, choleric, yet discreet in action, the young and wealthy planter carried to the banks of the James River the liberal ideas which the instinct of human freedom had already whispered to every emigrant, and which naturally sprung up amidst the equalities of the wilderness. Bacon was resolved on action. Were another white man murdered, he would take up arms against the Indians, even with no commission but his sword; and news was soon brought that his own men had been slain on his plantation, near the scene where the city of Richmond now stands. Men flocked together tumultuously, running in troops from one plantation to another without a head. The government had ceased to be revered. The council was divided. Five hundred men were soon under arms; the common voice proclaimed Bacon the leader of the enterprise, and his commanding abilities gave ascendency to the principles which he advocated, and the party which he espoused.

Hardly had Bacon begun to march against the Indians, when Berkeley, yielding to the instigations of an aristocratic faction, proclaimed him and his followers rebels, and levied troops to pursue them. "Those of estates obeyed" the summons to disperse. Bacon, with a small but faithful band, continued his expedition, while a new insurrection compelled Berkeley to return to Jamestown. The lower counties had risen in arms, and, directing their hatred against the old assembly, to which they ascribed their griefs, demanded its "immediate dissolution."

With the whole mass of the people against him, the haughty Cavalier was compelled to yield. The assembly, which had become odious by its long duration, the selfishness of its members, and its diminution of popular freedom, was dissolved; writs for a new election were issued; and Bacon, returning in triumph from his Indian warfare, was unanimously elected a burgess from Henrico county.

In the choice of this assembly, the late disfranchisement of freemen was little regarded. A majority of the members returned, with Thomas Godwin, their speaker, were "much infected" with the principles of Bacon. At their coming together, high debates arose on the wrongs of the indigent, who were oppressed by taxes alike unequal and exorbitant. The monopoly of the Indian trade was suspended. A compromise with the insurgents was effected: on the one hand, Bacon acknowledged his error in acting without a commission, and the assem-

blies of disaffected persons were censured as acts of mutiny and rebellion; on the other hand, Bacon was appointed commander-in-chief, to the universal satisfaction of the people, who made the town ring with their joyous acclamations, and hailed "the darling of their hopes" as the appointed defender of Virginia. The Church aristocracy was broken up by limiting the term of office of the vestrymen to three years, and giving the election of them to the freemen of each parish. The elective franchise was restored to the freemen whom the previous assembly had disfranchised; and, as "false returns of sheriffs had endangered the peace," the purity of elections was guarded by wholesome penalties. The arbitrary annual assessments, hitherto made by county magistrates, irresponsible to the people, were prohibited; the Virginians insisted on the exclusive right of taxing themselves, and made provision for the county levy, by the equal vote of their own representatives. The fees of the governor, in cases of probate and administration, were curtailed; the unequal immunities of councillors were abrogated; the sale of wines and ardent spirits was prohibited, if not at Jamestown, yet otherwise through the whole country; two of the magistrates, notorious for raising county taxes for their private gains, were disfranchised; and finally, that there might be no room for future reproach or discord, all past derelictions were covered under the mantle of a general amnesty. The acts of this assembly manifest the principles of Bacon; and were they not principles of justice, freedom, and humanity?

The measures of the assembly were not willingly conceded by Berkeley, who refused to sign the commission that had been promised. Fearing treachery, Bacon secretly withdrew, to recount his wrongs to the people; and in a few days he reappeared in the city at the head of nearly five hundred armed men. Anger sustained for a season the courage of the old Cavalier. Advancing to meet the troops, and baring his breast, he cried, "A fair mark! shoot!" — "I will not," replied Bacon, "hurt a hair of your head, or of any man's; we are come for the commission to save our lives from the Indians." When passion subsided, Berkeley yielded. The commission was issued, and the ameliorating legislation of the assembly was ratified. That better legislation was completed, according to the new style of computation, on the fourth day of July, 1676, just one hundred years, to a day, before the congress of the United States, adopting the Declaration which had been framed by a statesman of Virginia, who, like Bacon, was "popularly inclined," began a new era in the history of man. The eighteenth century in Vir-

ginia was the child of the seventeenth; and Bacon's rebellion, with the corresponding scenes in Maryland, and Carolina, and New England, was the early harbinger of American independence and American nationality.

A momentary joy pervaded the colony. Encouraged by the active energy of Bacon, men scoured the forests and the swamps, wherever an Indian ambush could lie concealed. Security dawned; industry began to resume its wonted toils; when, just as the little army was preparing to march against the enemy, the governor violated the amnesty. Repairing to Gloucester county, the most populous and most loyal in Virginia, he summoned a convention of the inhabitants. "The whole convention" disrelished his proposals, esteeming Bacon the defender of their countrymen. But the petulant pride of the Cavalier could not be appeased; Bacon was once more proclaimed a traitor.

The news was conveyed to the camp by Drummond, the former governor of North Carolina, and by Richard Lawrence, a pupil of Oxford, distinguished for learning and sobriety, a man of deep reflection and of energy of purpose. "Shall persons wholly devoted to their king and country," said Bacon, "shall men hazarding their lives against the public enemy, deserve the appellation of rebels and traitors? The whole country is witness to our peaceable behavior. I appeal to the king and parliament, where the cause of the people will be heard impartially."

Meanwhile, addressing himself to the people of Virginia, he invited all, by their love of country, their love to their wives and children, to gather in a convention, and rescue the colony from the tyranny of Berkeley. The call was answered; none were willing to sit idle in the time of general calamity. On the third of August, the most eminent men in the colony came together at Middle Plantations, now Williamsburg; Bacon excelled them all in arguments; the public mind seemed to be swayed by his judgment, and an oath was taken by the whole convention, to join him against the Indians, and, if possible, to prevent a civil war. Should the governor persevere in his obstinate self-will, they promised to protect Bacon against every armed force; and, after long and earnest arguments, held before the people in the open air from noon till midnight, it was resolved that, even if troops should arrive from England, Virginia would resist till an appeal could reach the king in person.

Fortified by the vote of the people, Bacon proceeded against the Indians, while Berkeley withdrew beyond the Chesapeake,

and, by promises of booty, endeavored to collect an army on the eastern shore, and among the seamen in the harbor.

The condition of Bacon and his followers became critical. Drummond, who was versed in the early history of Virginia, advised that Berkeley should be deposed, and Sir Henry Chichely substituted as governor. The counsel was disliked. "Do not make so strange of it," said Drummond, "for I can show, from ancient records, that such things have been done in Virginia." After much discussion, it was agreed, that the retreat of the governor should be taken for an abdication; and Bacon, who had been a member of the council, with four of his colleagues, issued writs for a representative convention of the people, by which the affairs of the colony should be managed. Virginia was revolutionized by the act of its own inhabitants, and government was instituted on the basis of popular power. "The child that is unborn"—such was the language of hope—"shall have cause to rejoice for the good that will come by the rising of the country." The relief from the hated navigation acts seemed certain. Now "we can build ships," it was urged, "and, like New England, trade to any part of the world." The wives of Virginia statesmen would not suffer a throb of fear in their bosoms; in the greatest perils still confidently exclaiming, "We shall do well enough!" and inspiring the insurgents with their own enthusiasm.

After the lapse of a century, the same passions and the same legislation returned. But the effort of Bacon wins new interest from its failure. The flag of freedom was unfurled only to be stained with blood; the accents of liberty were uttered only to be choked by executions.

CHAPTER XXVI.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND TILL THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

MEANTIME Sir William Berkeley collected in Accomack a large crowd of followers; promising freedom to the servants of the insurgents, if they would rally under his banner. With a fleet of five ships and ten sloops, attended by royalists, a rabble of covetous hirelings, and a horde of Indians, the Cavalier sailed for Jamestown, where, on the eighth of September, he landed without opposition. Entering the town, he fell on his knees, returning thanks to God for his safe arrival; and again proclaimed Bacon and his party traitors and rebels.

The cry resounded through the forests for "the countrymen" to come down. "Speed," it was said, "or we shall all be made slaves—man, woman, and child." "Your sword," said Drummond to Lawrence, "is your commission, and mine too; the sword must end it;" and both prepared for resistance.

Returning from a successful expedition, and disbanding his troops, Bacon had retained but a small body of men for his personal defence, when the tidings of the fleet from Accomack surprised him in his retirement. His eloquence inspired his few followers with courage. "With marvellous celerity" they hasten towards their enemy. On the way they secure as hostages the wives of royalists who were with Berkeley, and they soon appear under arms before Jamestown.

Victory did not hesitate. The followers of Berkeley were too cowardly to succeed in a sally; and to secure plunder they made grounds to desert. No considerable service was done, except by the seamen. What availed the passionate courage of a brave and irascible old man? The royalists deserted the town, and escaped in their fleet by night.

On the morning after the retreat, Bacon entered the little capital of Virginia. There lay the ashes of Gosnold; there the gallant Smith had told the tale of his adventures of romance; there English wives had been offered for sale to eager colonists; there Pocahontas had sported in the simplicity of innocence. For nearly seventy years, it had been the abode of Anglo-Saxons. But could Bacon retain possession of the town? And should he abandon it as a strong-hold for the enemies of his country?

The rumor prevailed that a party of royalists from the northern counties was drawing near. In a council of war, it was resolved to burn Jamestown, the only town in Virginia, that no shelter might remain for an enemy. Should troops arrive from England, every man was ordered to retire into the wilderness. Tyrants would hardly chase the planters into their scattered homes among the woods. And, as the shades of night descended, the village was set on fire. Two of the best houses belonged to Lawrence and Drummond; each of them, with his own hand, kindled the flames that were to lay his dwelling in ashes. The little church, the oldest in the Dominion, the newly-erected state-house, were consumed. In the darkness of night, the conflagration blazed high in the air, and was seen by the fleet that lay at anchor twenty miles below the town. The ruins of the tower of the church, and the memorials in the adjacent graveyard, are all that now mark for the stranger the peninsula of Jamestown.

From the smoking ruins, Bacon hastened to meet the royalists from the Rappahannock. No engagement ensued; the troops in a body joined the patriot party; and Brent, their royalist leader, was left at the mercy of the insurgents. Even the inhabitants of Gloucester gave pledges of adhesion. Nothing remained but to cross the bay and revolutionize the Eastern Shore.

The little army of insurgents had been exposed, by night, to the damp dews of the lowlands; of a sudden Bacon himself sickened, and, after a short and vain struggle with the uncertain disease, on the first day of October he died. Seldom has a political leader been more honored by his friends. "Who is there now," said they, "to plead our cause? His eloquence could animate the coldest hearts; his pen and sword alike compelled the admiration of his foes, and it was but their own guilt that styled him a criminal. His name must bleed for a season; but when time shall bring to Virginia truth crowned with freedom, and safe against danger, posterity shall sound his praises."

The death of Bacon left his party without a head. A series of petty insurrections followed; but in Robert Beverley the royalists found an agent superior to any of the remaining insurgents. The ships in the river were at his disposal, and a continued warfare in detail restored the supremacy of the governor.

Thomas Hansford, a native Virginian, was the first partisan leader whom Beverley surprised. He disdained to shrink from the malice of destiny, and Berkeley condemned him to be

hanged. Neither at his trial nor afterwards did he show any diminution of fortitude. He demanded no favor, but that "he might be shot like a soldier, and not hanged like a dog." "You die," it was answered, "not as a soldier, but as a rebel." Reviewing his life, he expressed penitence for every sin. What was charged on him as rebellion he denied to have been a crime. "Take notice," said he, as he came to the gallows, "I die a loyal subject, and a lover of my country." That country was Virginia. Hansford perished, the first native of America, on the gallows, a martyr to the right of the people to govern themselves.

Taking advantage of their naval superiority, a party of royalists entered York River, and surprised the troops that were led by Edmund Cheesman and Thomas Wilford. The latter lost an eye in the skirmish. "Were I stark blind," said he, "the governor would afford me a guide to the gallows."

As the power of Berkeley increased, the ruthlessness of offended pride sought indulgence. Avarice also found delight in fines and confiscations; no sentiment of clemency was tolerated. From fear that a jury would bring in verdicts of acquittal, men were hurried to death from courts martial. On meeting William Drummond as a prisoner, in January, 1677, Berkeley could not repress his exultation. The patriot, avowing boldly the part he had acted, was condemned at one o'clock, and hanged at four. His children and wife were driven from their home, to depend on the charity of the planters. At length it was deemed safe to resort to the civil tribunal, where the judges proceeded with the virulence of accusers. Of those who put themselves on trial, none escaped being convicted and hanged. A panic paralyzed the juries, there was in most men so much guilt or fear. What though commissioners arrived with a royal proclamation, promising pardon to all but Bacon? In defiance of remonstrances, executions continued till twenty-two had been hanged. Three others had died of cruelty in prison; three more had fled before trial; two had escaped after conviction. More blood was shed than, on the action of our present system, would be shed for political offences in a thousand years. Nor is it certain when the carnage would have ended, had not the assembly convened in February, 1677, voted an address "that the governor would spill no more blood."

It was on occasion of this rebellion that English troops were first introduced into the English colonies in America. Their support was burdensome. After three years they were disbanded, and probably mingled with the people.

With the returning squadron Sir William Berkeley sailed for England, to meet the censure of public opinion, and to die unlamented.

The results of Bacon's rebellion were disastrous for Virginia. The suppression of an insurrection furnished an excuse for refusing a liberal charter. Assemblies were required to be called but once in two years, and to sit but fourteen days, unless for special reasons. "You shall take care," said the king, "that the members of assembly be elected only by freeholders." In conformity with these instructions, all the acts of Bacon's assembly, except, perhaps, one which permitted the enslaving of Indians, and which was confirmed and renewed, were absolutely repealed, and the former grievances immediately returned.

While the Old Dominion was thus desolated by carnage and civil war, the progress of Maryland, under the more generous proprietary government, was tranquil and rapid.

At the restoration, the authority of Philip Calvert, whom the proprietary had commissioned as his deputy, was promptly and quietly recognized; and, in 1661, a wise clemency veiled the incipient strife between the people and their sovereign under a general amnesty. Peace was restored, but Maryland was not placed beyond the influence of the ideas which that age of revolution had set in motion; and the earliest opportunity would renew the strife.

Yet the happiness of the colony was enviable. The persecuted and the unhappy thronged to the domains of the benevolent prince from every clime; and the colonial legislature extended its sympathies to many nations, as well as to many sects. From France came Huguenots; from Germany, from Holland, from Sweden, from Finland, perhaps from Piedmont, the children of misfortune sought protection under the tolerant sceptre of the Roman Catholic. Bohemia itself, the country of Jerome and of Huss, sent forth its sons, who at once were made citizens of Maryland with equal franchises. The empire of justice and humanity, according to the light of those days, had been complete, but that, for a few years, the refusal of the Quakers to perform military duty, and to take an oath, subjected them to fines, imprisonment, and a forfeiture of property.

Meantime the virtues of benevolence and gratitude ripened together. Charles, the eldest son of the proprietary, came to reside in the province which was to be his patrimony. He visited the banks of the Delaware, and struggled to extend the limits of his jurisdiction. As in Massachusetts, money was coined at a provincial mint, and, at a later day, the value of

foreign coins was arbitrarily advanced. A duty was levied on the tonnage of every vessel that entered the waters. The Indian nations were pacified, and their rights, subordination, and commerce defined and established. By repeated "acts of gratitude," the power of the proprietary to raise taxes was accurately limited, and the mode of paying quitrents established on terms favorable to the colony; while, on the other hand, a custom of two shillings a hogshead was levied on all exported tobacco, for the support of the government, and the revenue of the proprietary.

Thus was the declining life of Cecilius Lord Baltimore, the father of Maryland, the tolerant legislator, the benevolent prince, blessed with the success which philanthropy deserves. The colony which he had planted in youth crowned his old age with its gratitude. Who among his peers could vie with him in honors? A firm supporter of prerogative, a friend to the Stuarts, he was touched with the sentiment of humanity; an earnest disciple of the Roman church, of which he venerated the expositions of truth as infallible, he, first among legislators, established an equality among sects. Free from religious bigotry, a lover of concord and of tranquillity, he could not rise above the political prejudices of his party. He knew not the worth or the fruits of popular power; he had not perceived the character of the institutions which were forming in the New World, and his benevolent designs were the results of his own moderation, the fruit of his personal character, without regard to the spirit of his age. The commercial metropolis of Maryland commemorates his name; the memory of his wise philanthropy survives in American history. He died in November, 1675, after a supremacy of more than forty-three years, leaving a reputation for temperate wisdom, which the dissensions in his colony and the various revolutions of England could not tarnish.

The death of Cecilius recalled to England the heir of the province, who had administered its government for fourteen years with a moderation which had been rewarded by the increasing prosperity of his patrimony. As he sailed for England, the seeds of discontent were already germinating. The office of proprietary, a feudal principality, with extensive manors in every county, was an anomaly; the sole hereditary legislator in the province, his power was not in harmony with the political predilections of the colonists, or the habits of the New World. The insurrection of Bacon found friends north of the Potomac, and a rising was checked only by the prompt energy

of the government. But the tendency toward more popular forms of administration could not be repressed. The assembly which was convened in 1678, during the absence of the proprietary, shared in this spirit; and the right of suffrage was established on a corresponding basis. The party of "Baconists" had obtained great influence on the public mind. Differences between the proprietary and the people became apparent. On his return to the province, in 1681, he himself, by proclamation, annulled the rule which the representatives of Maryland had established respecting the elective franchise, and, by an arbitrary ordinance, limited the right of suffrage to freemen possessing a freehold of fifty acres, or having a visible personal estate of forty pounds. These restrictions were introduced in the midst of scenes of civil commotion. Fendall, the old republican, was again planning schemes of insurrection, and even of independence. The state was not only troubled with poverty, but was in danger of falling to pieces; for it was said, "The maxims of the old Lord Baltimore will not do in the present age."

The discontents were increased by hostility toward the creed of Papists, and Protestantism became a political sect. The Anglican Church clamored for favor where it had enjoyed equality. The English prelates demanded an establishment to be maintained at the common expense of the province. Lord Baltimore resisted; the Roman Catholic was inflexible in his regard for freedom of worship.

The opposition to Lord Baltimore as a feudal sovereign easily united with Protestant bigotry; and when the insurrection of 1681 was suppressed by methods of clemency and forbearance, the government was vehemently accused of favor towards Papists. The opportunity was too favorable to be neglected; and the English ministry issued an order, that offices of government in Maryland should be intrusted exclusively to Protestants. Roman Catholics were disfranchised in the province which they had planted.

With the colonists Lord Baltimore was at issue for his hereditary authority, with the English Church for his religious faith; attempts to modify the unhappy effects of the navigation acts on colonial industry involved him in opposition to the commercial policy of England. His rights of jurisdiction had been disregarded; the custom-house officer of Maryland had been placed under the superintendence of the governor of Virginia; and the unwelcome relations, resisted by the officers of Lord Baltimore, had led to quarrels and bloodshed, which were fol-

lowed by a controversy with Virginia. The accession of James II. seemed an auspicious event for the Roman Catholic proprietary; but the king, who meditated the subversion of British freedom, resolved, with impartial injustice, to reduce all the colonies to a direct dependence on the crown. The proprietary, hastening to England, vainly pleaded his irreproachable administration. Remonstrance was disregarded, and chartered rights despised; and, in 1687, a writ of *quo warranto* was ordered against the patent of Lord Baltimore. But before the legal forms could be brought to an issue, the people of England had sat in judgment on their king.

The approach of the revolution effected no immediate benefit to Lord Baltimore. William Joseph, the president to whom he had intrusted the administration, addressed the assembly of 1688, with an argument to prove the divine right of the proprietary, and endeavored to confirm it by exacting a special oath of fidelity. The assembly resisted the attempt, and was prorogued. Is it strange that excitements increased? that they were heightened by tidings of the invasion of England? that they were kindled into a flame by a delay in proclaiming the new sovereign? An organized insurrection was conducted by John Coode, of old an associate of Fendall; and, in August, 1689, "the association in arms for the defence of the Protestant religion," usurped the government.

In 1675, about two years after Virginia had been granted to Arlington and Culpepper, the latter obtained an appointment as governor of Virginia for life, and was proclaimed soon after Berkeley's departure. The Ancient Dominion was changed into a proprietary government, and the administration surrendered, as it were, to one of the proprietaries, who, at the same time, was sole possessor of the immense domain between the Rappahannock and the Potomac. Early in 1680, he arrived in his province.

Having taken the oath of office at Jamestown, he organized the council, of members friendly to prerogative; and in June, taking advantage of his power to grant an amnesty to the followers of Bacon, he extorted from the legislature of Virginia a perpetual grant of an export duty of two shillings a hogshead on tobacco, to constitute a royal revenue for the support of government, and to be accounted for, not to the assembly, but to the king. Thus the power of Virginia over colonial taxation, the only check on the administration, was voted away without condition.

For his own interests Lord Culpepper was equally careful.

The salary of governor of Virginia had been a thousand pounds; for him it was doubled, because he was a peer. A further grant was made for house-rent. Perquisites of every kind were sought for and increased. Nay, the peer was hardly an honest man. He defrauded the soldiers of a part of their wages by an arbitrary change in the value of current coin. Having made himself familiar with Virginia, and employed the summer profitably, in the month of August he sailed for England from Boston.

Yet Culpepper was not singularly avaricious. His conduct was in harmony with the principles which prevailed in England. As the British merchant claimed the monopoly of colonial commerce, as the British manufacturer valued Virginia only as a market for his goods, so the British courtiers looked to appointments in America as a means of enlarging their own revenues, or providing for their dependents.

On the second visit of Culpepper to Virginia, the little remaining control of the assembly over the executive was wrested from it. The council constituted the general court of Virginia; according to usage, appeals lay from it to the general assembly. The burgesses, in their high court of appeal, claimed to sit alone, excluding the council from whose decision the appeal was made; and Culpepper, having referred the question to the king for decision, announced, in May, 1683, that no appeals whatever should be permitted to the assembly, nor to the king in council, under the value of one hundred pounds sterling.

The holders of land within the grant of Culpepper now lay at his mercy, and were compelled eventually to negotiate a compromise.

All accounts agree in describing the condition of Virginia, at this time, as one of extreme distress. Even the council reported the griefs and restlessness of the country; and they renew the request, that the grant to Culpepper and Arlington may be recalled. The poverty of the province rendered negotiation more easy; the design agreed well with the new colonial policy of Charles II. Arlington surrendered his rights to Culpepper, and, in 1684, the crown was able to announce that Virginia was again a royal province.

Nor did Culpepper retain his office as governor. His patent was for life; but, like so many other charters, in 1683, it was rendered void by a process of law, not so much from regard for Virginia liberties, as to recover a prerogative for the crown.

Lord Howard of Effingham was Culpepper's successor. Like so many before and after him, he solicited office in America

to get money, and resorted to the usual expedient of exorbitant fees.

The accession of James II., in 1685, made but few changes in the political condition of Virginia. The suppression of Monmouth's rebellion gave to the colony useful citizens; for many of the prisoners were sent to the plantations, where they were sold as indented servants. The courtiers round James II. exulted in the rich harvest which the rebellion promised, and begged of their monarch frequent gifts of their condemned countrymen. The convicts were in part persons of family and education, accustomed to elegance and ease. "Take all care," wrote the monarch (under the countersign of Sunderland) to the government in Virginia—"take all care that they continue to serve for ten years at least, and that they be not permitted in any manner to redeem themselves by money or otherwise, until that term be fully expired. Prepare a bill for the assembly of our colony, with such clauses as shall be requisite for this purpose." No Virginia legislature seconded such malice; and in December, 1689, the exiles were pardoned. Tyranny and injustice peopled America with men nurtured in suffering and adversity. The history of our colonization is the history of the crimes of Europe.

Meantime Virginia ceased for a season to be the favorite resort of voluntary emigrants. Men were attracted to the New World by the spirit of enterprise and the love of freedom. In Virginia, industry was depressed and the royal authority severe. The presence of a frigate had sharpened the zeal of the royal officers in enforcing the acts of navigation. The express instruction was continued to allow no printing-press on any pretence whatever.

To perfect the system, Effingham established a chancery court, in which he himself was chancellor. The councillors might advise, but were without a vote. An arbitrary table of fees followed of course. This is the period when royal authority was at its height in Virginia. The executive, the council, the judges, the sheriffs, the county commissioners, and local magistrates, were all appointed, directly or indirectly, by the crown. Virginia had no town meetings, no village democracies, no free municipal institutions. The custom of colonial assemblies remained, but the assembly was chosen under a restricted franchise; its most confidential officer was, in 1686, ordered to be appointed by the governor, and its power over the revenue was lost by the perpetual levy, which it could not recall. Yet the indomitable spirit of personal independence,

nourished by the manners of Virginia, could never be repressed. Unlike ancient Rome, Virginia placed the defence of liberty, not in municipal corporations, but in persons. The liberty of individuals was ever highly prized; and freedom sheltered itself in the collected energy of the public mind. Such was the character of the new assembly which was convened in April, 1688, some months before the British revolution. The turbulent spirit of the burgesses was greater than ever, and an immediate dissolution of the body seemed to the council the only mode of counteracting their influence. But the awakened spirit of free discussion, banished from the hall of legislation, fled for refuge among the log-houses and plantations that were sprinkled along the streams. The people ran to arms; general discontent threatened an insurrection. The governor, in a new country, without soldiers and without a citadel, was compelled to practice moderation. Tyranny was impossible; it had no powerful instruments; when the prerogative of the governor was at its height, he was still too feeble to oppress the colony. Virginia was always "A LAND OF LIBERTY."

Nor let the first tendencies to union pass unnoticed. In the Bay of the Chesapeake, Smith had encountered warriors of the Five Nations; and others had fearlessly roamed to the shores of Massachusetts Bay, and even invaded the soil of Maine. Maryland and Virginia had repeatedly negotiated with the Senecas. In July, 1684, the governor of Virginia and of New York, and the agent of Massachusetts, met the sachems of the Five Nations at Albany, to strengthen and burnish the covenant-chain, and plant the tree of peace, of which the top should reach the sun, and the branches shelter the wide land. The treaty extended from the St. Croix to Albemarle. New York was the bond of New England and Virginia. The north and the south were united by the conquest of NEW NETHERLANDS.

END OF VOL. I.

"NEW-AMSTERDAM," THE OLDEST PICTURE OF NEW YORK.

COLONIAL HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

VOL. II.

CHAPTER XXVII.

COLONIZATION OF NEW NETHERLANDS.

THE spirit of the age was present when the foundations of New York were laid. Every great European event affected the fortunes of America. Did a state prosper, it sought an increase of wealth by plantations in the West. Was a sect persecuted, it escaped to the New World. The reformation, followed by collisions between English dissenters and the Anglican hierarchy, colonized New England; the reformation, emancipating the United Provinces, led to European settlements on the Hudson. The Netherlands divide with England the glory of having planted the first colonies in the United States; they also divide the glory of having set the examples of public freedom. If England gave our fathers the idea of a popular representation, Holland originated for them the principle of federal union.

In 1581, within two years of the union of Utrecht, Bath, an Englishman who had five times crossed the Atlantic, proposed to the States to conduct four ships-of-war to America. The adventure was declined by the government; but no obstacles were offered to private enterprise. Ten years afterwards, William Wsselinx, who had lived some years in Castile, Portugal, and the Azores, proposed a West India company; but the dangers of the undertaking were still too appalling. It was not till 1597 that Bikker of Amsterdam, and Leyen of Enkhuisen, each succeeded in undertaking voyages to the New World; and, in 1600, after years of discussion, a plan for a West India company was reduced to writing, and communicated to the States General.

But, while the negotiations with Spain postponed the forma-

tion of a West India company, the Dutch found their way to the United States through another channel. The first efforts of the merchants of Holland to share in the commerce of Asia were accompanied with a desire to search for a north-west passage; in quest of which the voyages of their mariners were esteemed without a parallel for their daring.

In 1607, after the repeated failure of the Dutch and the Danes, a company of London merchants, excited by the immense profits of voyages to the East, contributed the means for a new attempt; and HENRY HUDSON was the chosen leader of the expedition. Sailing to the north, with his only son for his companion, he coasted the shores of Greenland, and hesitated whether to attempt the circumnavigation of that country, or the passage across the pole. What though he came within eight degrees of the pole, thus surpassing every earlier navigator? After renewing the discovery of Spitzbergen, vast masses of ice compelled his return.

But the zeal of Hudson could not be quenched; and the next year beheld him once more on a voyage, cherishing the deceitful hope that through the seas which divide Spitzbergen from Nova Zembla he might find a path to Southern Asia.

The failure of two expeditions daunted the enterprise of Hudson's employers; they could not daunt the courage of the great navigator, who was destined to become the rival of Smith and of Champlain. He longed to tempt once more the dangers of the northern seas; and, repairing to Holland, he offered, in the service of the Dutch East India company, to explore the icy wastes in search of the coveted passage. The voyage of Smith to Virginia stimulated desire; the Zealanders, fearing the loss of treasure, objected; but, by the influence of Balthazar Moucheron, the directors for Amsterdam resolved on equipping a small vessel of discovery; and, on the fourth day of April, 1609, THE CRESCENT, commanded by Hudson, and manned by a mixed crew of Englishmen and Hollanders, his son being of the number, set sail for the north-western passage.

Masses of ice impeded the navigation towards Nova Zembla. Hudson, who had examined the maps of John Smith of Virginia, turned to the west; and, passing beyond Greenland and Newfoundland, and running down the coast of Acadia, he anchored, probably, in the mouth of the Penobscot. Then, following the track of Gosnold, he came upon the promontory of Cape Cod, and, believing himself its first discoverer, gave it the name of New Holland. Long afterwards it was claimed as the north-eastern boundary of New Netherlands. From the

sands of Cape Cod, he steered a southerly course, till he was opposite the entrance into the Bay of Virginia, where Hudson remembered that his countrymen were planted. Then, turning again to the north, he discovered the Delaware Bay, examined its currents and its soundings, and, without going on shore, took note of the aspect of the country.

On the third day of September, almost at the time when Champlain was invading New York from the north, less than five months after the truce with Spain, which gave the Netherlands a diplomatic existence as a state, the Crescent anchored within Sandy Hook, and from the neighboring shores, that were crowned with "goodly oakes," attracted frequent visits from the natives. After a week's delay, Hudson sailed through the Narrows, and, at the mouth of the river, anchored in a harbor which was pronounced to be very good for all winds. Of the surrounding lands, the luxuriant grass, the flowers, the trees, the grateful fragrance, were admired. Ten days were employed in exploring the river; the first of Europeans, Hudson went sounding his way above the Highlands, till at last the Crescent had sailed some miles beyond the city of Hudson, and a boat had advanced a little beyond Albany. Frequent intercourse was held with the astonished natives of the Algonquin race; and the strangers were welcomed by a deputation from the Mohawks. Having completed his discovery, Hudson descended the stream to which time has given his name; and on the fourth day of October, about the season of the return of John Smith to England, he set sail for Europe, leaving once more to its solitude the land that his imagination, anticipating the future, described as "the most beautiful" in the world.

A happy return voyage brought the Crescent into Dartmouth. Hudson forwarded to his Dutch employers a brilliant account of his discoveries; but he never revisited the lands which he eulogized; and the Dutch East India company refused to search farther for the north-western passage.

Meantime ambition revived among the English merchants; a company was formed, and, in April, 1610, Hudson again entered the northern seas in search of a path to the Pacific. Passing Iceland and Greenland, and Frobisher's Straits, he sailed into the straits which bear his own name, and where he had been preceded by none but Sebastian Cabot. As he emerged from the passage, and came upon the wide gulf, he believed that his object had been gained. How great was his disappointment when he found himself embayed! As he sailed to and fro along the coast, it seemed a labyrinth without end; still confi-

dent of ultimate success, the inflexible mariner resolved on wintering in the bay, that he might perfect his discovery in the spring. Why should I dwell on the sufferings of a winter for which no preparation had been made? At length the late and anxiously-expected spring burst forth; but it opened in vain for Hudson. Provisions were exhausted; he divided the last bread among his men, and prepared for them a bill of return; and "he wept as he gave it them." Believing himself almost on the point of succeeding, where Spaniards, and English, and Danes, and Dutch, had failed, he left his anchoring-place to steer for Europe. For two days, the ship was encompassed by fields of ice, and the discontent of the crew broke forth into mutiny. Hudson was seized, and, with his only son and seven others, four of whom were sick, was thrown into the shallop. Where has not humanity its servants? Seeing his commander thus exposed, Philip Staffe, the carpenter, demanded and gained leave to share his fate; and, just as the ship made its way out of the ice, on a mid-summer's day, in a latitude where the sun hardly goes down, and evening twilight ceases only with the dawn, the shallop was cut loose. What became of Hudson? Did he die miserably of starvation? Did he reach land to perish from the fury of the natives? Was he crushed between ribs of ice? The returning ship encountered storms, by which, it is probable, Hudson was overwhelmed. Alone of the great mariners of that day, he lies buried in America; the waste of waters which bears his name is his tomb and monument.

As the country on the Hudson had been discovered by an agent of the Dutch East India company, the right of possession was claimed for the United Provinces; and, in 1610, the year in which Hudson perished, merchants of Amsterdam fitted out a ship with various merchandise to traffic with the natives. The voyage was prosperous, and was renewed. When Argall, in 1613, entered the waters of New York, he found three or four rude hovels already erected on the Island of Manhattan, as a summer shelter for the few Dutch mariners and fur traders, whom private enterprise had stationed there.

Had these early navigators in the bays round New York anticipated the future, they might have left careful memorials of their voyages. In March, 1614, the States General had assured to the adventurers a four years' monopoly of trade with newly-discovered lands; and merchants, forming a partnership, but not a corporation, availed themselves of the privilege. Several ships, in consequence, sailed for America; and from the imperfect and conflicting statements, we may infer, that perhaps in

1614 the first rude fort was erected, probably on the southern point of Manhattan Island; and Adrian Blok sailed through the East River, discovered Long Island to be an island, and examined the coast as far as Cape Cod. The discovery of Connecticut River is undoubtedly due to the Dutch; the name of its first European navigator is uncertain. That in 1615 the settlement at Albany began, on an island just below the present city, is placed beyond a doubt by existing records. It was the remote port of the Indian trader, and was never again abandoned. Yet at this early period there was no colony; not a single family had emigrated; the only Europeans on the Hudson were commercial agents and their subordinates.

The cause of the tardy progress of colonization is to be sought in the parties which divided the States. After the Calvinists, popular enthusiasm, and the stadt-holder, had triumphed over the provincial states and municipal authorities; while the Netherlands were displaying unparalleled energy in their foreign relations, schemes of American commerce were revived.

The Dutch West India company, which became the sovereign of the central portion of the United States, was, in June, 1621, incorporated for twenty-four years, with a pledge of a renewal of its charter, and was invested, on the part of the Netherlands, with the exclusive privilege to traffic and plant colonies on the coast of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope; on the coast of America, from the Straits of Magellan to the remotest north. Subscription to the joint stock was open to men of every nation; the States General gave to the company half a million of guilders, as an encouragement, and were also stockholders to the amount of another half million. The franchises of the company were immense, that it might have power to act with independence. The States General did not guarantee its possessions, or any specific territory, and, in case of war, were to be known only as allies and patrons. The company might plant or conquer provinces at its own risk, and, subject to the approval of the States General, had absolute power over its possessions. Branches of the company, five in all, were established in the principal cities of Netherlands; the charge of New Netherlands belonged to the branch at Amsterdam. The government of the whole was intrusted to a board of nineteen, of whom eighteen represented the five branches, and one was named by the States.

Thus did the little nation of merchants give away continents; and the corporate company, invested with a claim to more than

a hemisphere, gradually culled from its boundless grant the rich territories of Guinea, Brazil, and New Netherlands.

The period of the due organization of the company was the epoch of zealous efforts at colonization. The name of the southern county and cape of New Jersey still attests the presence of Cornelius Mey, who, in 1623, not only visited Manhattan, but, entering the bay, and ascending the river of Delaware, known as the South River of the Dutch, took possession of the territory. On Timber Creek, a stream that enters the Delaware a few miles below Camden, he built Fort Nassau. The country from the southern shore of Delaware Bay to New Holland, or Cape Cod, became known as New Netherlands. This is the era of the permanent settlement of New York. Round the new block-house on Manhattan, the cottages of New Amsterdam began to cluster; the country assumed the form of a colony, and, from 1624, Peter Minuits, the commercial agent of the West India company, held for six years the office of governor. In 1625, there was certainly one family on Long Island, and a child of European parentage was born there.

Reprisals on Spanish commerce were the great object of the West India company; its North American colony was, for some years, little more than an inconsiderable establishment for trade, where Indians, even from the St. Lawrence, exchanged beaver-skins for European manufactures. The Spanish prizes, taken by the charter privateers, on a single occasion, in 1628, were almost eighty-fold more valuable than the whole amount of exports from New Netherlands for the four preceding years.

In October, 1627, there was a first interchange of courtesies with the Pilgrims. De Razier, the second in command among the Dutch, went as envoy to Plymouth. On the south of Cape Cod, he was met by a boat from the Old Colony, and "honorably attended with the noise of trumpets." A treaty of friendship and commerce was proposed. The Pilgrims, who had English hearts, questioned the title of the Dutch to the banks of the Hudson, and recommended a treaty with England; the Dutch, with greater kindness, advised their old friends to remove to the rich meadows on the Connecticut. Harmony prevailed. "Our children after us," said the Pilgrims, "shall never forget the good and courteous entreaty which we found in your country, and shall desire your prosperity forever." Such was the benediction of Plymouth on New Amsterdam; at the same time, the Pilgrims, rivals for the beaver trade, begged the Dutch not to send their skiffs into the Narragansett.

These were the rude beginnings of New York. Its first age

was the age of hunters and Indian traders ; of traffic in the skins of otters and beavers ; when the native tribes were employed in the pursuit of game, and the yachts of the Dutch, in quest of furs, penetrated every bay, and basin, and inlet, from Narragansett to the Delaware. It was the day of straw roofs, and wooden chimneys, and windmills. The experiment in feudal institutions followed.

In 1629, the College of Nineteen adopted a charter of privileges for patrons who desired to plant colonies in New Netherlands. The document was analogous to the political institutions of the Dutch of that day. The colonies in America were to resemble the lordships in the Netherlands. To every one who would emigrate on his own account, as much land as he could cultivate was promised ; but emigration was not expected to follow from the enterprise of the cultivators of the soil. The boors in Holland enjoyed as yet no political franchises, and were equally destitute of the mobility which is created by the consciousness of political importance. To subordinate proprietaries New Netherlands was to owe its tenants. He that within four years would plant a colony of fifty souls, became Lord of the Manor, or Patron, possessing in absolute property the lands he might colonize. Those lands might extend sixteen miles in length ; or, if they lay upon both sides of a river, eight miles on each bank, stretching as far into the interior as the situation might require ; yet it was stipulated that the soil must be purchased of the Indians. Were cities to grow up, the institution of their government would rest with the patron, who was to exercise judicial power, yet subject to appeals. The schoolmaster and the minister were praised as desirable ; but no provision was made for their maintenance. The selfish spirit of monopoly forbade the colonists to make any woollen, or linen, or cotton fabric ; not a web might be woven, not a shuttle thrown, on penalty of exile. To impair the monopoly of the Dutch manufacturers was punishable as a perjury ! The company, moreover, pledged itself to furnish the manors with negroes ; yet not, it was warily provided, unless the traffic should prove lucrative. The Isle of Manhattan, as the chosen seat of commerce, was reserved to the company.

This charter of liberties was fatal to the interests of the corporation ; its directors and agents immediately appropriated to themselves the most valuable portions of the territory. In June, 1629, three years before the concession of a charter for Maryland, Godyn purchased of the natives the soil from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of Delaware River ; in July, 1630, this pur-

chase of a territory more than thirty miles long was ratified by a deed, and duly recorded. This is the first deed for land in Delaware, and comprises the soil of the two lower counties of that state. The opposite shore in New Jersey was also bought by Godyn and Bloemart, while Pauw became the proprietor of Pavonia, the country round Hoboken, and Staten Island. At the same time, five Indian chiefs, in return for parcels of goods, conveyed the land round Fort Orange, that is, from Albany to the mouth of the Mohawk, to the agent of Van Rensselaer; and, a few years afterwards, the purchase was extended twelve miles farther to the south.

The tract of land acquired by Godyn and his associates was immediately colonized. The first settlement in Delaware, older than any in Pennsylvania or New Jersey, was undertaken by Godyn, Van Rensselaer, Bloemart, and the historian De Laet. De Vries, the historian of the voyage, was its conductor, and held an equal share in the enterprise, which was intended to cover the southern shore of Delaware Bay with fields of wheat and tobacco. Embarking from the Texel, in December, 1630, in vessels laden with store of seeds, and cattle, and agricultural implements, he soon reached the bay, and, early in 1631, on the soil of Delaware, near Lewistown, planted a colony of more than thirty souls. The voyage of De Vries was the cradling of a state. That Delaware exists as a separate commonwealth is due to the colony which he led. He ascended the river as far as the site of Philadelphia. Fort Nassau had been abandoned; the colony in Delaware was as yet the only European settlement within the bay.

After more than a year's residence in America, De Vries returned to Holland; but Osset, to whose care he committed the colony, could not avoid contests with the Indians. A chief lost his life; the relentless spirit of revenge prepared an ambush, which ended in the murder of every emigrant. At the close of 1632, De Vries, revisiting the New World, found the soil which he had planted strown with the bones of his countrymen.

Thus Delaware was reconquered by the natives; and before the Dutch could renew their claim, the patent granted to Baltimore gave them an English competitor. From the wrecks of his colony, De Vries sailed to Virginia, and, as in the spring of 1633, he arrived at New Amsterdam, he found Walter van Twiller, the second governor of the colony, already in the harbor. Quarrels had broken out among the agents, and between the agents and their employers; the discontented Minuits

had been displaced, and the colony had not prospered. The historian of Long Island records no regular occupation of lands on that island till 1636, three years after the arrival of Van Twiller. The rush of Puritan emigrants to New England had quickened the movements of the Dutch on the Connecticut, which they undoubtedly were the first to discover and to occupy. The soil round Hartford was purchased of the natives, and in January, 1633, a fort was erected, which long remained in the hands of the West India company. But it was soon surrounded by English towns. At last, the swarms of the English in Connecticut grew so numerous, as not only to overwhelm the feeble settlement of the Dutch at Hartford, but, under a grant from Lord Stirling, to invade the less doubtful territories of New Netherlands. In 1640, the second year of the government of William Kieft, the arms of the Dutch on the east end of Long Island were thrown down in derision, and a fool's head set in their place.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

COLONIZATION AND CONQUEST OF NEW SWEDEN.

While the New England men were thus encroaching on the Dutch on the east, a new competitor for possessions in America appeared in Delaware Bay.

Gustavus Adolphus, the greatest benefactor of humanity in the line of Swedish kings, had discerned the advantages which might be expected from colonies and widely-extended commerce. His zeal was encouraged by William Wsselinx, a Netherlander, whose mind for many years had been steadily devoted to the subject. At his instance, in 1626, a commercial company, with exclusive privileges to traffic beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, and the right of planting colonies, was sanctioned by the king, and, in May, 1627, was incorporated by the states of Sweden. The stock was open to all Europe for subscription; the king himself pledged 400,000 dollars of the royal treasure on equal risks; the chief place of business was established at Gottenburg; a branch was promised to any city which would embark 300,000 dollars in the undertaking. The government of the future colonies was reserved to a royal council; while it was resolved to invite "colonists from all the nations of Eu-

rope." Other nations employed slaves in their colonies; and "slaves," said they, "cost a great deal, labor with reluctance, and soon perish from hard usage; the Swedish nation is laborious and intelligent; and surely we shall gain more by a free people with wives and children." To the Scandinavian imagination, hope painted the New World as a paradise; the proposed colony as a benefit to the persecuted, a security "to the honor of the wives and daughters" of those whom wars and bigotry had made fugitives; a blessing to the "common man," to the "whole Protestant world." It may prove the advantage, said Gustavus, of "all oppressed Christendom."

But Protestant Christendom seemed menaced, not with oppression, but ruin. The insurrection against intellectual servitude, of which the reformation was the great expression, appeared in danger of being suppressed, when, in 1630, Gustavus Adolphus resolved to invade Germany, and vindicate the rights of conscience with his sword. The cherished purpose of colonization yielded in the emergency; and the funds of the company were arbitrarily applied as resources in the war. It was a war of revolution; a struggle to secure German liberty by establishing religious toleration; yet even the great events on which the destinies of Germany were suspended could not wholly drive from the mind of Gustavus his designs in America. They did but enlarge his views; and, in 1632, at Nuremberg, but a few days before the battle of Lützen, where Humanity won one of her most glorious victories, and lost one of her ablest defenders, the enterprise, which still appeared to him as "the jewel of his kingdom," was recommended to the people of Germany.

In 1633, on confirming the invitation to Germany, Oxenstiern declares himself to be but the executor of the wish of Gustavus. The same wise statesman, one of the great men of all time, the serene chancellor, who in the busiest scenes never took a care with him to his couch, renewed the patent of the company, and extended its benefits to Germany; the charter was soon confirmed by the deputies of the four upper circles at Frankfort. "The consequences" of this design, said Oxenstiern, "will be favorable to all Christendom, to Europe, to the whole world." And were they not so? The first permanent colonization of the banks of the Delaware is due to Oxenstiern.

Yet more than four years passed away before the design was carried into effect. We have seen Minuits, the first governor of New Amsterdam, forfeit his place amidst the strifes of faction. He now offered the benefit of his experience to the Swedes; and, leaving Sweden near the close of the year 1637, he sailed

for the Bay of Delaware. Two vessels, the Key of Calmar and the Griffin, formed his whole fleet; the care of the Swedish government provided the emigrants with a religious teacher, with provisions, and merchandise for traffic with the natives. Early in the year 1638, the little company of Swedes and Finns arrived in the Delaware Bay; the lands from the southern cape, which the emigrants from hyperborean regions named Paradise Point, to the falls in the river near Trenton, were purchased of the natives; and near the mouth of Christiana Creek, within the limits of the present state of Delaware, Christiana Fort, so called from the little girl who was then queen of Sweden, was erected. Delaware was colonized.

The colony was not unmolested. The records at Albany still preserve the protest, in which Kieft, the third governor of New Netherlands, claimed for the Dutch the country on the Delaware: their possession had long been guarded by forts, and had been sealed by the blood of their countrymen. But at that time the fame of Swedish arms protected the Swedish flag in the New World; and while Banner and Torstenson were humbling Austria and Denmark, the Dutch did not venture beyond a protest.

Meantime tidings of the loveliness of the country had been borne to Scandinavia, and the peasantry of Sweden and of Finland longed to exchange their lands in Europe for a settlement on the Delaware. Emigration increased; at the last considerable expedition, there were more than a hundred families eager to embark for the land of promise, and unable to obtain a passage in the crowded vessels. The plantations of the Swedes were gradually extended; and, to preserve the ascendency over the Dutch, who renewed their fort at Nassau, Printz, the governor, in 1643, established his residence in Tinicum, a few miles below Philadelphia. A fort, constructed of vast hemlock logs, defended the island; and houses began to cluster in its neighborhood. Pennsylvania was, at last, occupied by Europeans; that commonwealth, like Delaware, traces its lineage to the Swedes; who had planted a suburb of Philadelphia before William Penn became its proprietary. The banks of the Delaware, from the ocean to the falls, were known as New Sweden.

While the limits of New Netherlands were narrowed by competitors on the east and on the south, and Long Island was soon to be claimed by the agent of Lord Stirling, the colony was almost annihilated by the vengeance of the neighboring Algonquin tribes. Angry and even bloody quarrels had sometimes arisen between dishonest traders and savages maddened by in-

toxication. The blameless settlement on Staten Island had, in consequence, been ruined by the blind vengeance of the tribes of New Jersey. The strife continued. A boy, who had been present when, years before, his uncle was robbed and murdered, had vowed revenge, and now that, in 1641, he was grown to man's estate, remembered and executed the vow of his childhood. A roving but fruitless expedition into the country south of the Hudson was the consequence. The Raritans were outlawed, and a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum was offered for every member of the tribe. The season of danger brought with it the necessity of consulting the people; and the commons elected a body of twelve to assist the governor. De Vries, the head of the committee of the people, urged the advantage of friendship with the natives. But the traders did not learn humanity, nor the savage forget revenge; and the son of a chief, stung by the conviction of having been defrauded and robbed, aimed an unerring arrow at the first Hollander exposed to his fury. In 1642, a deputation of the River chieftains hastened to express their sorrow, and deplore the alternate, never-ending libations of blood. The murderer they could not deliver up; but, after the custom of the Saxons in the days of Alfred, or the Irish under Elizabeth, in exact correspondence with the usages of earliest Greece, they offered to purchase security for the murderer by a fine for blood. Two hundred fathoms of the best wampum might console the grief of the widow. "You yourselves," they added, "are the cause of this evil; you cannot prevent mischief, till you cease to sell strong drink to the Indian."

Kieft was inexorable, and demanded the murderer. Just then, a small party of Mohawks from the neighborhood of Fort Orange, armed with muskets, descended from their fastnesses, and claimed the natives round Manhattan as tributaries. At the approach of the formidable warriors of a braver Huron race, the more numerous but cowering Algonquins crowded together in despair, begging assistance of the Dutch. Kieft seized the moment for an exterminating massacre. In vain was it foretold that the ruin would light upon the Dutch themselves. In the stillness of a dark winter's night, the soldiers at the fort, joined by free-booters from Dutch privateers, and led by a guide who knew every by-path and nook where the savages nestled, crossed the Hudson, for the purpose of destruction. The naked and unsuspecting tribes could offer little resistance; the noise of musketry mingled with the yell of the victims. Nearly a hundred perished in the carnage. Daybreak did not end its hor-

rors; men might be seen, mangled and helpless, suffering from cold and hunger; children were tossed into the stream, and, as their parents plunged to their rescue, the soldiers prevented their landing, that both child and parent might drown.

The massacre was held in detestation by the colonists. For the moment, the governor exulted in his deed of treachery, and greeted the returning troops with exultation. But his joy was short. No sooner was it known that the midnight attack had been made, not by the Mohawks, but by the Dutch, than every Algonquin tribe round Manhattan burned with the frenzy of revenge. The swamps were their hiding-places, from which sudden onsets were made in every direction; villages were laid waste, the farmer murdered in the field, his children swept into captivity. From the shores of New Jersey to the borders of Connecticut, not a bowery was safe. It was on this occasion that Anne Hutchinson perished with her family. The Dutch colony was threatened with ruin—was already overwhelmed with misery. "Mine eyes," says one who was present, "saw the flames at their towns, and the frights and hurries of men, women, and children, the present removal of all that could for Holland." The assassins were compelled to desire peace.

In March, 1643, a convention of sixteen sachems of Long Island assembled in the woods, and the envoys from Manhattan were conducted from the wigwams of Pennawits, their great chief, to the centre of the little senate. A chief rose, holding in one hand a bundle of small sticks. "When you first arrived on our shores, you were destitute of food; we gave you our beans and our corn; we fed you with oysters and fish; and now, for our recompense, you murder our people;"—such were the opening words of the orator. Having put down one little stick, he proceeded: "The traders whom your first ships left on our shore to traffic till their return were cherished by us as the apple of our eye: we gave them our daughters for their wives; among those whom you have murdered were children of your own blood." He laid down another stick; and many more remained in his hand. The issue had been uncertain but for the presence of Roger Williams at Manhattan, on his way to England. His mediation gave a truce to Long Island. A month later, peace was covenanted with the Indians on Hudson River.

But harmony and confidence were not restored. The young men among the Indians would not be pacified; one had lost a father or a mother; a second owed revenge to the memory of a friend. No sufficient ransom had stifled revenge and calmed

the pride of honor. "The presents we have received," said an older chief, in despondency, "bear no proportion to our loss; the price of blood has not been paid;" and war was renewed.

The commander of the Dutch troops was John Underhill, a fugitive from New England, a veteran in Indian warfare, and one of the bravest men of his day. With a little army of one hundred and twenty men, he became the protector of the Dutch settlements. The war continued for two years. At length, the Dutch were weary of danger; the Indians tired of being hunted like beasts. The Mohawks claimed a sovereignty over the Algonquins; their ambassador appeared at Manhattan to negotiate a peace; and in front of Fort Amsterdam, the sachems of New Jersey, of the River Indians, of the Mohicans, and from Long Island, acknowledging the chiefs of the Five Nations as witnesses and arbitrators, and having around them the director and council of New Netherlands, with the whole commonalty of the Dutch, set their marks to a solemn treaty of peace. The joy of the colony broke forth into a general thanksgiving; but infamy attached to the name of Kieft, the author of the carnage; the emigrants desired to reject him as their governor; the West India company disclaimed his barbarous policy. About two years after the peace, he embarked for Europe in a large and richly-laden vessel; but the man of blood was not destined to revisit the shores of Holland. The ship in which he sailed, unable to breast the fury of elements as merciless as his own passions, was dashed in pieces on the coast of Wales, and the guilty Kieft was overwhelmed by the waves.

A better day dawned on New Netherlands, when, in May, 1647, the brave and honest Stuyvesant, recently vice-director of Curaçao, wounded in the West Indies, in the attack on St. Martin, a soldier of experience, a scholar of some learning, promoted for his services, entered on the government of the province. Sad experience dictated a milder system towards the natives; and it was resolved to govern them with lenity. The interests of New Netherlands required free trade; at first, the department of Amsterdam would not consent to a change; it had alone borne the expense of the colony, and would tolerate no interlopers. But nature is stronger than privileged companies; the monopoly could not be enforced; and export duties were substituted. Manhattan began to prosper, when its merchants obtained freedom to follow the impulses of their own enterprise; and the glorious destiny of the city was anticipated.

With so feeble a population, it was impossible to protect the eastern boundary of New Netherlands. Of what avail were

protests against actual settlers? Stuyvesant was instructed to preserve the house of Good Hope at Hartford; but while he was claiming the country from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen, there was danger that the New England men would stretch their settlements to the North River, intercept the navigation from Fort Orange, and monopolize the fur trade. The commercial corporation would not risk a war; the expense would impair its dividends. "War," they declared, "cannot, in any event, be for our advantage; the New England people are too powerful for us." No issue was left but by negotiation. Stuyvesant himself, in September, 1650, repaired to Hartford, and was glad to conclude a provisional treaty, which allowed New Netherlands to extend on Long Island as far as Oyster Bay, on the main to the neighborhood of Greenwich. This inter-colonial treaty was acceptable to the West India company, but was never ratified in England; its conditional approbation by the States General is the only Dutch state paper in which the government of the republic recognized the boundaries of the province on the Hudson. The West India company could never obtain a national guaranty for the integrity of their possessions.

The war between the rival republics in Europe did not extend to America. We have seen the prudence of Massachusetts restrain the colonies; in England, Roger Williams delayed an armament against New Netherlands. It is true that the West India company, dreading an attack from New England, had instructed their governor "to engage the Indians in his cause." But the friendship of the Narragansetts for the Puritans could not be shaken. "I am poor," said Mixam, one of their sachems, "but no presents of goods, or of guns, or of powder and shot, shall draw me into a conspiracy against my friends the English." The naval successes of the Dutch inspired milder counsels; and the news of peace in Europe soon quieted every apprehension.

The Swedes remained powerful competitors for the tobacco of Virginia and the beaver of the Schuylkill. In the vicinity of the Delaware, the Swedish company was more powerful than its rival; but the whole province of New Netherlands was tenfold more populous than New Sweden. For commercial security, the Dutch, in 1651, built Fort Casimir, on the site of Newcastle, within five miles of Christiana, near the mouth of the Brandywine. To the Swedes this seemed an encroachment; jealousies ensued; and, in 1654, aided by stratagem and immediate superiority in numbers, Rising, the Swedish governor, overpowered the garrison. The aggression was fatal to the only

colony which Sweden had planted. The metropolis was exhausted by a long succession of wars; the statesmen and soldiers whom Gustavus had educated had passed from the public service; Oxenstiern, after adorning retirement by the sublime pursuits of philosophy, was no more; a youthful and licentious queen, greedy of literary distinction, and without capacity for government, had impaired the strength of the kingdom by nursing contending factions, and then capriciously abdicating the throne. Sweden had ceased to awaken fear or inspire respect; and the Dutch company fearlessly commanded Stuyvesant to drive the Swedes from the river, or compel their submission. The order was renewed; and in September, 1655, the Dutch governor, collecting a force of more than six hundred men, sailed into the Delaware with the purpose of conquest. Resistance would have been unavailing. One fort after another surrendered: to Rising honorable terms were conceded; the colonists were promised the quiet possession of their estates; and, in defiance of the protests and the turbulence of the Scandinavians, the jurisdiction of the Dutch was established. Such was the end of NEW SWEDEN, the colony that connects our country with Gustavus Adolphus and the nations that dwell on the Gulf of Bothnia. It maintained its distinct existence for a little more than seventeen years, and succeeded in establishing permanent plantations on the Delaware. The descendants of the colonists, in the course of generations, widely scattered, and blended with emigrants of other lineage, constitute, probably, more than one part in two hundred of the present population of our country. At the surrender they did not much exceed seven hundred souls. Free from ambition, ignorant of the ideas which were convulsing the English mind, it was only as Protestants that they shared the impulse of the age. They cherished the calm earnestness of religious feeling; they reverenced the bonds of family and the purity of morals; their children, under every disadvantage of want of teachers and of Swedish books, were well instructed. With the natives they preserved peace. A love for Sweden, their dear mother country, the abiding sentiment of loyalty towards its sovereign, continued to distinguish the little band; at Stockholm, they remained for a century the objects of a disinterested and generous regard; affection united them in the New World; and a part of their descendants still preserve their altar and their dwellings round the graves of their fathers.

The conquest of the Swedish settlements was followed by relations bearing a near analogy to the provincial system of Rome.

PLYMOUTH ROCK.

The country above Christiana was governed by Stuyvesant's deputy; while the city of Amsterdam became, by purchase, the proprietary of Delaware, from the Brandywine to Bombay Hook; and afterwards, in 1658 and 1659, under cessions from the natives, extended its jurisdiction to Cape Henlopen. But did a city ever govern a province with forbearance? The noble and right honorable lords, the burgomasters of Amsterdam, instituted a paralyzing commercial monopoly, and required of the colonists an oath of absolute obedience to all their past or future commands. But Maryland was free; Virginia governed itself. The restless colonists, and even the soldiers of the garrison, fled in troops from the dominion of Amsterdam to the liberties of English colonies. The province of the city was almost deserted; the attempt to elope was punishable by death, and scarce thirty families remained.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ENGLAND CONQUERS NEW NETHERLANDS.

THE Dutch seemed to have firmly established their power in New Netherlands. They exulted in the possession of a territory that needed no embankments against the ocean. They were proud of its vast extent, from New England to Maryland, from the sea to the Great River of Canada, and the remote north-western wilderness. They sounded with exultation the channel of the deep stream, which was no longer shared with the Swedes, and counted with delight its many lovely runs of water, on which the beaver built their villages.

Meantime the country near the Hudson gained by increasing emigration. Manhattan was already the chosen abode of merchants; and the policy of the government invited them by its good-will. If Stuyvesant sometimes displayed the rash despotism of a soldier, he was sure to be reproved by his employers. Did he change the rate of duties arbitrarily, the directors, sensitive to commercial honor, charged him "to keep every contract inviolate." Did he tamper with the currency by raising the nominal value of foreign coin, the measure was rebuked as dishonest. Did he attempt to fix the price of labor by arbitrary rules, this also was condemned as unwise and impracticable. Did he interfere with the merchants by inspecting their ac-

counts, the deed was censured as without precedent "in Christendom;" and he was ordered to "treat the merchants with kindness, lest they return, and the country be depopulated." Did his zeal for Calvinism lead him to persecute Lutherans, he was chid for his bigotry. Did his hatred of "the abominable sect of Quakers" imprison and afterwards exile the blameless Bowne, "let every peaceful citizen," wrote the directors, "enjoy freedom of conscience; this maxim has made our city the asylum for fugitives from every land; tread in its steps, and you shall be blessed."

Private worship was, therefore, allowed to every religion. Opinion, if not yet enfranchised, was already tolerated; and Jews found a home, liberty, and a burial-place on the Island of Manhattan.

The emigrants from Holland were themselves of the most various lineage; for Holland had long been the gathering-place of the unfortunate. Could we trace the descent of the emigrants from the Low Countries to New Netherlands, we should be carried not only to the banks of the Rhine and the borders of the German Sea, but to the Protestants who escaped from France after the massacre of Bartholomew's eve; and to those earlier inquirers who were swayed by the voice of Huss in the heart of Bohemia. New York was always a city of the world. Its settlers were relics of the first fruits of the reformation, chosen from the Belgic provinces and England, from France and Bohemia, from Germany and Switzerland, from Piedmont and the Italian Alps. When the hurricane of persecution swept over the pious Waldenses, the city of Amsterdam offered the fugitives a free passage to America, and a welcome reception was prepared in New Netherlands for the few who were willing to emigrate. When the Protestant churches in Rochelle were razed, the Calvinists of that city were gladly admitted. Troops of orphans were sometimes shipped for the milder destinies of the New World; a free passage was offered to mechanics. The colony increased; children swarmed in every village; the new year and the month of May were welcomed with noisy frolics: new modes of activity were devised; lumber was shipped to France; the whale pursued off the coast; the vine, the mulberry planted; flocks of sheep as well as cattle were multiplied; and tile, so long imported from Holland, began to be manufactured near Fort Orange. New Amsterdam could, in a few years, boast of stately buildings, and almost vied with Boston. "This happily-situated province," said its inhabitants, "may become the granary of our Fatherland; should our Netherlands

be wasted by grievous wars, it will offer our countrymen a safe retreat; by God's blessing, we shall, in a few years, become a mighty people."

Thus did various nations of the Caucasian race assist in colonizing our central states. The African also had his portion on the Hudson. The West India company, which sometimes transported Indian captives to the West Indies, having large establishments on the coast of Guinea, at an early day introduced negroes into Manhattan, and continued the negro slave trade without remorse. The city of Amsterdam did not blush to own shares in a slave-ship, to advance money for the outfits, and to participate in the returns. In proportion to population, New York, in 1664, had imported as many Africans as Virginia. That New York was not a slave state like Carolina, was due to climate, and not to the superior humanity of its founders. Stuyvesant was instructed to use every exertion to promote the sale of negroes. They were imported sometimes by way of the West Indies, often directly from Guinea, and were sold at public auction to the highest bidder. The average price was less than one hundred and forty dollars. The monopoly of the traffic was not strictly enforced; and a change of policy sometimes favored the export of negroes to the English colonies. The enfranchised negro might become a freeholder.

With the Africans came the African institution of abject slavery; the large emigrations from Connecticut engrafted on New Netherlands the idea of popular freedom. There were so many English at Manhattan as to require an English secretary, preachers who could speak in English as well as in Dutch, and a publication of civil ordinances in English. In whole towns New England men had planted "their liberties in a Congregational way," with the consent of the Dutch. Their presence and their activity foretold a revolution.

In the Fatherland, the power of the people was unknown; in New Netherlands, the necessities of the colony had given it a twilight existence, and, in 1642, delegates from the Dutch towns, at first twelve, then perhaps eight in number, had mitigated the arbitrary authority of Kieft. But there was no distinct concession of legislative power to the people. In 1652, the city of New Amsterdam obtained privileges, not the citizens. The province gained only the municipal liberties on which rested the commercial aristocracy of Holland; and citizenship, far from being a political enfranchisement, was not much more than a license to trade.

In November, 1653, the persevering restlessness of the peo-

ple led to a general assembly of two deputies from each village in New Netherlands—an assembly which Stuyvesant was unwilling to sanction, and could not prevent. As in Massachusetts, this first convention sprung from the will of the people; and it claimed the right of deliberating on the civil condition of the country.

"The States General of the United Provinces," said its members, "are our liege lords; but we are a member of the state, and not a subjugated people. We demand that no new laws shall be enacted but with consent of the people; that none shall be appointed to office but with the approbation of the people; that obscure and obsolete laws shall never be revived."

Stuyvesant was taken by surprise. "Laws," he replied, "will be made by the director and council. If the rule that the people elect their own officers should become our cynosure, and the election of magistrates be left to the rabble, every man will vote for one of his own stamp. The thief will vote for a thief, the smuggler for a smuggler, and fraud and vice will become privileged. The old laws remain in force; directors will never make themselves responsible to subjects." "We derive our authority from God and the West India company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects." Such was his farewell message to the convention which he dispersed.

The West India company declared resistance to arbitrary taxation to be "contrary to the maxims of every enlightened government." "We approve the taxes you propose;"—thus they wrote to Stuyvesant;—"have no regard to the consent of the people;" "let them indulge no longer the visionary dream that taxes can be imposed only with their consent;" and the colonists, in their desire that popular freedom might prove more than a vision, listened with complacency to the hope of obtaining English liberties by submitting to English jurisdiction.

Cromwell had planned the conquest of New Netherlands; in the days of his son, the design was revived; and the restoration of Charles II. threatened New Netherlands with danger from the south, the north, and from England.

The claim of Lord Baltimore to the country from Newcastle to Cape Henlopen was defended by his agents in America, and even presented, in Amsterdam, to the States General of the United Provinces. But the West India company was inflexible; and the Dutch, and Swedes, and Finns, kept the country safely for William Penn. At last, in 1663, the West India company, desiring a barrier against the English on the south, transferred

the whole country on the Delaware to the city of Amsterdam. The banks of the river from Cape Henlopen to the falls at Trenton, certainly remained under the jurisdiction of the Dutch.

With Virginia, during the protectorate, amicable relations had been confirmed by reciprocal courtesies. But, upon the restoration, the act of navigation, at first evaded, was soon enforced; and, in 1664, Berkeley, whose brother coveted the soil of New Jersey, threatened hostility. Clouds gathered in the south.

In the north, affairs were still more lowering. Massachusetts did not relinquish its right to an indefinite extension of its territory to the west; and the people of Connecticut increased their pretensions on Long Island, and steadily advanced towards the Hudson. The original grant from the States General was interpreted as conveying no more than a commercial privilege. To the plea of discovery, purchase from the natives, and long possession, it was replied, that Connecticut, by its charter, extended to the Pacific. "Where, then," demanded the Dutch negotiators, "where is New Netherlands?" And the agents of Connecticut answered, "We do not know."

These unavailing discussions were conducted during the horrors of a half-year's war with the savages round Esopus. In June, 1663, the rising village on the banks of that stream was laid waste; many of its inhabitants murdered or made captive; and it was only on the approach of winter that an armistice restored tranquillity. The colony had no friend but the Mohawks. "With them it kept but one council fire, and was united by a covenant chain."

The necessities of the times wrung from Stuyvesant the concession of an assembly; the delegates of the villages would only appeal to the States General and to the West India company for protection. But the States General had, as it were, invited aggression by abstaining from every public act which should pledge their honor to the defence of the province; and the West India company was too penurious to risk its funds, where victory was so hazardous. A new and more full diet, in the spring of 1664, demanded plainly of Stuyvesant—"If you cannot protect us, to whom shall we turn?" The governor, faithful to his trust, proposed the enlistment "of every third man, as had more than once been done in the Fatherland." And thus Manhattan was left without defence; the people would not expose life for the West India company; and the company would not risk bankruptcy for a colony which it valued chiefly

as property. Half Long Island revolted; the settlements on the Esopus wavered; the Connecticut men had purchased of the Indians all the seaboard as far as the North River. Such were the narratives of Stuyvesant to his employers.

In the meantime, while the United Provinces had confidence in a firm peace, the English were engaging in a piratical expedition against the Dutch possessions on the coast of Guinea. The king had also, with equal indifference to the chartered rights of Connecticut, and the claims of the Netherlands, granted to the duke of York not only the country from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, but the whole territory from the Connecticut River to the shores of the Delaware; and, under the conduct of Richard Nichols, groom of the bed-chamber to the duke of York, the English squadron which carried the commissioners for New England to Boston, having demanded recruits in Massachusetts, and received on board the governor of Connecticut, in the last days of August, 1664, approached the Narrows, and quietly cast anchor in Gravesend Bay. Long Island was lost; soldiers from New England pitched their camp near Breukelen Ferry.

In New Amsterdam there existed a division of counsels. Stuyvesant, faithful to his employers, struggled to maintain their interests; the municipality, conscious that the town was at the mercy of the English fleet, desired to avoid bloodshed by a surrender. A joint committee from the governor and the city having demanded of Nichols the cause of his presence, he replied by a letter, requiring of Stuyvesant the immediate acknowledgment of English sovereignty, with the condition of security to the inhabitants in life, liberty, and property. "The surrender," Stuyvesant nobly answered, "would be reproved in the Fatherland," and angrily tore in pieces the letter from the English commander. On the third of September, a new deputation repaired to the fleet; but Nichols declined discussion. "When may we visit you again?" said the commissioners. "On Thursday," replied Nichols; "for to-morrow I will speak with you at Manhattan." "Friends," it was smoothly answered, "are very welcome there." "Raise the white flag of peace," said the English commander, "for I shall come with ships of war and soldiers." The commissioners returned to advocate the capitulation, which was quietly effected on the following days. The aristocratic liberties of Holland yielded to the hope of popular liberties like those of New England.

The articles of surrender, framed under the auspices of the municipal authority, by the mediation of the younger Winthrop

and Pynchon, accepted by the magistrates and other inhabitants assembled in the town hall, and not ratified by Stuyvesant till the surrender had virtually been made, promised security to the customs, the religion, the municipal institutions, the possessions of the Dutch. The enforcement of the navigation act was delayed for six months. During that period, direct intercourse with Holland remained free. The towns were still to choose their own magistrates, and Manhattan, now first known as New York, to elect its deputies, with free voices in all public affairs.

The colonists were satisfied; very few embarked for Holland; it seemed rather that the new benefit of English liberties was to be added to the security of property. On the twenty-fourth of September, Fort Orange, now named Albany, from the Scottish title of the duke of York, quietly surrendered; and the league with the Five Nations was wisely renewed. Early in October, the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware capitulated; and, for the first time, the whole Atlantic coast of the old thirteen states was in possession of England. Our country had obtained geographical unity.

The dismemberment of New Netherlands ensued on its surrender. The duke of York had, in June, two months before the conquest, assigned to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, both proprietaries of Carolina, the land between the Hudson and the Delaware. In honor of Carteret, once governor of the Isle of Jersey, the territory, with nearly the same bounds as at present, except on the north, received the name of *New Jersey*.

The settlements in New Netherlands beyond the Delaware, consisting chiefly of groups of Dutch round Lewistown and Newcastle, and Swedes and Finns at Christiana Creek, at Chester, and near Philadelphia, were retained as a dependency of New York. The claim of Lord Baltimore was denied with pertinacity. In 1672, the people of Maryland, desiring to stretch the boundary of their province to the bay, invaded Lewistown with an armed force; but the country was immediately reclaimed, as belonging by conquest to the duke of York; and Delaware still escaped the imminent peril of being absorbed in Maryland.

In respect to civil liberties, the territory shared the fortunes of New York; and for that province the establishment of English jurisdiction was not followed by the expected concessions. Connecticut, surrendering all claims to Long Island, obtained a favorable boundary on the main. The city of New York was

incorporated; the municipal liberties of Albany were not impaired; but the province had no political franchises, and therefore no political unity. In the governor and his subservient council were vested the executive and the highest judicial powers; with the court of assizes, composed of justices of his own appointment, holding office at his will, he exercised supreme legislative power, promulgated a code of laws, and modified or repealed them at pleasure. No popular representation, no true English liberty, was conceded.

Under Lovelace, the successor of Nichols, even on the southern shore of the Delaware, the Swedes and Finns, the most enduring of all emigrants, were roused to resistance; while villages in New York clamored for the promised legislation by annual assemblies, and resisted arbitrary rule as contrary to the laws of the English nation.

The votes which the yeomanry of Long Island, in 1670, had passed in their town meetings, were, by order of the governor and council, burned before the town-house of New York. But, meantime, the forts were not put in order; the government of the duke of York was hated as despotic; and when, in the next war between England and the Netherlands, in July, 1673, a small Dutch squadron, commanded by the gallant Evertsen of Zealand, approached Manhattan, the city was surrendered without a blow; the people of New Jersey made no resistance, and the counties on the Delaware, recovering greater privileges than they had enjoyed, cheerfully followed the example of submission. The quiet of the neighboring colonies was secured by a compromise for Long Island and a timely message from Massachusetts. The Mohawk chiefs came down to congratulate their brethren on the recovery of their colony. "We have always," said they, "been as one flesh. If the French descend from Canada, we will join with the Dutch nation, and live and die with them." And the words of love were confirmed by a belt of wampum. New York was once more a province of the Netherlands.

But Holland was too feeble to protect remote conquests against England. Charles II., also, who, in beginning the war, had violated the interests of his kingdom, and the principles of international justice, obtaining no supplies from parliament, and afraid of the enmity of Prussia, and Austria, and Spain, consented to treaties. After a military occupation of fifteen months by the Dutch, New Netherlands, in October, 1674, was finally transferred to England, and the heir to the English throne resumed the possession of New York and Delaware.

CHAPTER XXX.

COLONIZATION OF NEW JERSEY.

If to fix boundaries and grant the soil could constitute a commonwealth, the duke of York gave political existence to New Jersey. Its moral character was moulded by New England Puritans, English Quakers, and dissenters from Scotland.

Avarice now paid its homage to freedom; and in February, 1665, the royalists, who were become lords of the soil, indifferent to liberty, sought to foster their province by most liberal concessions. Security of persons and property, under laws to be made by an assembly composed of the governor and council and at least an equal number of representatives of the people; freedom from taxation except by the colonial assembly; a combined opposition of the people and the proprietaries to any arbitrary impositions from England; freedom of judgment, conscience, and worship, to every peaceful citizen;—these were the allurements to New Jersey. To the proprietaries were reserved a veto on provincial enactments, the appointment of judicial officers, and the executive authority. Lands were promised at a moderate quitrent, not to be collected till 1670. The duke of York, now president of the African company, was the patron of the slave trade; the proprietaries, more true to the prince than to humanity, offered a bounty of seventy-five acres for the importation of each able slave. That the tenure of estates might rest on equity, the Indian title to lands was in all cases to be quieted.

The portion of New Netherlands which thus gained popular freedom was at that time almost a wilderness. The first occupation of Fort Nassau in Gloucester, and the grants of Godyn and Bloemart, above Cape May, had been of so little avail, that, in 1634, not a single white man dwelt within the Bay of the Delaware. The pioneers of Sir Edmund Ployden, and the restless emigrants from New Haven, had both been unsuccessful. Here and there, in the counties of Gloucester and Burlington, a Swedish farmer may have preserved his dwelling on the Jersey side of the river; and, before 1664, perhaps three Dutch families were established about Burlington; but as yet West New Jersey had not a hamlet. In East Jersey, of

which the hills had been praised by Verrazzani, and the soil trodden by the mariners of Hudson, a trading station seems, in 1618, to have been occupied at Bergen, which grew into a permanent settlement. Before the end of 1664, a few families of Quakers appear also to have found a refuge south of Raritan Bay.

In that year, New England Puritans, sojourners on Long Island, who had leave of the Dutch to plant the banks of the Raritan and the Minnisink, succeeded in obtaining from the Indians a deed of an extensive territory on Newark Bay, and Nichols, ignorant as yet of the sale of New Jersey, encouraged their emigration by ratifying the sale. The tract afterwards became known as "the Elizabethtown purchase"—a subject of abundant litigation. In April, 1665, a further patent was issued, under the same authority, to William Goulding and others, for the region extending from Sandy Hook to the mouth of the Raritan. For a few months, East New Jersey bore the name of Albania. Nichols could boast that, "on the new purchases from the Indians, three towns were beginning;" and, under grants from the Dutch and from the governor of New York, the coast from the old settlement of Bergen to Sandy Hook, along Newark Bay, at Middletown, at Shrewsbury, was enlivened by humble plantations, that were soon to constitute a semicircle of villages.

In August, 1665, Philip Carteret appeared among the tenants of the scattered cabins, and was quietly received as the governor appointed for the colony by the proprietaries. In vain did Nichols protest against the division of his province, and struggle to secure for his patron the territory which had been released in ignorance. The incipient people had no motive to second his complaints; the freedom of New Jersey assured its separate existence. Yet, so feeble were the beginnings of the commonwealth, it was but a cluster of four houses, which, in honor of the kind-hearted Lady Carteret, was now called Elizabethtown, and rose into dignity as the capital of the province.

To New England messengers were despatched to publish the tidings that Puritan liberties were warranted a shelter on the Raritan. Immediately an association of church members from the New Haven colony sailed into the Passaic, and, at the request of the governor, holding a council with the Hackensack tribe, themselves extinguished the Indian title to Newark. "With one heart, they resolved to carry on their spiritual and town affairs according to godly government;" to be ruled under their own laws by officers chosen from among themselves; and

when, in May, 1668, a colonial legislative assembly was for the first time convened at Elizabethtown, the influence of Puritans transferred the chief features of the New England codes to the statute-book of New Jersey.

The province increased in numbers and prosperity. The land was accessible and productive; the temperate climate delighted by its salubrity; there was little danger from the neighboring Indians, whose strength had been broken by long hostilities with the Dutch; the Five Nations guarded the approaches from the interior; and the vicinity of older settlements saved the emigrants from the distresses of a first adventure in the wilderness. Everything was of good augury, till, in 1670, the quitrents of a half-penny an acre were seriously spoken of. The Indian deeds were pleaded as superior to proprietary grants; the payment of quitrents was refused; disputes were followed by confusion; and, in May, 1672, the disaffected colonists, following the impulse of independence rather than of gratitude, sent deputies to a constituent assembly at Elizabethtown. By that body Philip Carteret was displaced, and his office transferred to the young and frivolous James Carteret. The proprietary officers could make no resistance. Following the advice of the council, after appointing John Berry as his deputy, Philip Carteret hastened to England in search of new authority, while the colonists remained in the undisturbed possession of their farms.

On the recovery of New Netherlands by the Dutch, in 1673, the people in New Jersey, for fifteen months, acknowledged their supremacy; but each town still nominated its own magistrates. In the Elizabethtown code, framed at that period, Puritan austerity was so tempered by Dutch indifference, that mercy itself could hardly have dictated a milder system. On the final surrender of New Netherlands to England, in October, 1674, changes took place in the organization of New Jersey. The banks of the Delaware were reserved for men who had been taught by the uneducated son of a poor Leicestershire weaver to seek the principle of God in their own hearts.

It is the peculiar glory of England, that her history is marked by an original, constant, and increasing political activity of the people. In the fourteenth century, the peasantry, conducted by tilers, and carters, and ploughmen, demanded of their young king a deliverance from the bondage and burdens of feudal oppression; in the fifteenth century, the last traces of villanage were wiped away; in the sixteenth, the noblest ideas of human destiny, awakening in the common mind, became the central

points round which plebeian sects were gathered; in the seventeenth century, the enfranchised yeomanry began to feel a kindling impulse for a universal reform; and the moment arrived when the plebeian mind should make its boldest effort to escape from hereditary prejudices; when the freedom of Bacon, the enthusiasm of Wickliffe, and the politics of Wat Tyler were to gain the highest unity in a sect; when a popular, and therefore, in that age, a religious party, building upon a divine principle, should demand freedom of mind, purity of morals, and universal enfranchisement.

The sect had its birth in a period of intense public activity; when the heart of England was swelling with passions, and the public mind turbulent with factious leaders; when zeal for reform was invading the church, subverting the throne, and repealing the privileges of feudalism; when Presbyterians in every village were quarrelling with Anabaptists and Independents, and all with the Roman Catholics and the English Church.

The sect could arise only among the common people, who had everything to gain by its success, and the least to hazard by its failure. The privileged classes had no motive to develop a principle before which their privileges would crumble. "Poor mechanics," said William Penn, "are wont to be God's great ambassadors to mankind." "He hath raised up a few despicable and illiterate men," said the accomplished Barclay, "to dispense the more full glad tidings reserved for our age." And George Fox, the first messenger who restored the simplicity of truth, was of low degree—in early life an apprentice to a Nottingham shoemaker, familiar with the Bible, ignorant of the learning of schools.

The rise of the people called Quakers is one of the memorable events in the history of man. It marks the moment when intellectual freedom was claimed unconditionally by the people as an inalienable birthright. To the masses in that age all reflection on politics and morals presented itself under a theological form. The Quaker doctrine is philosophy, summoned from the cloister, the college, and the saloon, and planted among the most despised of the people.

The mind of George Fox had the highest systematic sagacity; and his doctrine, developed and rendered illustrious by Barclay and Penn, was distinguished by its unity. The Quaker has but one word, THE INNER LIGHT, the voice of God in the soul. That light is a reality, and therefore, in its freedom, the highest revelation of truth; it is kindred with the Spirit of God, and therefore merits dominion as the guide to virtue; it shines in

every man's breast, and therefore joins the whole human race in the unity of equal rights. Intellectual freedom, the supremacy of mind, universal enfranchisement,—these three points include the whole of Quakerism, as far as it belongs to civil history.

Everywhere in Europe the Quakers were exposed to persecution. Their seriousness was called melancholy enthusiasm; their boldness, self-will; their frugality, covetousness; their freedom, infidelity; their conscience, rebellion. In England, the general laws against dissenters, the statute against Papists, and special statutes against themselves, put them at the mercy of every malignant informer. They were hated by the Church and the Presbyterians, by the peers and the king. The codes of that day describe them as "an abominable sect;" "their principles as inconsistent with any kind of government." During the Long Parliament, in the time of the protectorate, at the restoration, in England, in New England, in the Dutch colony of New Netherlands, everywhere, and for long, wearisome years, they were exposed to perpetual dangers and griefs. They were whipped, crowded into jail among felons, kept in dungeons foul and gloomy beyond imagination; fined, exiled, sold into colonial bondage. They bore the brunt of the persecution of the dissenters. Imprisoned in winter without fire, they perished from frost. Some were victims to the barbarous cruelty of the jailer; twice George Fox narrowly escaped death. The despised people braved every danger to continue their assemblies. Haled out by violence, they returned. When their meeting-houses were torn down, they gathered openly on the ruins. They could not be dissolved by armed men; and when their opposers took shovels to throw rubbish on them, they stood close together, "willing to have been buried alive, witnessing for the Lord." They were exceeding great sufferers for their profession, and in some cases treated worse than the worst of the race. They were as poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as a people killed all day long.

Is it strange that they looked beyond the Atlantic for a refuge? When New Netherlands was recovered from the United Provinces, Berkeley and Carteret entered again into possession of their province. For Berkeley, already a very old man, the visions of colonial fortune had not been realized; there was nothing before him but contests for quitrents with settlers resolved on governing themselves; and, in March, 1674, a few months after the return of George Fox from his pilgrimage to all our colonies from Carolina to Rhode Island, the haughty

peer, for a thousand pounds, sold the moiety of New Jersey to Quakers, to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns. A dispute between Byllinge and Fenwick was allayed, by the benevolent decision of William Penn; and, in 1675, Fenwick, with a large company and several families, set sail in the Griffith for the Asylum of Friends. Ascending the Delaware, he landed on a pleasant, fertile spot, and, as the outward world easily takes the hues of men's minds, he called the place Salem, for it seemed the dwelling-place of peace.

Byllinge was embarrassed in his fortunes; Gawen Laurie, William Penn, and Nicholas Lucas, became his assigns, as trustees for his creditors, and shares in the undivided moiety of New Jersey were offered for sale. But the Quakers wished more; they desired to possess a territory where they could institute a government; and, in August, 1676, Carteret readily agreed to a division, for his partners left him the best of the bargain. And, now that the men who had gone about to turn the world upside down were possessed of a province, what system of politics would they adopt? The light that lighteth every man shone brightly in the Pilgrims of Plymouth, the Calvinists of Hooker and Haynes, and in the freemen of Virginia, when the transient abolition of monarchy compelled even royalists to look from the throne to a surer guide in the heart; the Quakers, following the same exalted instincts, could but renew the fundamental legislation of the men of the Mayflower, of Hartford, and of the Old Dominion. "The CONCESSIONS are such as Friends approve of,"—this is the message of the Quaker proprietaries in England to the few who had emigrated: "We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as Christians and as men, that they may not be brought into bondage, but by their own consent; for we put THE POWER IN THE PEOPLE." And on the third day of March, 1677, the charter, or fundamental laws of West New Jersey, were perfected and published.

No man, nor number of men, hath power over conscience. No person shall at any time, in any ways, or on any pretence, be called in question, or in the least punished or hurt, for opinion in religion.—The general assembly shall be chosen, not by the confused way of cries and voices, but by the balloting box.—Every man is capable to choose or be chosen.—The electors shall give their respective deputies instructions at large, which these, in their turn, by indentures under hand and seal, shall bind themselves to obey. The disobedient deputy may be questioned before the assembly by any one of his electors. Each

member is to be allowed one shilling a day, to be paid by his immediate constituents, "that he may be known as the servant of the people.—The executive power rested with ten commissioners, to be appointed by the assembly; justices and constables were chosen directly by the people; the judges, appointed by the general assembly, retained office but two years at the most, and sat in the courts but as assistants to the jury. In the twelve men, and in them only, judgment resides; in them, and in the general assembly, rests discretion as to punishments. "All and every person in the province shall, by the help of the Lord and these fundamentals, be free from oppression and slavery." No man can be imprisoned for debt. Courts were to be managed without the necessity of an attorney or counsellor. The native was protected against encroachments, the helpless orphan educated by the state.

Immediately the English Quakers, with the good wishes of Charles II., flocked to West New Jersey; and commissioners, possessing a temporary authority, were sent to administer affairs, till a popular government could be instituted. When the vessel, freighted with the men of peace, arrived in America, Andros, the governor of New York, claimed jurisdiction over their territory. The claim, which, on the feudal system, was perhaps a just one, was compromised as a present question, and referred for decision to England. Meantime lands were purchased of the Indians; the planters numbered nearly four hundred souls; and already, at Burlington, under a tent covered with sail-cloth, the Quakers began to hold religious meetings. In 1678, the Indian kings gathered in council amidst the shades of the Burlington forests, and declared their joy at the prospect of permanent peace. "You are our brothers," said the sachems, "and we will live like brothers with you. We will have a broad path for you and us to walk in. If an Englishman falls asleep in this path, the Indian shall pass him by, and say, He is an Englishman; he is asleep; let him alone. The path shall be plain; there shall not be in it a stump to hurt the feet."

Everything augured success to the colony, but that, at Newcastle, the agent of the duke of York, who still possessed Delaware, exacted customs of the ships ascending to New Jersey. It may have been honestly believed that his jurisdiction included the whole river; when urgent remonstrances were made, the duke freely referred the question to a disinterested commission.

The argument of the Quakers breathes the spirit of Anglo-Saxons, and was triumphant. Sir William Jones decided that,

as the grant from the duke of York had reserved no profit or jurisdiction, the tax was illegal. In 1680, the duke of York acquiesced in the decision, and in a new indenture relinquished every claim to the territory and the government.

After such trials, vicissitudes, and success, the light of peace dawned upon West New Jersey ; and, in November, 1681, Jennings, acting as governor for the proprietaries, convened the first legislative assembly of the representatives of men who said *thee* and *thou* to all the world, and wore their hats in presence of beggar or king. Their first measures established their rights by an act of fundamental legislation and, in the spirit of "the Concessions," they framed their government on the basis of humanity. Neither faith, nor wealth, nor race was respected. They met in the wilderness as men, and founded society on equal rights. They levied for the expenses of their commonwealth two hundred pounds, to be paid in corn, or skins, or money ; they voted the governor a salary of twenty pounds ; they prohibited the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians ; they forbade imprisonment for debt. The little government of a few hundred souls soon increased to thousands. The people rejoiced under the reign of God, confident that he would beautify the meek with salvation. A loving correspondence began with Friends in England ; and from the fathers of the sect frequent messages were received.

In the midst of this innocent tranquillity, Byllinge, the original grantee of Berkeley, claimed, as proprietary, the right of nominating the deputy-governor. The asurpation was resisted. Byllinge grew importunate ; and the Quakers, setting a new precedent, amended their constitutions according to the prescribed method, and then elected a governor. "The people's choice was the foundation of the whole." This method of reform was the advice of William Penn, who, in June, 1680, had become a suitor for a grant of territory on the opposite bank of the Delaware.

CHAPTER XXXI.

COLONIZATION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE son and grandson of naval officers, the thoughts of William Penn had from boyhood been directed to the ocean ; the conquest of Jamaica by his father early familiarized his imagination with the New World, and, at the age of seventeen, he indulged in visions of happiness, of which America was the scene. Bred in the school of Independency, he had, while hardly twelve years old, learned to listen to the voice of God in his soul ; and at Oxford, in 1661, the words of a Quaker preacher so touched his heart, that he was fined, and afterwards expelled for non-conformity. To complete his education, William Penn received a father's permission to visit the continent ; and in the college at Saumur, under the guidance of the gifted and benevolent Amyrault, his mind was trained in the severities of Calvinism, as tempered by the spirit of universal love.

In 1664, Penn was recalled, to assume the care of the estates of the family, and to gain a knowledge of English law, as a student of Lincoln's Inn.

Having thus perfected his understanding by the learning of Oxford, the religion and philosophy of the French Huguenots and France, and the study of the laws of England ; in the bloom of youth, being of engaging manners, and so skilled in the use of the sword that he easily disarmed an antagonist ; of great natural vivacity, and gay good humor ;—the career of wealth and preferment opened before him through the influence of his father and the ready favor of his sovereign. But his mind was already imbued with a "deep sense of the vanity of the world, and the irreligiousness of its religions."

At length, in 1666, on a journey in Ireland, William Penn heard his old friend Thomas Loe speak of the faith that overcomes the world ; the fires of enthusiasm at once blazed up within him, and he renounced every hope for the path of integrity. It is a path into which, says Penn, "God, in his everlasting kindness, guided my feet in the flower of my youth, when about two and twenty years of age." And in the autumn of that year he was in jail for the crime of listening to the voice

of conscience. "Religion"—such was his remonstrance to the viceroy of Ireland—"is my crime and my innocence; it makes me a prisoner to malice, but my own freeman."

After his enlargement, returning to England, he encountered bitter mockings and scornings; it was noised about in the fashionable world as an excellent jest, that "William Penn was a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing;" and his father, in anger, turned him penniless out of doors.

The outcast, saved from extreme indigence by a mother's fondness, was urging the cause of freedom with importunity, when, in the heydey of youth, he was consigned to a long and close imprisonment in the Tower. His offence was heresy. The bishop of London menaced him with imprisonment for life unless he would recant. "My prison shall be my grave," answered Penn. The kind-hearted Charles II. sent the humane and candid Stillingfleet to calm the young enthusiast. "The Tower"—such was Penn's message to the king—"is to me the worst argument in the world;" and he demanded freedom "as the natural privilege of an Englishman." After about nine months, his prison door was opened by the intercession of his father's friend, the duke of York; for his constancy had commanded the respect and recovered the favor of his father.

Scarcely had Penn been at liberty a year, when, in 1670, after the intense intolerance of "the conventicle act," he was arraigned for having spoken at a Quaker meeting. From the interpretation of the law by the magistrate, the young man appealed to the jury, reminding them that "they were his judges." "You are Englishmen," said he; "mind your privilege, give not away your right;" and at last the jury, who had received no refreshments for two days and two nights, on the third day, gave their verdict, "Not guilty."

On the death of his father, inheriting a large fortune, he continued to defend publicly, from the press, the principles of intellectual liberty and moral equality, and remonstrated in unmeasured terms against bigotry and intolerance; and, never fearing openly to address a Quaker meeting, he was soon on the road to Newgate, to suffer for his honesty by a six months' imprisonment. "You are an ingenious gentleman," said the magistrate at the trial; "you have a plentiful estate; why should you render yourself unhappy by associating with such a simple people?" "I prefer," said Penn, "the honestly simple to the ingeniously wicked." The magistrate rejoined by charging Penn with previous immoralities. The young man, with passionate vehemence, vindicated the spotlessness of his

life. "I speak this," he adds, "to God's glory, who has ever preserved me from the power of these pollutions, and who, from a child, begot a hatred in me towards them." "Thy words shall be thy burden; I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet."

On his release from imprisonment a calmer season followed. Penn travelled in Holland and Germany; then, returning to England, he married a woman of extraordinary beauty and sweetness of temper, whose noble spirit "chose him before many suitors," and honored him with "a deep and upright love." As persecution in England was suspended, he enjoyed for two years the delights of rural life, and the animating pursuit of letters; till the storm was renewed, and the imprisonment of George Fox, on his return from America, demanded intercession. Why narrate the severities, which, like a slow poison, brought the prisoner to the borders of the grave? Why enumerate the atrocities of petty tyrants, invested with village magistracies—the ferocious passions of irresponsible jailers? The statute-book of England contains the clearest impress of the bigotry which a national church could foster, and a parliament avow.

After travelling through Germany to explain the universal principle to princes and peasants,—after earnest appeals in behalf of the rights of conscience to the English government and the English people, when every hope of reform from parliament vanished, and bigotry and tyranny prevailed more than ever,—Penn, despairing of relief in Europe, bent the whole energy of his mind to accomplish the establishment of a free government in the New World. His father, distinguished in English history by the conquest of Jamaica, and by his conduct, discretion, and courage, in the signal battle against the Dutch in 1665, had bequeathed to him a claim on the government for sixteen thousand pounds. To the prodigal Charles II., always embarrassed for money, the grant of a province seemed the easiest mode of cancelling the debt. By the aid of powerful friends, and the assured favor of the duke of York, William Penn obtained a charter for the territory, which received from the king the name of Pennsylvania, and which was to include three degrees of latitude by five degrees of longitude west from the Delaware. To avoid encroaching on the three lower counties, that is, the state of Delaware, Pennsylvania was, in that direction, limited by a circle drawn at twelve miles' distance from Newcastle, northward and westward, unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of latitude. This impossible boundary

received the assent of the agents of the duke of York and Lord Baltimore.

The charter, as originally drawn up by William Penn himself, conceded powers of government analogous to those of the charter for Maryland. That no clause might be at variance with English law, it was revised by the attorney-general, and amended by Lord North, who inserted clauses to guard the sovereignty of the king, and even to reserve to parliament the power of levying customs.

In March, 1681, the patent, wrote William Penn, was confirmed "under the great seal of England. God will bless and make the country the seed of a nation."

The royal mandate announced to all the inhabitants of the province, whether Swedes, Dutch, or English, that William Penn, their absolute proprietary, was invested with all powers and preëminences necessary for the government. The proprietary also issued his proclamation to his vassals and subjects. It was in the following words: — "My Friends: I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. These are to let you know, that it hath pleased God in his providence to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business, that though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty, and an honest mind to do it uprightly. You shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it."

With this letter to the inhabitants, young Markham, in May, 1681, sailed as agent of the proprietary. During the summer, the conditions for the sale of lands were reciprocally ratified by Penn and a company of adventurers. In August, a company of traders offered six thousand pounds and an annual revenue for a monopoly of the Indian traffic between the Delaware and the Susquehannah. To a father of a family, in straitened circumstances, the temptation was great; but Penn was bound, by his religion, to equal laws, and he rebuked the cupidity of monopoly. "I will not abuse the love of God,"—such was his decision,— "nor act unworthy of his providence, by defiling what came to me clean. No; let the Lord guide me by his wisdom, to honor his name, and serve his truth and people, that an example and a standard may be set up to the nations;" and he adds to a Friend, "There may be room there, though not here, for the Holy Experiment."

Meantime, the mind of Penn was deeply agitated by thoughts

on the government which he should establish. "I purpose," —such was his prompt decision,—"for the matters of liberty I purpose, that which is extraordinary—to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country;" and, guided by the suavity and humanity of his Quaker brethren, in May, 1682, Penn published a frame of government, to be referred to the freemen in Pennsylvania for their approval.

The government and commercial prosperity of the colony were founded in freedom; to perfect his territory, Penn desired to possess the bay, the river, and the shore of the Delaware to the ocean. The territories or three lower counties, now forming the state of Delaware, were in possession of the duke of York, and, from the conquest of New Netherlands, had been esteemed an appendage to his province. His claim, arising from conquest and possession, had the informal assent of the king and the privy council, and had extended even to the upper Swedish settlements. It was not difficult to obtain from the duke a release of his claim on Pennsylvania; and, after much negotiation, the lower province was granted by two deeds of feoffment.

Every arrangement for a voyage to his province being finished, Penn took leave of his family. Friends in England watched his departure with anxious hope; and their farewell at parting was given with "the innocence and tenderness of the child that has no guile."

After a long passage, rendered gloomy by frequent deaths among the passengers, many of whom had in England been his immediate neighbors, on the twenty-seventh day of October, 1682, William Penn landed at Newcastle. He landed full of hope.

Believing that God is in every conscience, his light in every soul, he was resolved to build—such are his own words—"a free colony for all mankind." This is the praise of William Penn, that, in an age which had seen a popular revolution shipwreck popular liberty among selfish factions,—which had seen Hugh Peters and Henry Vane perish by the hangman's cord and the axe,—he did not despair of humanity; and, though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government. Conscious that there was no room for its exercise in England, the pure enthusiast—like Calvin and Descartes, a voluntary exile —was come to the banks of the Delaware to institute "THE HOLY EXPERIMENT."

The news spread rapidly, that the Quaker king was at New-

castle ; and, on the day after his landing, in presence of a crowd of Swedes, and Dutch, and English, who had gathered round the court-house, his deeds of feoffment were produced ; the duke of York's agent surrendered the territory by the solemn delivery of earth and water, and Penn, invested with supreme and undefined power in Delaware, addressed the assembled multitude on government, recommended sobriety and peace, and pledged himself to grant liberty of conscience and civil freedom.

From Newcastle Penn ascended the Delaware to Chester, where he was hospitably received by the honest, kind-hearted emigrants who had preceded him from the north of England ; the little village of herdsmen and farmers, with their plain manners, gentle dispositions, and tranquil passions, seemed a harbinger of a golden age.

From Chester tradition describes the journey of Penn to have been continued with a few friends in an open boat, in the earliest days of November, to the beautiful bank, fringed with pine-trees, on which the city of Philadelphia was soon to rise.

In the following weeks, Penn visited West and East New Jersey, New York, the metropolis of his neighbor proprietary, the duke of York, and after meeting Friends on Long Island, he returned to the banks of the Delaware.

To the year 1682 belongs his first grand treaty with the Indians. Beneath a large elm-tree at Shakamaxon, on the northern edge of Philadelphia, William Penn, surrounded by a few Friends, in the habiliments of peace, met the numerous delegation of the Lenni Lenape tribes. The great treaty was not for the purchase of lands ; but, under the shelter of the forest, now leafless by the frost of autumn, Penn proclaimed to the men of the Algonquin race, from both banks of the Delaware, from the borders of the Schuylkill, and, it may have been, even from the Susquehannah, the equal rights of humanity.

"We meet"—such were his words—"on the broad pathway of good faith and good-will ; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children ; for parents sometimes chide their children too severely ; nor brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain ; for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts ; we are all one flesh and blood."

The children of the forest were touched by the sacred doctrine, and renounced their guile and their revenge. They re-

ceived the presents of Penn in sincerity; and with hearty friendship they gave the belt of wampum. "We will live," said they, "in love with William Penn and his children, as long as the moon and the sun shall endure."

This treaty of peace and friendship was made under the open sky, by the side of the Delaware, with the sun, and the river, and the forest for witnesses. It was not confirmed by an oath; it was not ratified by signatures and seals; no written record of the conference can be found; and its terms and conditions had no abiding monument but on the heart. There they were written like the law of God, and were never forgotten. The simple sons of the wilderness, returning to their wigwams, kept the history of the covenant by strings of wampum, and, long afterwards, in their cabins, would count over the shells on a clean piece of bark, and recall to their own memory, and repeat to their children or to the stranger, the words of William Penn. New England had just terminated a disastrous war of extermination; the Dutch were scarcely ever at peace with the Algonquins; the laws of Maryland refer to Indian hostilities and massacres which extended as far as Richmond. Penn came without arms; he declared his purpose to abstain from violence; he had no message but peace; and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian.

The Quakers, ignorant of the homage which their virtues would receive from Voltaire and Raynal, men so unlike themselves, exulted in the consciousness of their humanity. We have done better, said they truly, "than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi. We may make the ambitious heroes, whom the world admires, blush for their shameful victories. To the poor, dark souls round about us, we teach their RIGHTS AS MEN."

Peace existed with the natives; the contentment of the emigrants was made perfect by the happy inauguration of the government. A general convention had been permitted by Penn: the people preferred to appear by their representatives; and in three days of December, 1682, the work of preparatory legislation at Chester was finished. The charter from the king did not include the territories; these were now enfranchised by the joint act of the inhabitants and the proprietary, and united with Pennsylvania on the basis of equal rights. The freedom of all the inhabitants being thus confirmed, the Inward Voice, which was the celestial visitant to the Quakers, dictated a code. God was declared the only Lord of conscience; the first day of the week was reserved as a day of leisure, for the ease of the

creation. The rule of equality was introduced into families by abrogating the privileges of primogeniture. The word of an honest man was evidence without an oath. The mad spirit of speculation was checked by a system of strict accountability, applied to factors and agents. Every man liable to civil burdens possessed the right of suffrage; and, without regard to sect, every Christian was eligible to office. No tax or custom could be levied but by law. The Quaker is a spiritualist; the pleasures of the senses, masks, revels, and stage-plays, not less than bull-baits and cock-fights, were prohibited. Murder was the only crime punishable by death. Marriage was esteemed a civil contract; adultery a felony. The Quakers had suffered from wrong imprisonment; the false accuser was liable to double damages. Every prison for convicts was made a work-house. There were neither poor rates nor tithes. The Swedes, and Finns, and Dutch, were invested with the liberties of Englishmen. Well might Lawrence Cook exclaim in their behalf, "It is the best day we have ever seen!" The work of legislation being finished, the proprietary urged upon the house his religious counsel, and the assembly was adjourned.

The government having been organized, William Penn, accompanied by members of his council, hastened to West River, to interchange courtesies with Lord Baltimore, and fix the limits of their respective provinces. The adjustment was difficult. Lord Baltimore claimed by his charter the whole country as far as the fortieth degree. Penn replied, just as the Dutch and the agents of the duke of York had always urged, that the charter for Maryland included only lands that were still unoccupied; that the banks of the Delaware had been purchased, appropriated, and colonized before that charter was written. A discussion of three days led to no result: tired of useless debates, Penn returned to his own province, prepared to renew negotiation, or to submit to arbitration in England.

His enthusiasm sustained his excited mind in unceasing exertion; and immediately, in the first weeks of 1683, he selected a site for a city, purchased the ground of the Swedes, and, in a situation "not surpassed"—such are his words—"by one among all the many places he had seen in the world,"—and he had seen the cities of Europe from Bremen to Turin,—on a neck of land between the Schuylkill and Delaware, appointed for a town by the convenience of the rivers, the firmness of the land, the pure springs and salubrious air, William Penn laid out Philadelphia, the abode of freedom, the home of humanity.

In March, the infant city, in which there could have been

AN INDIAN WARRIOR.

few mansions but hollow trees, was already the scene of legislation. From each of the six counties into which Penn's dominions were divided, nine representatives—Swedes, Dutch, and Quaker preachers, of Wales, and Ireland, and England—were elected for the purpose of establishing a charter of liberties. They desired it might be the acknowledged growth of the New World, and bear date in Philadelphia. And when the general assembly came together, he referred to the frame of government proposed in England, saying, "You may amend, alter, or add; I am ready to settle such foundations as may be for your happiness."

The constitution which was established created a legislative council and a more numerous assembly; the former to be elected for three years, one-third being renewed annually; the assembly to be annually chosen. Rotation in office was enjoined. The theory of the constitution gave to the governor and council the right of proposing all laws; these were to be promulgated to the people; and the office of the assembly was designed to be no more than to report the decision of the people in their primary meetings. Such was the system of the charter of liberties. The assembly at once set the precedent of engaging in debate, and of proposing subjects for bills by way of conference with the governor and council. In return, by unanimous vote, a negative voice was allowed the governor on all the doings of the council. In other respects, the frame of government gave all power to the people: the judges were to be nominated by the provincial council, and, in case of good behavior, could not be removed by the proprietary during the term for which they were commissioned. In Maryland, the council was named by Lord Baltimore; in Pennsylvania, by the people. In Maryland, the power of appointing magistrates, and all, even the subordinate, executive officers, rested solely with the proprietary; in Pennsylvania, William Penn could not appoint a justice or a constable; every executive officer, except the highest, was elected by the people or their representatives.

In the name of all the freemen of the province, the charter was received by the assembly with gratitude, as one "of more than expected liberty." "I desired," says Penn, "to show men as free and as happy as they can be."

It remained to dislodge superstition from its hiding-places in the mind. The Scandinavian emigrants came from their native forests with imaginations clouded by the gloomy terrors of an invisible world of fiends; and, in February, 1684, a turbulent woman was brought to trial as a witch. Penn presided, and

the Quakers on the jury outnumbered the Swedes. The grounds of the accusation were canvassed, the witnesses calmly examined; and the jury, having listened to the charge from the governor, returned this verdict: "The prisoner is guilty of the common fame of being a witch, but not guilty as she stands indicted." The friends of the liberated prisoner were required to give bonds, that she should keep the peace; and in Penn's domain, from that day to this, neither demon nor hag ever rode through the air on goat or broomstick; and the blackest arts of conjuration went no farther than to foretell fortunes, mutter spells over quack medicines, or discover by the divining-rod the hidden treasures of the buccaneers.

Meantime the news spread abroad, that William Penn, the Quaker, had opened "an asylum to the good and the oppressed of every nation;" and humanity went through Europe, gathering the children of misfortune. From England and Wales, from Scotland and Ireland, and the Low Countries, emigrants crowded to the land of promise. On the banks of the Rhine, it was whispered that the plans of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstiern were consummated; new companies were formed under better auspices than those of the Swedes; and from the highlands above Worms, the humble people who had melted at the eloquence of Penn, the Quaker emissary, renounced their German homes for the protection of the Quaker king. There is nothing in the history of the human race like the confidence which the simple virtues and institutions of William Penn inspired. The progress of his province was more rapid than the progress of New England. In August, 1683, "Philadelphia consisted of three or four little cottages;" the conies were yet undisturbed in their hereditary burrows; the deer fearlessly bounded past blazed trees, unconscious of foreboded streets; the stranger that wandered from the river bank was lost in the thickets of the interminable forest; and, two years afterwards, the place contained about six hundred houses, and the schoolmaster and the printing-press had begun their work. In three years from its foundation, Philadelphia gained more than New York had done in half a century. This was the happiest season in the public life of William Penn. "I must, without vanity, say," — such was his honest exultation in 1684, — "I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit; and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it, are to be found among us."

The government had been organized, peace with the natives confirmed, the fundamental law established, the courts of justice

instituted; the mission of William Penn was accomplished; and now, like Solon, the most humane of ancient legislators, he prepared to leave the commonwealth of which he had founded the happiness. Intrusting the great seal to his friend Lloyd, and the executive power to a committee of the council, in August, 1684, Penn sailed for England, leaving freedom to its own development. His departure was happy for the colony and for his own tranquillity. He had established a democracy, and was himself a feudal sovereign. The two elements in the government were incompatible; and, for ninety years, the civil history of Pennsylvania is but the account of the jarring of these opposing interests, to which there could be no happy issue but in popular independence. But rude collisions were not yet begun; and the benevolence of William Penn breathed to his people a farewell unclouded by apprehension. And after he reached England, he assured the eager inquirers, that "things went on sweetly with Friends in Pennsylvania; that they increased finely in outward things and in wisdom."

The question respecting the boundaries between the domains of Lord Baltimore and of William Penn was promptly resumed before the committee of trade and plantations; and, after many hearings, it was decided, in 1685, that the tract of Delaware did not constitute a part of Maryland. The proper boundaries of the territory remained to be settled; and the present limits of Delaware were established by a compromise. There is no reason to suppose any undue bias on the minds of the committee; had a wrong been suspected, the decision would have been reversed at the revolution of 1688.

This decision formed the basis of an agreement between the respective heirs of the two proprietaries in 1732. Three years afterwards, the subject became a question in chancery; in 1750, the present boundaries were decreed by Lord Hardwicke; ten years afterwards, they were, by agreement, more accurately defined; and, in 1761, the line between Maryland and Pennsylvania towards the west was run by Mason and Dixon. Delaware lies between the same parallels as Maryland.

Meanwhile the Quaker legislators in the woods of Pennsylvania were serving their novitiate in popular legislation. The assembly originated bills without scruple; they attempted a new organization of the judiciary; they alarmed the merchants by their lenity towards debtors; they would vote no taxes; they claimed the right of inspecting the records, and displacing the officers of the courts; they expelled a member who reminded them of their contravening the provisions of their charter. The

executive power was also imperfectly administered; for the whole council was too numerous a body for its regular exercise. A commission of five was substituted; and finally, when, in 1688, it was resolved to appoint a deputy-governor, the choice of the proprietary was not wisely made. In a word, folly and passion, not less than justice and wisdom, had become enfranchised on the Delaware, and were desperately bent on the exercise of their privileges. Free scope was opened to every whim that enthusiasts might propose as oracles from the skies, to every selfish desire that could lurk under the Quaker garb. But the smiling light of prosperity rose serenely over the little clouds of discontent, and the swelling passions of the young apprentices at legislation died away at the adjournments. To freedom and justice a fair field was given, and they were safe.

The white man agreed with the red man to love one another. Would he love the negro also, and refuse homage from the African? William Penn employed blacks without scruple. His first public act relating to them did but substitute, after fourteen years' service, the severe condition of adscripts to the soil, for that of slaves. At a later day, he endeavored to secure to the African mental and moral culture, the rights and happiness of domestic life. His efforts were not successful, and he himself died a slaveholder. On the subject of negro slavery, the German mind was least inthralled by prejudice, because Germany had never yet participated in the slave trade. The Swedish and German colony of Gustavus Adolphus was designed to rest on free labor. If the general meeting of the Quakers for a season forbore a positive judgment, already "the poor hearts" from Kirchheim, "the little handful" of German Friends from the highlands above the Rhine, came to the resolution that it was not lawful for Christians to buy or to keep negro slaves.

This decision of the German emigrants on negro slavery was taken during the lifetime of George Fox, who recognized no distinction of race. "Let your light shine among the Indians, the blacks, and the whites," was his message to Quakers on the Delaware. His heart was with the settlements of which he had been the pioneer; and, a few weeks before his death, he exhorted Friends in America to be the light of the world, the salt to preserve the earth from corruption.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE FIVE NATIONS.

THE country which, after the reconquest of the New Netherlands, was, in June, 1674, again conveyed to the duke of York, included the New England frontier from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, extended continuously to Connecticut River, and was bounded on the south by Maryland. We have now to trace an attempt to consolidate the whole coast north of the Delaware.

The charter from the king sanctioned whatever ordinances the duke of York or his assigns might establish; and, in regard to justice, revenue, and legislation, Edmund Andros, the governor, was left responsible only to his own conscience and his employer. He was instructed to display all the humanity and gentleness that could consist with arbitrary power, and to use punishments, not from wilful cruelty, but as an instrument of terror. On the last day of October, he received the surrender of the colony from the representatives of the Dutch, and renewed the absolute authority of the proprietary.

In the summer of 1675, Andros, with armed sloops, proceeded to Connecticut, to vindicate his jurisdiction as far as the river. On the first alarm, William Leet, the aged deputy-governor, one of the first seven pillars of the church of Guilford, educated in England as a lawyer, a rigid republican, hospitable even to regicides, convened the assembly. A proclamation was unanimously voted, and forwarded by express to Bull, the captain of the company on whose firmness the independence of the little colony rested. It arrived just as Andros, hoisting the king's flag, demanded the surrender of Saybrook Fort. Immediately the English colors were raised within the fortress. Despairing of victory, Andros attempted persuasion. Having been allowed to land with his personal retinue, he assumed authority, and, in the king's name, ordered the duke's patent, with his own commission, to be read. In the king's name, he was commanded to desist; and Andros was overawed by the fishermen and farmers who formed the colonial troops. Their proclamation he called a slender affair, and an ill requital for his intended kindness. The Saybrook militia, escorting him to his boat, saw him sail for Long Island; and Connecticut, re-

senting the aggression, transmitted a declaration of its wrongs to the neighboring plantations.

In New York itself Andros was hardly more welcome than at Saybrook; for the obedient servant of the duke of York discouraged every mention of assemblies, and levied customs without the consent of the people. But, since the Puritans of Long Island claimed a representative government as an inalienable English birthright, and the whole population opposed the ruling system as a tyranny, the governor, who was personally free from vicious dispositions, in 1676, advised his master to concede legislative franchises.

James put his whole character into his reply to Andros, which is as follows:—

"I cannot but suspect assemblies would be of dangerous consequence; nothing being more known than the aptness of such bodies to assume to themselves many privileges which prove destructive to, or very often disturb, the peace of government, when they are allowed. Neither do I see any use for them."

In November, some months after the province of Sagadahoc, that is, Maine beyond the Kennebec, had been protected by a fort and a considerable garrison, Andros hastened to England; but he could not give eyes to the duke; and, on his return, in 1678, he was ordered to continue the duties which, at the surrender, had been established for three years. In the next year, the revenue was a little increased. Yet it should be added, that the taxes were hardly three per cent. on imports, and really insufficient to meet the expenses of the colony. As in the days of Lovelace, the province was "a terrestrial Canaan. The inhabitants were blessed in their basket and their store." The Island of New York may, in 1678, have contained not far from three thousand inhabitants; in the whole colony there could not have been far from twenty thousand. Ministers were scarce, but welcome, and religions many; the poor were relieved, and beggars unknown. The exports were land productions—wheat, lumber, tobacco—and peltry from the Indians. In the community, composed essentially of farmers, great equality of condition prevailed; there were but "few merchants," "few servants, and very few slaves." But still there was wanting to the people the power to govern themselves. Discontent created, in 1681, a popular convention, and, in spite of arbitrary imprisonments, the purpose of the yeomanry remained unshaken.

The government of New York was quietly maintained over the settlements south and west of the Delaware, till they were

granted to Penn; over the Jerseys Andros claimed a paramount authority. We have seen the Quakers refer the contest for decision to an English commission.

In East New Jersey, Philip Carteret, as the deputy of Sir George, in 1675, resumed the government, and, gaining popularity by postponing the payment of quitrents, confirmed liberty of conscience with representative government. A direct trade with England, unencumbered by customs, was encouraged. The commerce of New York was endangered by the competition; and, disregarding a second patent from the duke of York, Andros, in 1678, claimed that the ships of New Jersey should pay tribute at Manhattan. After long altercations, and the arrest of Carteret, terminated only by the honest verdict of a New York jury, Andros again entered New Jersey, in 1680, to intimidate its assembly, by the royal patent to the duke. "We are the representatives of the freeholders of this province;"—such was the answer of the assembly;—"his majesty's patent, though under the great seal, we dare not grant to be our rule or joint safety; for the great charter of England, alias Magna Charta, is the only rule, privilege, and joint safety of every free-born Englishman."

The firmness of the legislature preserved the independence of New Jersey; the decision of Sir William Jones protected its people against arbitrary taxation; its prosperity sprung from the miseries of Scotland. The trustees of Sir George Carteret, tired of the burden of colonial property, exposed their province to sale; and the unappropriated domain, with jurisdiction over the five thousand already planted on the soil, was, in February, 1682, purchased by an association of twelve Quakers, under the auspices of William Penn. A brief account of the province was immediately published; and settlers were allured by a reasonable eulogy on its healthful climate and safe harbors, its fisheries and abundant game, its forests and fertile soil, and the large liberties established for the encouragement of adventurers. In 1682, possession was taken by Thomas Rudyard, as governor or agent for the purchasers; the happy country seemed rich in natural resources beyond its neighbors, and was already tenanted by a sober, professing people. Meantime the twelve proprietors selected each a partner; and, in March, 1683, to the twenty-four, among whom was the timorous, cruel, iniquitous Perth, afterwards chancellor of Scotland, and the amiable, learned, and ingenious Barclay, a new and latest patent of East New Jersey was granted by the duke of York. From Scotland the largest emigration was expected; and, in 1685, an argu-

ment was addressed to its people in favor of removing to a country where there was room for a man to flourish without wronging his neighbor. "It is judged the interest of the government"—such was the address of George Scot of Pitlochie to his countrymen, just before he himself, with his family, and a company of nearly two hundred, embarked for the province—"to suppress Presbyterian principles altogether; the whole force of the law of this kingdom is levelled at the effectual bearing them down. The rigorous putting these laws in execution hath in a great part ruined many of those who, notwithstanding thereof, find themselves in conscience obliged to retain these principles. A retreat, where, by law, a toleration is allowed, doth at present offer itself in America, and is nowhere else to be found in his majesty's dominions."

This is the era at which East New Jersey, till now chiefly colonized from New England, became the asylum of Scottish Presbyterians. Who has not heard of the ruthless crimes by which the Stuarts attempted to plant Episcopacy in Scotland, on the ruins of Calvinism, and extirpate the faith of a whole people? The sincerity of a Scot is proved.

Is it strange, that, in the next years, many Scottish Presbyterians of virtue, education, and courage, blending a love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm, came to East New Jersey in such numbers as to give to the rising commonwealth a character which more than two centuries have not effaced? The country had for its governor for life the gentle Robert Barclay. His deputy was, in 1683, the diligent Gawen Laurie, a Quaker merchant from London, who afterwards, in 1686, was superseded by Lord Neil Campbell, himself a proprietary. When Campbell withdrew, the executive power, weakened by transfers, was intrusted by him to Andrew Hamilton. The territory, easy of access from its extended seaboard, its bays and rivers, flanked on the west by the safe outposts of the peaceful Quakers, was the abode of peace and abundance, of deep religious faith, and of honest industry. In a few years, a law of the commonwealth, giving force to the common principle of the New England and the Scottish Calvinists, established a system of free schools. It was "a gallant, plentiful" country; the humblest laborer might soon turn farmer for himself. In all the borders of the colony, said Gawen Laurie, "there is not a poor body, or one that wants."

Thus the mixed character of New Jersey springs from the different sources of its people. Puritans, Covenanters, and Quakers met on her soil; and their faith, institutions, and

preferences, having life in the common mind, outlive the Stuarts.

Everything breathed hope except the cupidity of the duke of York and his commissioners. They still struggled to levy a tax on the commerce of New Jersey. Failing to do so, they sought, by a *quo warranto*, to abrogate the charter. But the proprietaries, to secure their ownership of the soil, in April, 1688, consented to surrender their claim to the jurisdiction; the process was stayed, and the province annexed to New York.

In New York, the attempt to raise a revenue without a colonial assembly had failed. All parties joined in soliciting for the people a share in legislation; and Thomas Dongan, a Papist, who, in 1683, came over as governor, brought with him instructions from the duke of York to grant their request.

Thus, after long effort, on the seventeenth day of October, 1683, about seventy years after Manhattan was first occupied, about thirty years after the demand of the popular convention by the Dutch, the representatives of the people met in assembly; and their self-established "CHARTER OF LIBERTIES" gave New York a place by the side of Virginia and Massachusetts.

"Supreme legislative power"—such was its declaration—"shall forever be and reside in the governor, council, and people, met in general assembly. Every freeholder and freeman shall vote for representation without restraint. No freeman shall suffer but by judgment of his peers; and all trials shall be by a jury of twelve men. No tax shall be assessed, on any pretence whatever, but by the consent of the assembly. No seaman or soldier shall be quartered on the inhabitants against their will. No martial law shall exist. No person, professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall at any time be any ways disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion."

But the hope of a permanent representative government was to be deferred. It shows the true character of James, that, on gaining power by ascending the English throne, he immediately threw down the institutions which he had conceded. A direct tax was decreed by an ordinance; the titles to real estate were questioned, that larger fees and quitrents might be extorted; and of the farmers of Easthampton who protested against the tyranny, six were arraigned before the council.

While the liberties of New York were thus sequestered by a monarch who desired to imitate the despotism of France, its frontiers had no protection against encroachments from Canada, except in the valor of the Iroquois. The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, the Five Nations, dwelling

near the river and the lakes that retain their names, formed a confederacy of equal tribes. The union of three of the nations precedes tradition; the Oneidas and Senecas were younger associates. Each nation was a sovereign republic, divided again into clans, between which a slight subordination was scarcely perceptible. The clansmen dwelt in fixed places of abode, surrounded by fields of beans and of maize; each castle, like a New England town or a Saxon hundred, constituted a little democracy. The union was confirmed by an unwritten compact; the congress of the sachems, at Onondaga, transacted all common business. Authority resided in opinion, law in oral tradition. Honor and esteem enforced obedience; shame and contempt punished offenders. The leading warrior was elected by the general confidence in his virtue and conduct; merit alone could obtain preferment to office; and power was as permanent as the esteem of the tribe. No profit was attached to eminent station, to tempt the sordid. As their brave men went forth to war, instead of martial instruments, they were cheered by the clear voice of their leader. On the smooth surface of a tree from which the outer bark had been peeled, they painted their deeds of valor by the simplest symbols. These were their trophies and their annals; these and their war-songs preserved the memory of their heroes. They proudly deemed themselves supreme among mankind—men excelling all others; and hereditary arrogance inspired their young men with dauntless courage. The geographical position of their fixed abodes, including within their immediate sway the headlands, not of the Hudson only, but of the rivers that flow to the Gulfs of Mexico and St. Lawrence, the Bays of Chesapeake and Delaware, opened widest regions to their canoes, and invited them to make their war-paths along the channels where New York and Pennsylvania have well-nigh perfected the avenues of commerce.

But the Five Nations had defied a prouder enemy. At the commencement of the administration of Dongan, the European population of New France, which, in 1679, amounted to eight thousand five hundred and fifteen souls, may have been a little more than ten thousand; the number of men capable of bearing arms was perhaps three thousand, about the number of warriors of the Five Nations. But the Iroquois were freemen; New France suffered from despotism and monopoly. The Iroquois recruited their tribes by adopting captives of foreign nations; New France was sealed against the foreigner and the heretic. For nearly fourscore years, hostilities had prevailed, with few interruptions. Thrice did Champlain invade the

country of the Mohawks, till he was driven with wounds and disgrace from their wilderness fastnesses. The Five Nations, in return, at the period of the massacre in Virginia, attempted the destruction of New France. Though repulsed, they continued to defy the province and its allies, and, in 1637, under the eyes of its governor, openly intercepted canoes destined for Quebec. The French authority was not confirmed by founding a feeble outpost at Montreal; and Fort Richelieu, raised in 1642, at the mouth of the Sorel, scarce protected its immediate environs. Negotiations for peace led to no permanent result; and even the influence of the Jesuit missionaries, the most faithful, disinterested, and persevering of their order, could not permanently restrain the sanguinary vengeance of the barbarians. The Iroquois warriors scoured every wilderness, to lay it still more waste; they thirsted for the blood of the few men who roamed over the regions between Huron, Erie, and Ontario. In 1649, depopulating the whole country on the Ottawa, they obtained an acknowledged superiority over New France, mitigated only by commercial relations of the French traders with the tribes that dwelt farthest from the Hudson. The colony was still in perpetual danger; and, in 1660, Quebec itself was besieged.

On a winter's invasion of the country of the Mohawks, in 1666, the savages disappeared, leaving their European adversaries to war with the wilderness. By degrees the French made firmer advances; and, in 1672, a fort built at the outlet of Ontario, for the purpose, as was pretended, of having a convenient place for treaties, commanded the commerce of the lake.

The English, on recovering the banks of the Hudson, gave new attention to Indian affairs, and, by the confidence with which their friendship inspired the Iroquois, increased the dangers that hovered over New France. From the French traders, who were restrained by a strict monopoly, the wild hunters of beaver turned to the English, who favored competition; and their mutual ties were strengthened by an amnesty of past injuries.

Along the war-paths of the Five Nations, down the Susquehannah, and near the highlands of Virginia, the proud Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga warriors had left bloody traces of their presence. The impending struggle with New France quickened the desire of renewing peace with the English; and, in July, 1684, the deputies from the Mohawks and the three offending tribes, soon joined by the Senecas, met the governors of New York and Virginia at Albany.

To the complaints and the pacific proposals of Lord Howard of Effingham, Cadianne, the Mohawk orator, replied :—

"Great sachem of Virginia, these three beaver-skins are a token of our gladness that your heart is softened; these two, of our joy that the axe is to be buried. We are glad that you will bury in the pit what is past. Let the earth be trod hard over it; let a strong stream run under the pit, to wash the evil away out of our sight and remembrance, so that it never may be digged up."

At the conclusion of the treaty, each of the three offending nations gave a hatchet to be buried. "We bury none for ourselves," said the Mohawks, "for we have never broken the ancient chain."

The envoys of the Senecas soon arrived, and expressed their delight, that the tomahawk was already buried, and all evil put away from the hearts of the English sachems. On the same day, a messenger from De la Barre, the governor-general of New France, appeared at Albany. But his complaints were unheeded. The sachems returned to nail the arms of the duke of York over their castles—a protection, as they thought, against the French—an acknowledgment, as the English deemed, of British sovereignty.

Meantime the rash and confident De la Barre, with six hundred French soldiers, four hundred Indian allies, four hundred carriers, and three hundred men for a garrison, advanced to the fort which stood near the outlet of the present Rideau Canal. But the unhealthy exhalations of August on the marshy borders of Ontario disabled his army; and, after crossing the lake, and disembarking his wasted troops in the land of the Onondagas, he was compelled to solicit peace from the tribes whom he had designed to exterminate. The Mohawks, at the request of Dongan, refused to negotiate; but the other nations desired to secure independence by balancing the French against the English. An Onondaga chief called Heaven to witness his resentment at English interference. "Neither Onondio, the great sachem of Canada, nor Corlaer, the great sachem of New York, is our master. He who made the world gave us the land in which we dwell. We are free. You call us subjects; we say we are brethren; we must take care of ourselves." And, peace having been concluded on terms humiliating to the French, the governor of Canada retreated, leaving his Algonquin allies exposed to the inroads of their enemies.

Meantime fresh troops arrived from France, and, in 1685, De la Barre was superseded by Denonville, an officer whose

tried valor and active zeal were enhanced by prudence and sagacity. But blind obedience paralyzes conscience and enslaves reason; and quiet pervaded neither the Five Nations nor the English provinces.

For the defence of New France, a fort was to be established at Niagara. The design, which aimed to control the dominion and trade of the upper lakes, was resisted by Dongan; for, it was said, the country south of the lakes, the whole domain of the Iroquois, is subject to England. Thus began the long contest for territory in the west. The limits between the English and French never were settled; but, for the present, the Five Nations, of themselves, were a sufficient bulwark against encroachments from Canada; and in the summer of 1686, a party of English traders, favored by the Senecas, penetrated even to Michilimackinac.

"The welfare of my service"—such were the instructions of Louis XIV. to the governor of New France—"requires that the number of the Iroquois should be diminished as much as possible. They are strong and robust, and can be made useful as galley-slaves. Do what you can to take a large number of them prisoners of war, and ship them for France." By open hostilities, no captives could be made; and, in 1687, Lamberville, the missionary among the Onondagas, was unconsciously employed to decoy the Iroquois chiefs into the fort on Ontario. Invited to negotiate a treaty, they assemble without distrust, are surprised, put in irons, hurried to Quebec, and thence to Europe; and the warrior hunters of the Five Nations, who used to roam from Hudson's Bay to Carolina, were chained to the oar in the galleys of Marseilles.

Meantime the old men of the Onondagas summoned Lamberville to their presence. "We have much reason," said an aged chief, "to treat thee as an enemy, but we know thee too well. Thou hast betrayed us; but treason was not in thy heart. Fly, therefore, for when our young braves shall have sung their war-song, they will listen to no voice but the swelling voice of their anger." And trusty guides conducted the missionary through by-paths into a place of security. The noble forbearance was due to the counsel of Garonkonthié.

An incursion into the country of the Senecas followed. The savages retired into remoter forests; of the country which was overrun without resistance possession was taken by the French, and a fort erected at Niagara. France seemed to have gained firm possession of Western New York. But as the French army withdrew, the wilderness remained to its old inhabitants.

The Senecas, in their turn, made a descent upon their still feebler enemy; and the Onondagas threatened war. "Onondio has stolen our sachems; he has broken," said they, "the covenant of peace;" and Dongan, at the solicitation of the French, offered himself as mediator, but only on condition that the kidnapped chiefs should be ransomed, the fort in the Iroquois country razed, and the spoils of the Senecas restored.

The negotiations fail; and, in 1688, Haaskouaun, the Seneca chief, advances with five hundred warriors to dictate the terms of peace. "I have always loved the French," said the proud chieftain to the foes whom he scorned. "Our warriors proposed to come and burn your forts, your houses, your granges, and your corn; to weaken you by famine, and then to overwhelm you. I am come to tell Onondio he can escape this misery, if within four days he will yield to the terms which Corlaer has proposed."

Twelve hundred Iroquois were already on Lake St. Francis; in two days they could reach Montreal. The haughty condescension of the Seneca chief was accepted, the ransom of the Iroquois chiefs conceded, and the whole country south of the lakes rescued from the dominion of Canada. In the chain of events, New York owes its present northern boundary to the valor of the Five Nations. But for them Canada would have embraced the basin of the St. Lawrence.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE NEW ENGLAND REVOLUTION.

During these events, James II. had, in a treaty with Louis XIV., made it a condition of amity between the colonies of the two states, that neither should assist the Indian tribes with whom the other might be at war. Thus did the king of England ignorantly abandon his allies. Yet, with all his faults, James II. had a strong sentiment of English nationality; and, in consolidating the northern colonies, he hoped to engage the energies of New England in defence of the whole English frontier.

The alarm of Massachusetts at the loss of its charter, in 1685, had been increased by the news that Kirke, afterwards infamous for military massacres in the west of England, was destined for its

governor. It was a relief to find that Joseph Dudley, a degenerate son of the colony, was intrusted for a season with the highest powers of magistracy over the country from Narragansett to Nova Scotia. The general court, in session at his arrival, in May, 1686, dissolved their assembly, and returned in sadness to their homes. The charter government was publicly displaced by the arbitrary commission, popular representation abolished, and the press subjected to the censorship of Randolph.

In December, Sir Edmund Andros, glittering in scarlet and lace, landed at Boston, as governor of all New England. How unlike Penn at Newcastle! He was authorized to remove and appoint members of his council, and, with their consent, to make laws, lay taxes, and control the militia of the country. He was instructed to tolerate no printing-press, to encourage Episcopacy, and to sustain authority by force. From New York came West as secretary; and in the council, four subservient members, of whom but one was a New England man, alone commanded his attention. The other members of the council formed a fruitless but united opposition. "His excellency," said Randolph, "has to do with a perverse people."

A series of measures followed, the most vexatious and tyrannical to which men of English descent were ever exposed. The schools of learning, formerly so well taken care of, were allowed to go to decay. The religious institutions were impaired by abolishing the methods of their support. A town meeting was allowed only for the choice of town officers. The vote by ballot was rejected. To a committee from Lynn, Andros said plainly, "There is no such thing as a town in the whole country." To assemble in town meeting for deliberation was an act of sedition or a riot. Personal liberty and the customs of the country were disregarded. None might leave the country without a special permit. Probate fees were increased almost twenty-fold. To the scrupulous Puritans, the idolatrous custom of laying the hand on the Bible, in taking an oath, operated as a widely-disfranchising test.

The Episcopal service had never yet been performed within Massachusetts Bay, except by the chaplain of the hated commission of 1665. Its day of liberty was come. In December, 1686, Andros demanded one of the meeting-houses for the church. The wrongs of a century crowded on the memories of the Puritans as they answered, "We cannot with a good conscience consent." Goodman Needham declared he would not ring the bell; but at the appointed hour the bell rung; and

the love of liberty did not expire, even though, in a Boston meeting-house, the Common Prayer was read in a surplice. By-and-by, the people were desired to contribute towards erecting a church. "The bishops," answered Sewall, and wisely, "would have thought strange to have been asked to contribute towards setting up New England churches."

At the instance and with the special concurrence of James II., a tax of a penny in the pound, and a poll-tax of twenty pence, with a subsequent increase of duties, were laid by Andros and his council. The towns generally refused payment. Wilbore, of Taunton, was imprisoned for writing a protest. To the people of Ipswich, in town meeting, John Wise, the minister, advised resistance; and he and the selectmen were arraigned before the council. The writ of habeas corpus was withheld. The prisoners pleaded Magna Charta. "Do not think," replied one of the judges, "the laws of England follow you to the ends of the earth." And in his charge to the packed jury, Dudley spoke plainly: "Worthy gentlemen, we expect a good verdict from you." The verdict followed; and after imprisonment came heavy fines and partial disfranchisements.

Oppression threatened the country with ruin; and the oppressors, quoting an opinion current among the mercantile monopolists of England, answered without disguise, "It is not for his majesty's interest you should thrive."

The taxes, in amount not grievous, were for public purposes. But the lean wolves of tyranny were themselves hungry for spoils. In 1680, Randolph had hinted that "the Bostoneers have no right to government or land, but are usurpers." King James did indeed command that "their several properties, according to their ancient records," should be granted them; the fee for the grants was the excuse for extortion. "All the inhabitants," wrote Randolph, exultingly, "must take new grants of their lands, which will bring in vast profits." Indeed, there was not money enough in the country to pay the exorbitant fees which were demanded.

The colonists pleaded their charter; but grants under the charter were declared void by its forfeiture. Lynde, of Charlestown, produced an Indian deed. It was pronounced "worth no more than the scratch of a bear's paw." Lands were held, not by a feudal tenure, but under grants from the general court to towns, and from towns to individuals. The town of Lynn produced its records; they were slighted "as not worth a rush." Others pleaded possession and use of the land. "You take posession," it was answered, "for the king." "The men

of Massachusetts did much quote Lord Coke;" but, defeated in argument by Andros, who was a good lawyer, John Higginson, minister of Salem, went back from the common law of England to the book of Genesis, and, remembering that God gave the earth to the sons of Adam, to be subdued and replenished, declared that the people of New England held their lands "by the grand charter from God." The lands reserved for the poor, generally all common lands, were appropriated by favorites; and "the governor invaded liberty and property after such a manner," said the temperate Increase Mather, "as no man could say anything was his own."

The jurisdiction of Andros had, from the first, comprehended all New England. Against the charter of Rhode Island a writ of *quo warranto* had been issued. The judgment against Massachusetts left no hope of protection from the courts, submissive to the royal will; and the government, acting under instructions from the towns, in May, 1686, resolved not "to stand suit," but to appeal to the conscience of the king for the "privileges and liberties granted by Charles II., of blessed memory." Flowers were strown on the tomb of Nero; and the colony of Rhode Island had cause to bless the memory of Charles II. Soon after the arrival of Andros, he demanded the surrender of the charter. Walter Clarke, the governor, insisted on waiting for "a fitter season." Repairing to Rhode Island, in January, 1687, Andros dissolved its government and broke its seal; five of its citizens were appointed members of his council; and a commission, irresponsible to the people, was substituted for the suspended system of freedom. That the magistrates levied moderate taxes, payable in wool or other produce, is evident from the records. It was pretended that the people of Rhode Island were satisfied, and did not so much as petition for their charter again.

In the autumn of the same year, Andros, attended by some of his council, and by an armed guard, set forth for Connecticut, to assume the government of that place. Andros found the assembly in session, and demanded the surrender of its charter. The brave Governor Treat pleaded earnestly for the cherished patent, which had been purchased by sacrifices and martyrdoms, and was endeared by halcyon days. The shades of evening descended during the prolonged discussion; an anxious crowd of farmers had gathered to witness the debate. The charter lay on the table. Of a sudden, the lights are extinguished; before they are rekindled, the charter has disappeared. William Wadsworth, of Hartford, stealing noiselessly

through the opening crowd, concealed the precious parchment in the hollow of an oak, which was older than the colony. Meantime Andros assumed the government, selected councillors, and, demanding the records of Connecticut, to the annals of its freedom set the word FINIS.

While Connecticut lost its liberties, the eastern frontier was depopulated. An expedition against the French establishments which have left a name to Castine roused the passions of the neighboring Indians; and Andros, after a short deference to the example of Penn, made a vain pursuit of a retreating enemy, who had for their powerful allies the savage forests and the inclement winter.

Not long after the first excursion to the east, the whole seaboard from Maryland to the St. Croix was united in one extensive despotism. The entire dominion, of which Boston, the largest English town in the New World, was the capital, was abandoned to Andros, its governor-general, and to Randolph, its secretary, with his needy associates. But the impoverished country disappointed avarice. The eastern part of Maine had already been pillaged by agents who had been—it is Randolph's own statement—"as arbitrary as the Grand Turk;" and in New York, also, there was, as Randolph expressed it, "little good to be done," for its people "had been squeezed dry by Dongan." But, on the arrival of the new commission, Andros hastened to the south, to supersede his hated rival, and assume the government of New York and New Jersey.

The spirit which led forth the colonies of New England kept their liberties alive; in the general gloom, the ministers preached sedition and planned resistance. Once, at least, to the great anger of the governor, they put by thanksgiving; and at private fasts they besought the Lord to repent himself for his servants, whose power was gone. The enlightened Moody refused to despair, confident that God would yet "be exalted among the heathen."

Yet desperate measures were postponed, that one of the ministers might make an appeal to the king; and Increase Mather, escaping the vigilance of Randolph, was already embarked on the dangerous mission for redress. But relief came from a revolution of which the influence was to pervade the European world.

On the restoration of Charles II., the Puritan or republican element lost all hope of gaining dominion; and the history of England, during its next period, is but the history of the struggle for a compromise between the republican and the monar-

chical principle. The contest for freedom was continued, yet within limits so narrow as never to endanger the existence, or even question the right, of monarchy itself. The people had attempted a democratic revolution, and had failed; it was now willing to wait, and watch the movements of the property of the country, and, no longer struggling to control events, ranged itself, without enthusiasm, on the side of the more liberal and tolerant party of the nobility. Yet the revolution of 1688 is due to the dissenters quite as much as to the whig aristocracy; to Baxter hardly less than to Shaftesbury. It is the consummation of the collision which, in the days of Henry VIII. and Edward, began between the Churchmen and the Puritans, between those who invoked religion on the side of passive obedience, and those who esteemed religion superior to man, and held resistance to tyranny a Christian duty. If the whig aristocracy looked to the stadtholder of aristocratic Holland as the defender of their privileges, Baxter and the Presbyterians saw in William the Calvinist their tolerant avenger.

But the easy issue of the contest grew out of a division in the monarchical party itself. James II. could not comprehend the value of freedom, or the obligation of law. The writ of habeas corpus he esteemed inconsistent with monarchy, and "a great misfortune to the people." A standing army, and the terrors of corrupt tribunals, were his dependence; the pupil of Turenne delighted in military parades; the Catholic convert, swayed by his confessor, dispensed with the laws, multiplied Catholic chapels, rejoiced in the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and sought to intrust civil and military power to the hands of Roman Catholics. After vainly attempting to win the favor of the Church of England, it became the object of his implacable hatred. "Her day of grace was past." The royal favor was withheld, that it might silently waste and dissolve like snows in spring. To diminish its numbers, and apparently from no other motive, he granted equal franchises to every sect; to the powerful Calvinists and to the "puny" Quakers, to Anabaptists and independents, and "all the wild increase" which unsatisfied inquiry could generate. The bishops were imprisoned, because they would not publish in their churches the declaration, of which the purpose was their defeat. On the birth of a son to James II., the Church of England itself set the example of rebellion, and tories took the lead in inviting the prince of Orange to save the religion of the state; the whigs joined to rescue the privileges of the nobility; the Presbyterians rushed eagerly into the only safe avenue to toleration; the people

quietly acquiesced. King James was left alone in his palace. His terrified priests escaped to the continent; his confidential friends betrayed him; his daughter Anne, pleading conscience, proved herself one of his worst enemies. "God help me!" exclaimed the disconsolate father, bursting into tears, "my very children have forsaken me;" and, paralyzed by the imbecility of doubt, he fled beyond the sea. Aided by falsehoods, the prince of Orange, without striking a blow, ascended the throne of his father-in-law; and Mary, by whose letters James had been lulled into security, came over exultingly to occupy the throne, the palace, and the bed of her father, and sequester the inheritance of her brother.

Thus were the rights of Englishmen rescued from danger; thus did Protestant liberty, after a long struggle, achieve its triumph, and put an end forever to absolute power in England, in the state and over mind.

The rejoicing aristocracy desired to give immortality to their privileges. Humanity was present also, and rejoiced at the redemption of English liberties; she reproved the unnatural conduct of daughters who drove their father into poverty and exile; she sighed for the Roman Catholics who were oppressed, for the dissenters who were but tolerated; and as, on the evening of the long struggle which had been bequeathed by Rogers and Hooper, and had lasted more than a century and a half, she selected a resting-place, it was but to gather strength, with the fixed purpose of renewing her journey on the dawn of morning.

The great news of the invasion of England, and the declaration of the prince of Orange, reached Boston on the fourth day of April, 1689. The messenger was immediately imprisoned; but his message could not be suppressed; and "the preachers had already matured the evil design" of a revolution; for the events that followed were "not a violent passion of the rabble, but a long-contrived piece of wickedness."

"There is a general buzzing among the people, great with expectation of their old charter, or they know not what;"—such was the ominous message of Andros to Brockholt, with orders that the soldiers should be ready for action.

About nine o'clock of the morning of the eighteenth, just as George, the commander of the Rose frigate, stepped on shore, Green and the Boston ship-carpenters gathered about him, and made him a prisoner. The town took the alarm. The royalist sheriff hastened to quiet the multitude, and the multitude secured him as their prisoner; and then they went to the major of the regiment, and demanded colors and drums. He resisted;

they threatened The crowd increased; companies form under Nelson, Foster, Waterhouse, their old officers; and already, at ten, they seize Bullivant, Foxcroft, and Ravenscraft. Boys ran along the streets with clubs; the drums beat: the governor, with his creatures, resisted in council, withdrew to the fort to desire a conference with the ministers and two or three more. The conference was declined. All the companies soon rallied at the town-house. Just then, the last governor of the colony, in office when the charter was abrogated, Simon Bradstreet—venerable with fourscore years and seven, one of the early emigrants, a magistrate in 1630, whose experience connected the oldest generation with the new—drew near the town-house, and was received by a great shout from the freemen. The old magistrates were reinstated, as a council of safety; the town rose in arms, "with the most unanimous resolution that ever inspired a people;" and a Declaration, read from the balcony, defended the insurrection as a duty to God and the country. "We commit our enterprise," it was added, to Him who hears the cry of the oppressed, and advise all our neighbors, for whom we have thus ventured ourselves, to join with us in prayers and all just actions for the defence of the land."

On Charlestown side, a thousand soldiers crowded together; and the multitude would have been larger if needed. The governor, vainly attempting to escape to the frigate, was, with his adherents, compelled to seek protection by submission: through the streets where he had first displayed his scarlet coat and arbitrary commission, he and his fellows were marched to the town-house, and thence to prison.

On the next day, the country came swarming across the Charlestown and Chelsea ferries, headed by Shepherd, a schoolmaster of Lynn. All the cry was against Andros and Randolph. The castle was taken; the frigate was mastered; the fortifications were occupied.

How should a new government be instituted? Town meetings, before news had arrived of the proclamation of William and Mary, were held throughout the colony. Of fifty-four towns, forty certainly, probably more, voted to reassume the old charter. Representatives were chosen; and Massachusetts once more, in May, 1689, assembled in general court.

It is but a short ride from Boston to Plymouth. Already, on the twenty-second of April, Nathaniel Clark, the agent of Andros, was in jail; Hinckley resumed the government, and the children of the Pilgrims renewed the constitution which had been unanimously signed in the Mayflower. But not one of the

fathers of the Old Colony remained alive. The days of the Pilgrims were over, and a new generation possessed the soil.

The royalists had pretended that "the Quaker grandees" of Rhode Island had imbibed nothing of Quakerism but its indifference to forms, and did not even desire a restoration of the charter. On May-day, their usual election-day, the inhabitants and freemen poured into Newport; and the whole "democracie" published to the world their gratitude "to the good providence of God, which had wonderfully supported their predecessors and themselves through more than ordinary difficulties and hardships." "We take it to be our duty"—thus they continue —"to lay hold of our former gracious privileges, in our charter contained." And, by a unanimous vote, the officers whom Andros had displaced were confirmed. But Walter Clarke wavered. For nine months there was no acknowledged chief magistrate. The assembly, in February, 1690, accepting Clarke's disclaimer, elected Almy. Again excuse was made. All eyes turned to one of the old Antinomian exiles, the more than octogenarian, Henry Bull; and the fearless Quaker, true to the light within, employed the last glimmerings of life to restore the democratic charter of Rhode Island. Once more its free government is organized: its seal is renewed; the symbol, an anchor; the motto, HOPE.

Massachusetts rose in arms, and perfected its revolution without concert; "the amazing news did soon fly like lightning;" and the people of Connecticut spurned the government which Andros had appointed, and which they had always feared it was a sin to obey. The charter, discolored, but not effaced, was taken from its hiding-place; an assembly was convened; and, in spite of the FINIS of Andros, new chapters were begun in the records of freedom. Suffolk county, on Long Island, rejoined Connecticut.

New York also shared the impulse, but with less unanimity. "The Dutch plot" was matured by Jacob Leisler, a man of energy, but passionate and ill-educated, and not possessed of that happy natural sagacity which elicits a rule of action from its own instincts. But the common people among the Dutch, led by Leisler and his son-in-law Milborne, insisted on proclaiming the stadtholder king of England.

In New Jersey there was no insurrection. The inhabitants were unwilling to invoke the interference of the proprietaries. There is no reason to doubt that, in the several towns, officers were chosen, as before, by the inhabitants themselves, to regulate all local affairs; while the provincial government, as estab-

lished by James II., fell with Andros. We have already seen that Maryland had perfected a revolution, in which Protestant intolerance, as well as popular liberty, had acted its part. The passions of the Mohawks, also, are kindled by the certain prospect of an ally; they chant their loudest war-song, and prepare to descend on Montreal.

Thus did a popular insurrection, beginning at Boston, extend to the Chesapeake, and to the wilderness. This New England revolution "made a great noise in the world." Its object was Protestant liberty; and William and Mary, the Protestant sovereigns, were proclaimed with rejoicings such as America had never before known in its intercourse with England.

Thus have we traced, almost exclusively from contemporary documents and records, the colonization of the twelve oldest states of our Union. At the period of the great European revolution of 1688, they contained not very many beyond two hundred thousand inhabitants, of whom MASSACHUSETTS, with Plymouth and Maine, may have had forty-four thousand; NEW HAMPSHIRE and RHODE ISLAND, with Providence, each six thousand; CONNECTICUT, from seventeen to twenty thousand; that is, all New England, seventy-five thousand souls; — NEW YORK, not less than twenty thousand; NEW JERSEY, half as many; PENNSYLVANIA and DELAWARE, perhaps twelve thousand; MARYLAND, twenty-five thousand; VIRGINIA, fifty thousand, or more; and the two CAROLINAS, which then included the soil of Georgia, probably not less than eight thousand souls.

The emigration of the fathers of these commonwealths, with the planting of the principles on which they rested, though, like the introduction of Christianity into Rome, but little regarded by contemporary writers, was the most momentous event of the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE SOUTH AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

THE Stuarts passed from the throne of England. Their family, distinguished by a blind resistance to popular opinion, was no less distinguished by misfortunes. During the period of their separate sovereignty over Scotland, but one of the race escaped a violent death. The first of them who aspired to the crown of Great Britain was by an English monarch doomed to death on the scaffold; her grandson was beheaded in the name of the English people. The next in the line, long a needy exile, is remembered chiefly for his vices; and, as if a domestic crime could alone avenge the national wrongs, James II. was reduced from loyalty to beggary by the conspiracy of his own children. Yet the New World has monuments of the Stuarts; North America acquired its British colonies during their rule, and towns, rivers, headlands, and even states, bear their names. The pacific disposition of James I. promoted the settlement of Virginia; a timely neglect fostered New England; the favoritism of Charles I. opened the way for religious liberty in Maryland; Rhode Island long cherished the charter which its importunity won from Charles II.; the honest friendship of James II. favored the grants which gave liberties to Pennsylvania, and extended them to Delaware; the crimes of the dynasty banished to our country men of learning, virtue, and fortitude. Thus did despotism render benefits to freedom. "The wisdom of God," as John Knox had predicted, "compelled the very malice of Satan, and such as were drowned in sin, to serve to his glory and the profit of his elect."

Four hundred and seventy-four years after the barons at Runnymede had extorted Magna Charta from their legitimate king, the aristocratic revolution of 1688 established for England and its dominions the sovereignty of parliament and the supremacy of law.

To the English people, the change was the source of hope; the colonies could not fail to perceive that, as the revolution of 1688 had been made for the rights of Englishmen, not for the rights of man, so, in its external policy, the dominant motive was the interest of England, and not the reciprocity of justice.

To the proprietaries of Carolina the respect of the revolution for vested rights secured their possessions. The statute-book of South Carolina attests the moderation and liberality of the insurrectionary government, which now came to an end. Factions multiplied in a colony which had as yet gained no moral unity. The legal sovereigns would not expend their private fortunes in reducing their insurgent liegemen; the colonial oligarchy, which they favored, was too feeble a minority to conduct the government; and the people were forbidden by law to take care of themselves. To this were added the evils of an uncertain boundary on the south, and of disordered finances.

After an inquiry into grievances, by Philip Ludwell, a concession followed. In April, 1693, the proprietaries voted, "that, as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and for the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request." So perished the legislation of Shaftesbury and Locke. It had been promulgated as immortal, and, having never gained life in the colony, was, within a quarter of a century, abandoned by the proprietaries themselves. Palatines, landgraves, and caciques, "the nobility" of the Carolina statute-book, were doomed to pass away.

On the advice of Thomas Smith, it was resolved, in 1694, that one of the proprietaries should visit Carolina, with ample powers alike of inquiry and of redress. The advice pleased; and the grandson of Shaftesbury, the pupil and antagonist of Locke, was elected dictator. He declined; and the choice fell upon John Archdale, an honest member of the society of Friends.

The disputes in South Corolina had grown out of the selfish zeal of a High Church oligarchy, sustained by the proprietaries, in opposition to the great body of the freemen. Now the peaceful Archdale, who, in 1695, became the mediator between the factions, was himself, as a dissenter, pledged to freedom of conscience. Yet his powers permitted him to infuse candor into his administration, rather than into the constitution of Carolina. By selecting for the council two men of the moderate party to one High Churchman, he preserved the balance of power in harmony with colonial opinion. By remitting quitrents for three and for four years, by regulating the price of land and the form of conveyances, by giving the planter the option of paying quitrents in money or in the products of the country, he quieted the jarrings between the colonists and their

feudal sovereigns. To cultivate friendship with the Indians, he established a board to decide all contests between them and the white men. With the Spaniards at St. Augustine friendly relations sprung up; for a Quaker could respect the faith of a Papist.

The fame of Carolina, the American Canaan, that flowed with milk and honey, began to spread. The industrious Scotch, zealous alike for liberty and property, were soon to be attracted. In 1696, New England men were allured to the region that now "stood circumstanced with the honor of a true English government, zealous for the increase of virtue, as well as outward trade and business." And the representatives of the freemen of the colony declared that Archdale, "by his wisdom, patience, and labor, had laid a firm foundation for a most glorious superstructure."

In 1697, after the return of the Quaker legislator, the Huguenots were enfranchised by the colonial legislature. Liberty of conscience was also conferred on all Christians, with the exception of Papists.

But the colonial oligarchy looked for favor to an exclusive religion of state. In 1704, "the High Churchmen," having, by the arts of Nathaniel Moore, obtained a majority of one in an assembly representing a colony of which two-thirds were dissenters, abruptly disfranchised them all, and after the English precedent, gave to the Church of England a monopoly of political power.

The dissenters, excluded from the colonial legislature, rejected with contumely by the proprietaries, appealed to the house of lords, where the spirit of Somers prevailed. In 1706, an address to the queen, in behalf of the dissenters of Carolina, was adopted; the lords of trade and plantations reported that the proprietaries had forfeited their charter, and advised its recall by a judicial process; the intolerant acts were, by royal authority, declared null and void. In November of the same year, they were repealed by the colonial assembly; but, while dissenters were tolerated, and could share political power, the Church of England was immediately established as the religion of the province.

This compromise continued till the revolution. Meantime the authority of the proprietaries was tainted by the declaration of the queen, and the opinion of English lawyers, and awaited only an opportunity to expire.

This period of turbulence and insurrection, of angry factions and popular excitements, was nevertheless a period of prosperi-

ty. The country rapidly increased in population and the value of its exports. The prolific rice-plant had, at a very early period, been introduced from Madagascar; in 1691, the legislature was already busy in rewarding the invention of new methods for cleansing it; its culture steadily increased; and the rice of Carolina was esteemed the best in the world. Hence the opulence of the colony; hence, also, its swarms of negro slaves. The profits of the rice-fields tempted the planter to enlarge his domains, and Africa furnished laborers.

The cereal grains were ill adapted to the sands near the sea, or the alluvial swamps. The woods were more inviting. Early in the eighteenth century, the Carolina Indian trader had penetrated a thousand miles into the interior. The skins of bears, beaver, wildcats, deer, foxes, and raccoons invited commerce. The oak was cleft into staves for the West Indies: the trunk of the pine was valued for masts, boards, and joists; its juices yielded turpentine; from the same tree, when dry, fire extracted tar.

But naval stores were still more the produce of North Carolina, where, as yet, slaves were very few, and the lonely planters, under their mild sky, mingled a leisurely industry with the use of the fowling-piece. While the world was set on fire by wars of unparalleled extent, the unpolished inhabitants of North Carolina multiplied and spread in the enjoyment of the highest personal liberty. Seventy years after its origin, Spotswood describes it as "a country where there is scarce any form of government;" and it long continued to be said, with but slight exaggeration, that "in Carolina, every one did what was right in his own eyes, paying tribute neither to God nor to Cæsar."

In such a country, which was almost an utter stranger to any public worship, the pious zeal or the bigotry of the proprietaries, in 1704, selecting Robert Daniel, the deputy-governor, as the fit instrument, resolved on establishing the Church of England. The legislature, chosen without reference to this end, after much opposition, acceded to the design; and further enacted that no one, who would not take the oath prescribed by law, should hold a place of trust in the colony. But the laws could not be enforced. The Quakers, led by their faith, were foremost in opposition.

In 1705, on a vacancy in the office of governor, anarchy prevailed. "The North had been usually governed by a deputy, appointed by the governor of South Carolina," and Thomas Cary obtained a commission in the wonted form. The proprietaries disapproved the appointment, and gave leave to the little

oligarchy of their own deputies to elect the chief magistrate. Their choice fell on William Glover; and the colony was forthwith rent with divisions. On the one side were Churchmen and royalists, the immediate friends of the proprietaries; on the other, the Quakers and other dissenters, and the majority of the people. Neither party could entirely prevail. The one wanted a legal sanction, the other popular favor. To restore order, in 1710, Edward Hyde was despatched to govern the province; but he could show no evidence of his right, except private letters from the proprietaries; and "the respect due to his birth could avail nothing on that mutinous people." Affairs grew worse than ever. "The spirit of Quakerism appeared" in an open disobedience to unjust laws: Cary and some of his friends took up arms; it was rumored that they were ready for an alliance with the Indians; and Spotswood, an experienced soldier, now governor of Virginia, was summoned by Hyde as an ally. The loyalty of the veteran was embarrassed. He might almost as well have undertaken a military expedition against foxes and raccoons, or have attempted to enforce religious uniformity among the conies, as employ methods of invasion against a people whose dwellings were so sheltered by creeks, so hidden by forests, so protected by solitudes. Cary, and the leaders of his party, in 1711, boldly appeared in Virginia, for the purpose, as they said, of appealing to England in defence of their actions. Thus there was little hope of harmony between the proprietaries and the people of North Carolina.

But here, as elsewhere in America, this turbulence of freedom did not check the increase of population. Notwithstanding the contradictory accounts, the province, from its first permanent settlement by white men, has constantly been advancing, and seems always to have exceeded South Carolina in numbers. Between the Trent and the Neuse, emigrants from Switzerland began the settlement of New Berne. Germans, also, fugitives from the devastated Palatinate, found a home in the same vicinity. In these early days, few negroes were introduced into the colony. Its trade was chiefly engrossed by New England. The increasing expenses of the government amounted, in 1714, to nine hundred pounds. The net revenue from sales of land and quitrents was but one hundred and sixty-nine pounds, or twenty guineas to each proprietary. Such was the profit from the ownership of a wilderness.

For Virginia, the revolution gave to her liberties the regularity of law; in other respects, the character of her people and the forms of her government were not changed. The first

person who, in the reign of King William, entered the Ancient Dominion as lieutenant-governor, was the same Francis Nicholson who, in the days of King James, had been the deputy of Andros for the provinces of the north, and had been expelled from New York by the insurgent people; and, in 1692, his successor was Andros himself, fresh from imprisonment in Massachusetts. The earlier administration of the ardent but narrow-minded Nicholson was signalized by the establishment of the college of William and Mary,—the first fruits of the revolution, in age second only to Harvard,—at the instance of the learned and persevering commissary Blair, whose zeal for future generations was aided by subscriptions, by a gift of quitrents from the king, by an endowment from the royal domain, and by a tax of a penny a pound on tobacco exported to other plantations.

The powers of the governor were exorbitant; he was at once lieutenant-general and admiral, lord treasurer and chancellor, the chief judge in all courts, president of the council, and bishop, or ordinary; so that the armed force, the revenue, the interpretation of law, the administration of justice, the church, —all were under his control or guardianship.

The checks on his power existed in his instructions, in the council, and in the general assembly. But the instructions were kept secret; and, besides, they rather confirmed his prerogatives. The members of the council owed their appointment to his recommendation, their continuance to his pleasure, and, moreover, looked to him for advancement to places of profit. The assembly was restrained by the prospect of a negative from the governor and from the crown, was compelled to solicit the concurrence of the council, was exposed to influence from royal patronage, was watched in its actions by a clerk whom the governor appointed, and was always sure of being dissolved if complaints began to grow loud or opposition too ardent. It had, moreover, lost the method of resistance best suited to the times, since, in addition to quitrents, a former legislature had already established a perpetual revenue.

Yet the people of Virginia still found methods of nourishing the spirit of independence. The very existence of the forms of representation led to comparison; and "the assembly concluded itself entitled to all the rights and privileges of an English parliament;" and the records of the house of commons were examined in search of precedents favorable to legislative freedom.

The constitution of the Church in Virginia cherished colo-

nial freedom; for the act of 1642, which established it, reserved the right of presentation to the parish, and the vestry kept themselves the parson's master by preventing his induction, so that he acquired no freehold in his living, and might be removed at pleasure.

But the greatest safeguard of liberty in Virginia was the individual freedom of mind, which formed, of necessity, the characteristic of independent landholders living apart on their plantations. In the age of commercial monopoly, Virginia had not one market town, not one place of trade. It did not seek to share actively in the profits of commerce; it had little of the precious metals, and still less of credit; it was satisfied with agriculture. Taxes were paid in tobacco; remittances to Europe were made in tobacco; the revenue of the clergy, and the magistrates, and the colony, was collected in the same currency; the colonial tradesman received his pay in straggling parcels of it; and ships from abroad were obliged to lie whole months in the rivers, before boats, visiting the several plantations on their banks, could pick up a cargo. In the season of a commercial revolution, the commercial element did not enter into the character of the colony. Its inhabitants "daily grew more and more averse to cohabitation." All royalists and Churchmen as they were by ancestry, habit, and established law, they reasoned boldly in their seclusion, making their own good pleasure their rule of conduct. "Pernicious notions," fatal to the royal prerogative, were improving daily; and, though Virginia protested against the charge of "republicanism," as an unfounded reproach, yet colonial opinion, the offspring of free inquiry, which seclusion awakened, the woods sheltered, and the self-will of slaveholders fortified, was more than a counterpoise to the prerogative of the British crown. In former ages, no colony had ever enjoyed a happier freedom. From the days of the insurrection of Bacon, for a period of three-quarters of a century, Virginia possessed uninterrupted peace. On its own soil, the strife with the Indians was ended; the French hesitated to invade the western frontier, on which they lowered: if sometimes alarm was spread by privateers upon the coast, a naval foe was not attracted to a region which had neither town nor magazines, where there was nothing to destroy but a field of tobacco, nothing to plunder but the frugal stores of scattered plantations. The soil was stained by nothing but the sweat of the laborer. In such scenes of tranquil happiness, the political strifes were but the fitful ebullitions of a high spirit. Like schoolboys of old at a barring out, the Virginians resisted their

government, not as ready for independence, but as resolved on a holiday.

The English revolution was a "Protestant" revolution: of the Roman Catholic proprietary of Maryland it sequestered the authority, while it protected the fortunes. The deputies of Lord Baltimore hesitated to proclaim the new sovereigns. The delay gave birth to an armed association, formed in April, 1689, for asserting the right of King William; and the deputies were easily driven to a garrison on the south side of the Patuxent River, about two miles above its mouth. There they capitulated, obtaining security for themselves, and yielding their assent to the exclusion of Papists from all provincial offices. A convention of the associates, "for the defence of the Protestant religion," assumed the government.

The privy council, bigoted against Catholics, advised the forfeiture of the charter by a process of law; but King William, heedless of the remonstrances of the proprietary, who could be convicted of no crime but his creed, and impatient of judicial forms, in June, 1691, by his own power, constituted Maryland a royal government. The arbitrary act was sanctioned by a legal opinion from Lord Holt. In 1692, Sir Lionel Copley arrived with a royal commission, dissolved the convention, assumed the government, and convened an assembly. Its first act recognized William and Mary; its second established the Church of England as the religion of the State, to be supported by general taxation. Thus were the barons of Baltimore superseded for a generation. Under Protestant auspices, the ancient capital, sacred to the Virgin Mary, was, in 1694, abandoned, and Annapolis became the seat of government. The system of a religion of state, earnestly advanced by the boastful eagerness of Francis Nicholson, who passed from Virginia to the government of Maryland, and by the patient, the disinterested, but unhappily too exclusive, earnestness of the commissary, Thomas Bray, became the settled policy of the government. After many efforts, Episcopacy was, in 1702, established by the colonial legislature, and the right of appointment and induction secured to the governor; but the English acts of toleration were at the same time put in force. Protestant dissent was, therefore, safe. The Roman Catholics alone were left without an ally, exposed to English bigotry and colonial injustice. They alone were disfranchised on the soil which, long before Locke pleaded for toleration, or Penn for religious freedom, they had chosen, not as their own asylum only, but, with catholic liberality, as the asylum of every persecuted sect. In the land which Catholics

had opened to Protestants, the Catholic inhabitant was the sole victim to Anglican intolerance.

It was not till 1715, that the power of the proprietary was restored. In the meantime, the administration of Maryland resembled that of Virginia, Nicholson and Andros were governors in each. Like Virginia, Maryland had no considerable town, was disturbed but little by the Indians, and less by the French. Its staple was tobacco; yet hemp and flax were raised, and both, like tobacco, were sometimes used as currency. In Somerset and Dorchester, the manufacture of linen, and even of woollen cloth, was attempted. This province surpassed every other in the number of its white servants. The market was always supplied with them, the price varying from twelve to thirty pounds. By its position, also, Maryland was connected with the north; it is the most southern colony which, in 1695, consented to pay its quota towards the defence of New York, thus forming, from the Chesapeake to Maine, an imperfect confederacy. The union was increased by a public post. Eight times in the year, letters might be forwarded from the Potomac to Philadelphia. During the period of the royal government, the assembly still retained influence; for it firmly refused to establish a permanent revenue. Education was neglected; yet a legislative enactment promised a library and a free school to every parish—a proof of the zeal of the commissary and the good intentions of the assembly. The population of the colony increased, though not so rapidly as elsewhere. In 1710, the number of bond and free must have exceeded thirty thousand. In 1715, the authority of the infant proprietary was vindicated in the person of his guardian.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE CENTRAL STATES, AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

More happy than Lord Baltimore, the proprietary of Pennsylvania recovered his authority without surrendering his principles. Accepting the resignation of the narrow and imperious but honest Blackwell, who, at the period of the revolution, acted as his deputy, the Quaker chief desired "to settle the government in a condition to please the generality." And, as the council of his province was, at that time, elected directly

by the people, that body collectively was constituted his deputy. Of its members, Thomas Lloyd, from North Wales, an Oxford scholar, universally beloved as a bright example of the integrity of virtue, the oracle of "the patriot rustics" on the Delaware, was, by free suffrage, constituted president of the council. But the lower counties were jealous of the superior weight of Pennsylvania; disputes respecting appointments to office grew up; the council divided; protests ensued; in April, 1691, the members from the territories withdrew, aud would not be reconciled; so that, with the reluctant consent of William Penn, the lower counties were constituted a separate government under Markham. Thus did the commonwealth of Delaware begin an independent existence. It was the act of its own citizens.

Uncertainty rested on the institutions of the provinces; an apparent schism among the Quakers increased the gloom. No true Quaker, George Keith asserted, can act in public life, either as a lawgiver or as a magistrate. The inferences were plain. The liberties of the province, fruits of Quaker legislation, were subverted; and, if Quakers could not be magistrates in a Quaker community, King William must send Churchmen to govern them. Conforming his conduct to his opinion, Keith resisted the magistracy of Pennsylvania with defiance and contumely. The grand jury found him guilty of a breach of the laws; an indictment, trial, and conviction followed. The punishment awarded was a fine of five pounds; yet, as his offence was, in its nature, a contempt of court, the scrupulous Quakers, shunning the punishment of impertinence, lest it should seem the punishment of opinion, forgave the fine. Meantime the envious world, vexed at the society which it could neither corrupt nor intimidate, set up the cry that the Quakers were turned persecutors; while Keith, disowned by those who had cherished and advanced him, and tired of his position, made a true exposition of the strife by accepting an Episcopal benefice.

The disturbance by Keith, creating questions as to the administration of justice, confirmed the disposition of the English government to subject Pennsylvania to a royal commission; and, in April, 1693, Benjamin Fletcher, assuming power as governor for William and Mary, once more united Delaware to Pennsylvania.

When, in May, the house of representatives assembled, resistance was developed. The wary legislators, intent on maintaining their privileges, declared their code of laws to be "yet in force." "The grant of King Charles to William Penn,"

said Joseph Growdon, the speaker, "is under the great seal. Is that charter in a lawful way at an end?" To reconcile the difference, Fletcher proposed to reënact the greater number of the former laws. "We are but poor men," said John White, "and of inferior degree, and represent the people. This is our difficulty; we durst not begin to pass one bill to be enacted of our former laws, lest by so doing we declare the rest void."

One permanent change in the constitution was the fruit of this administration: the house originated its bills, and retained this right ever after. Fletcher would gladly have changed the law for "yearly delegates." But the people saved their privilege by having elected an assembly which Fletcher could have no wish to continue. The assembly of the next year was still more impracticable.

Meantime the proprietary recovered his authority. Thrice, within two years after the revolution, had William Penn been arrested as an enemy to the change, and thrice he had been openly set free. The fleet in which he was to embark once more for America was almost ready to sail, when, on his return from the funeral of George Fox, messengers were sent to apprehend him. Having been thrice questioned, and thrice acquitted, he now concealed himself in retirement. Locke would have interceded for his pardon; but Penn refused clemency, waiting rather for justice.

But, among the many in England whom Penn had benefited, gratitude was not extinct. In 1693, on the restoration of the whigs to power, Rochester, who, under James II., had given up office rather than profess Romanism, the less distinguished Ranelagh, and Henry, the brother of Algernon Sidney, interceded for the restoration of the proprietary of Pennsylvania. "He is my old acquaintance," answered William; "he may follow his business as freely as ever; I have nothing to say against him." Appearing before the king in council, his innocence was established; and, in August, 1694, the patent for his restoration passed the seals.

The pressure of poverty delayed the return of the proprietary to the banks of the Delaware; and, in March, 1695, Markham was invested with the executive power. The members of the assembly, which he convened in September, would have "their privileges granted before they would give any money." Doubtful of the extent of his authority, Markham dissolved the assembly.

The legislature of the next year persevered, and by its own authority, subject only to the assent of the proprietary, estab-

lished a government, which constituted the people themselves the fountain of all honor and of all power.

In November, 1699, William Penn was once more within his colony. In June, 1700, the old frame of government was surrendered, with the unanimous consent of the assembly and council, and the people were authorized to frame a constitution for themselves.

Yet the work was delayed by colonial jars. The counties of Delaware dreaded the loss of their independence by a union with the extending population of Pennsylvania. Besides, in the lower province, the authority of William Penn rested but on sufferance; in the larger state, it was sanctioned by a royal charter.

Meantime the proprietary endeavored to remove the jealousy with which his provinces were regarded in England; and the colony readily passed laws against piracy and illicit trade. In regard to the negroes, Penn attempted to legislate for the sanctity of marriage among the slaves, and for their personal safety. The last object was effected; the first, which would have been the forerunner of freedom, was defeated. Neither did philanthropy achieve permanent benefits for the Indian.

In August, 1701, amidst the fruitless wranglings between the delegates from Delaware and those from Pennsylvania, the news was received that the English parliament was about to render their strifes and their hopes alike nugatory by the abrogation of every colonial charter. An assembly was summoned instantly; and, when it came together, the proprietary, eager to return to England to defend the common rights of himself and his province, urged the perfecting of their frame of government.

The relations of Penn to his colony were twofold; he was their sovereign, and he was the owner of the unappropriated domain. The members of the assembly, impelled by an interest common to every one of their constituents, were disposed to encroach on his private rights. If some of their demands were resisted, he readily yielded everything which could be claimed, even by inference, from his promises, or could be expected from his liberality; making his interests of less consideration than the satisfaction of his people; rather remitting than rigorously exacting his revenues.

Of political privileges, he conceded all that was desired. The council, henceforward to be appointed by the proprietary, became a branch of the executive government; the assembly assumed to itself the right of originating every act of legislation,

subject only to the assent of the governor. Elections to the assembly were annual; the time of its election and the time of its session were fixed; it was to sit upon its own adjournments. Sheriffs and coroners were nominated by the people; no questions of property could come before the governor and council; the judiciary was left to the discretion of the legislature. Religious liberty was established, and every public employment was open to every man professing faith in Jesus Christ. The fundamental law of William Penn, even his detractors concede, was in harmony with universal reason, and true to the ancient and just liberties of the people.

On returning to America, William Penn had designed to remain here for life, and to give a home to his family and his posterity in the New World. But his work was accomplished. Divesting himself and his successors of all power to injure, having given freedom and popular power to his provinces, no strifes remaining but strifes about property, happily for himself, happily for his people, happily for posterity, he departed from the "young country" of his affections, and exiled himself to the birthplace of his fathers.

For the separation of the territories, contingent provision had been made by the proprietary. In 1702, Pennsylvania convened its legislature apart, and the two colonies were never again united. The lower counties became at once almost independent. Delaware had its own legislature, its own tribunals, its own subordinate executive offices, and virtually enjoyed an absolute self-government.

The subsequent years, in Pennsylvania, exhibit constant collisions between the proprietary, as owner of the unappropriated public territory, and a people eager to enlarge their freeholds. Strifes also existed on political questions. That the tenure of the judicial office should be the will of the people was claimed as "the people's right;" and the courts obtained no permanent organization till the accession of the house of Hanover. The civil constitution included feudalism and democracy; from this there could be no escape but through the sovereignty of the people. The province, indeed, had almost become a royal one by treaty. The poverty of William Penn, consequent on his disinterested labors, created a willingness to surrender his province to the crown; but he insisted on preserving the colonial liberties, and the crown hardly cared to buy a democracy.

Thus did Penn perfect his government;—an executive dependent for its support on the people; all subordinate executive officers elected by the people; the judiciary dependent for its exist-

ence on the people; all legislation originating exclusively with the people; no forts, no armed police, no militia; perfect freedom of opinion; no established church; no difference of rank; and a harbor opened for the reception of all mankind, of children of every language and every creed.

In New Jersey, had the proprietary power been vested in the people, or reserved to one man, it would have survived; but it was divided among speculators in land, who, as a body, had gain, and not freedom, for their end.

In April, 1688, "the proprietors of East New Jersey had surrendered their pretended right of government," and the surrender was accepted. In October of the same year, the council of the proprietaries, not of the people, of West New Jersey, voted to surrender to the secretary-general for the dominion of New England "all records relating to government." Thus the whole province fell, with New York and New England, under the consolidated government of Andros. At the revolution, therefore, the sovereignty over New Jersey was merged in the crown; and the legal maxim soon promulgated by the lords of trade, that the domains of the proprietaries might be bought and sold, but not their executive power, weakened their attempts at the restoration of their authority.

Will you know with how little government a community of husbandmen may be safe? For twelve years the whole province was not in a settled condition. From June, 1689, to August, 1692, East New Jersey had no regular government, being, in time of war, without military officers, as well as without magistrates.

In that year, Andrew Hamilton appeared as governor of the province, for the proprietaries, and "served the people acceptably." The statute-books, which prove the care of his administration for schools and roads, for agriculture and trade, imply a quiet state of society. In 1698, on a short interruption of his government, the proprietaries, through his successor, proposed to the people, by way of compromise, a grant of liberties, on condition of payments and quitrents. The assembly promptly vindicated the privileges of the people as indefeasible, and renewed the strife about land-titles. At the same time, the lords of trade claimed New Jersey as a royal province, and they proposed a settlement of the question by "a trial in Westminster Hall on a feigned issue." The proprietaries, threatened with the ultimate interference of parliament in respect to provinces "where," it was said, "no regular government had ever been established," resolved rather to resign their pretensions,

In 1702, the first year of Queen Anne, the surrender took place before the privy council; the two Jerseys were united in one province, and the government was conferred on Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, who, like Queen Anne, was the grandchild of Clarendon.

New Jersey never again obtained a charter: the royal commission and the royal instructions to Lord Cornbury constituted the form of its administration. To the governor, appointed by the crown, belonged the power of legislation, with consent of the royal council and the representatives of the people. A freehold or property qualification limited the elective franchise. The governor could convene, prorogue, or dissolve the assembly at his will, and the period of its duration depended on his pleasure. The laws were subject to an immediate veto from the governor, and a veto from the crown, to be exercised at any time. The governor, with the consent of his council, instituted courts of law, and appointed their officers. The people took no part in constituting the judiciary. Liberty of conscience was granted to all but Papists, but favor was invoked for the Church of England.

In suits at law, the governor and council formed a court of appeal; if the value in dispute exceeded two hundred pounds, the English privy council possessed ultimate jurisdiction. No printing-press might be kept, "no book, pamphlet, or other matters whatsoever, be printed without a license." And, in conformity with English policy, especial countenance of the traffic "in merchantable negroes" was earnestly enjoined. Thus the courts, the press, the executive, became dependent on the crown, and the interests of free labor were sacrificed to the cupidity of the Royal African Company.

One method of influence remained to the people of New Jersey: the assembly must fix the amount of its grants to the governor. The queen did not venture to prescribe, or to invite parliament to prescribe, a salary,—still less to appropriate it from colonial resources; and the wise assembly, which never established a permanent revenue, often embarrassed its votes of supplies by insisting on an auditor of its own.

The freemen of the colony were soon conscious of a diminution of their liberties. For absolute religious freedom, they obtained only toleration; for courts resting on enactments of their own representatives, they now had courts instituted by royal ordinances; and the sense of their loss quickened their love of freedom by an undefined sentiment of having suffered a wrong. By degrees they claimed to hold their former privileges by the

nature of an inviolable compact. The surrender of their charter could change the authority of the proprietaries, but not impair their concessions of political liberties. Inured to self-reliance and self-government, no thought of independence sprung up among them; but the Quakers and Puritans of East and West New Jersey, cordially joining to vindicate their common liberties, never feared to encounter a royal governor, or to resist encroachments on their rights.

Retaining its own legislature, New Jersey was, for a season, included in the same government with New York. On assuming power in that province, Leisler rested chiefly for his support upon the less educated classes of the Dutch, and English dissenters were not heartily his friends. The large Dutch landholders, many of the English merchants, the friends to the Anglican Church, the cabal that had grown up round the royal governors, were his wary and unrelenting opponents. But his greatest weakness was in himself. Too restless to obey, and too passionate to command, as a Presbyterian, Leisler was averse to the Church of England; as a man of middling fortunes, to the aristocracy; while, as a Dutchman and a Calvinist, he was an enthusiast for William of Orange. Destitute of equanimity, his failure was inevitable.

In June, 1689, a committee of safety of ten assumed the task of reorganizing the government, and Jacob Leisler received their commission to command the fort of New York. Of this he gained possession without a struggle. An address to King William was forwarded, and a letter from Leisler received by that prince without rebuke. Nicholson, the deputy-governor, had been heard to say, that the people of New York were a conquered people, whom the prince might lawfully govern by his own will. In August, under the dread inspired by this doctrine, the committee of safety reassembled; and Leisler was constituted the temporary governor of the province.

The appointment was, in its form, open to censure. Courtland, the mayor of the city, Bayard, and others of the council, after fruitless opposition, retired to Albany, where the magistrates, in convention, proclaimed their allegiance to William and Mary, and their resolution to disregard the authority of Leisler. When Milborne, the son-in-law of Leisler, first came to demand the fort, he was successfully resisted. In December, 1689, letters were received addressed to Nicholson, or, in his absence, to "such as, for the time being, take care for preserving the peace and administering the law" in New York; and, as Nicholson was absent, Leisler esteemed his own authority to

have received the royal sanction. In the spring of 1690, even Albany yielded.

Meantime a house of representatives had been convened, and, amidst distress and confusion, the government constituted by the popular act.

In January, 1691, the Beaver arrived in New York harbor with Ingoldsby, who bore a commission as captain. Leisler offered him quarters in the city, but refused to surrender the fort, at the same time promising obedience to Sloughter on his arrival.

On the evening of the nineteenth of March, when Henry Sloughter, the profligate, needy, and narrow-minded adventurer, who held the royal commission, arrived in New York, Leisler sent messengers to receive his orders. The messengers were detained. Next morning, he asked, by letter, to whom he should surrender the fort. The letter was unheeded ; and Sloughter, giving no notice to Leisler, commanded Ingoldsby "to arrest him, and the persons called his council."

The prisoners, eight in number, were promptly arraigned before a special court constituted for the purpose by an ordinance, and having inveterate royalists as judges. Six of the inferior insurgents made their defence, were convicted of high treason, and were reprieved. Leisler and Milborne denied to the governor the power to institute a tribunal for judging his predecessor, and they appealed to the king. On their refusal to plead, they were condemned of high treason as mutes, and sentenced to death.

Meantime the assembly came together. In its character it was thoroughly royalist, establishing a revenue, and placing it in the hands of the receiver-general, at the mercy of the governor's warrant. It passed several resolves against Leisler, especially declaring his conduct at the fort an act of rebellion ; and Sloughter, in a time of excitement, assented to the vote of the council, that Leisler and Milborne should be executed. On the fifteenth of May, "the house, according to their opinion given, did approve of what his excellency and council had done."

Accordingly, on the next day, amidst a drenching rain, Leisler, parting from his wife Alice, and his numerous family, was, with his son-in-law, Milborne, led to the gallows. Both acknowledged the errors which they had committed "through ignorance and jealous fear, through rashness and passion, through misinformation and misconstruction ;" in other respects, they asserted their innocence, which their blameless private lives confirmed. "Weep not for us, who are departing to our God,"

—these were Leisler's words to his oppressed friends,—"but weep for yourselves, that remain behind in misery and vexation;" adding, as the handkerchief was bound round his face, "I hope these eyes shall see our Lord Jesus in heaven." Milborne exclaimed, "I die for the king and queen, and the Protestant religion, in which I was born and bred. Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

On an appeal to the king, the estates of "the deceased" were restored to their families; and the friends of Leisler persevered till, in 1695, an act of parliament reversed the attainder. In 1698, the assembly of New York confirmed the judgment of the British legislature.

Thus fell Leisler, a victim to party spirit. Long afterwards, his friends, whom a royalist of that day described as "the meaner sort of the inhabitants," and who were distinguished always by their zeal for popular power, for toleration, for opposition to the doctrine of legitimacy, formed a powerful, and ultimately a successful, party. His rashness and incompetency were forgotten in sympathy for the judicial murder by which he fell; and the principles which he upheld became the principles of the colony.

There existed in the province no party which would sacrifice colonial freedom. Even the legislature, composed of the deadly enemies of Leisler, asserted the right to a representative government, and to English liberties, to be inherent in the people, and not a consequence of the royal favor. This act received the veto of King William. "No tax whatever shall be levied on his majesty's subjects in the province, or on their estates, on any pretence whatsoever, but by the act and consent of the representatives of the people in general assembly convened:"—"supreme legislative power belongs to the governor and council, and to the people by their representatives:"—such was the enactment of the most royalist assembly that could ever be convened in New York, vainly annulled by the English sovereign.

In 1692, in the administration of the covetous and passionate Fletcher, the old hope of extending the bounds of the province from Connecticut River to Delaware Bay revived; and, for the security of the central province, the command of the militia of New Jersey and Connecticut was, by a royal commission, conferred on Fletcher. An address was also sent to the king, representing the great cost of defending the frontiers, and requesting that the neighboring colonies might be compelled to contribute to the protection of Albany. In the necessity of

common defence lay the root of the parliamentary attempt at taxation; for it created the desire of a central will, and this desire looked sometimes to the English monarch as the fountain of sovereignty, sometimes to the idea of a confederacy of the colonies, and at last to the action of parliament. In this age, it led only to instructions. In 1695, all the colonies north of Carolina were directed to furnish quotas for the defence of New York or the attacks on Canada; but the instructions, though urgently renewed, were never enforced, and were by some colonies openly disregarded.

In its internal affairs, New York is the most northern colony that admitted by enactment the partial establishment of the Anglican Church. When the colony became English, the conquest was made by men devoted to the English throne and the English Church, and the influence of Churchmen was at once predominant in the council. The idea of toleration was still imperfect in New Netherlands; equality among religious sects was unknown. It is not strange, therefore, that, in 1693, the house framed a bill, in which they established certain churches and ministers, yet reserving the right of presentation to the vestrymen and church-wardens; and, after much altercation, the English Church succeeded in engrossing the provision made by the ministry acts.

The jealousy of the dissenters was tranquillized in the short administration of the kindlier earl of Bellamont, an Irish peer, with a sound heart and honorable sympathies for popular freedom, who arrived in New York in April, 1698, with a commission extending to the borders of Canada, including all the northern British possessions, except Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The enforcement of the acts of trade, which had been violated by the connivance of men appointed to execute them,—the suppression of piracy, which, as the turbulent offspring of long wars and of the false principles of the commercial systems of that age, infested every sea from America to China,—were the great purposes of Bellamont; yet for both he accomplished little. The acts of trade, despotic in their nature, contradicting the rights of humanity, were evaded everywhere; but in New York, a city, in part, of aliens, owing allegiance to England, without the bonds of common history, kindred, and tongue, they were disregarded without scruple. No voice of conscience declared their evasion a moral offence; respect for them was but a calculation of chances. In the attempt to suppress piracy, the promises of infinite booty to be recovered

from pirates, or to be won from the enemies of England, had gained from the king and the admiralty a commission for William Kidd, and had deluded Bellamont into a partnership in a private expedition. Failing in his hopes of opulence, Kidd found his way as a pirate to the gallows. In the house of commons, the transaction provoked inquiry, and hardly escaped censure.

On questions of finance, the popularity of Bellamont prevented collisions by an honest promise—"I will pocket none of the public money myself, nor shall there be any embezzlement by others." And the necessity of the promise is the strongest commentary upon the character of his predecessors. The confiding house of representatives voted a revenue for six years, and placed it, as before, at the disposition of the governor. His death interrupted the short period of harmony in the colony; and, happily for New York, Lord Cornbury, his successor, had every vice of character necessary to discipline a colony into self-reliance and resistance.

By a house of assembly not yet provoked to defiance, the expenses of his voyage were compensated by a grant of two thousand pounds, and an annual revenue for the public service for a period of seven years. In April, 1703, a further grant was made of fifteen hundred pounds to fortify the Narrows, "and for no other use whatever." But the money, by the warrant of Lord Cornbury, disappeared from the treasury, while the Narrows were still defenceless; and, in June, the assembly, awakened to distrust by addresses to the governor and the queen, solicited a treasurer of its own appointment. In the next year, they more earnestly asserted "the rights of the house." "I know of no right that you have," answered Lord Cornbury, "but such as the queen is pleased to allow you." But the firmness of the assembly won the right of appointing by the general assembly its own treasurer to take charge of extraordinary supplies.

In affairs relating to religion, Lord Cornbury was equally imperious, disputing generally the right of either minister or schoolmaster to exercise his vocation without his license. The question of the freedom of the pulpit no longer included the whole question of intellectual freedom; the victory for toleration had been won; and the spirit of political freedom found its organ in the provincial legislature. The captious reference to the standing instructions in favor of the English Church, sometimes encouraging arbitrary acts of power in its behalf, and always tending to bias every question in its favor, led only

to acts of petty tyranny, useless to English interests, and benefiting the people by compelling their active vigilance. The power of the people redressed the griefs. If Francis Makemie, a Presbyterian, was indicted for preaching without a license from the governor,—if the chief justice advised a special verdict,—the jury, composed, it is said, of Episcopalians, constituted themselves the judges of the law, and readily agreed on an acquittal. In like manner, at Jamaica, the church which the whole town had erected was, by the connivance of Lord Cornbury, reserved exclusively for the Episcopalians—an injustice which was afterwards reversed in the colonial courts.

Twice had Lord Cornbury dissolved an assembly. The third which he convened, in August, 1708, proved how rapidly the political education of the people had advanced. Dutch, English, and New England men were all of one spirit. The rights of the people, with regard to taxation, to courts of law, to officers of the crown, were asserted with an energy to which the governor could offer no resistance. Without presence of mind, subdued by the colonial legislature, and now appearing dispirited as he was indigent, he submitted to the ignominy of reproof, and thanked the assembly for the simplest act of justice.

Shall we glance at his career in New Jersey? There are the same demands for money, and a still more wary refusal; representatives, elected by a majority of votes, excluded by the governor; assemblies convened, and angrily dissolved. In April, 1707, necessity compels a third assembly. Its members, according to the usage of that day, wait on the governor with their remonstrance. Samuel Jennings, the Quaker speaker, reads it for them most audibly. It charges Lord Cornbury with accepting bribes; it deals sharply with "his new methods of government;" his "encroachment" on the popular liberties, by "assuming a negative voice to the freeholders' election of their representatives;" "they have neither heads, hearts, nor souls, that are not forward with their utmost power lawfully to redress the miseries of their country." "Stop!" exclaimed Lord Cornbury, as the undaunted Quaker delivered the remonstrance; and Jennings meekly and distinctly repeated the charges, with greater emphasis than before. What could Lord Cornbury do? He attempted to retort, charging the Quakers with disloyalty and faction; and they answered, in the words of Nehemiah to Sanballat, "There is no such thing done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart." And they left, for the instruction of future governors, this weighty truth:—"To engage the affections of the people, no artifice is needful,

but to let them be unmolested in the enjoyment of what belongs to them of right."

Lord Cornbury had fulfilled his mission; more successful than any patriot, he had taught New York the necessity and the methods of incipient resistance. The assembly which, in April, 1709, met Lord Lovelace, his short-lived successor, began the contest that was never to cease but with independence. The crown demanded a permanent revenue, without appropriation; New York henceforward would raise only an annual revenue, and appropriate it specifically.

Such was the inheritance of controversies provided for Robert Hunter, the friend of Swift, an adventurer, who came to his government in quest of good cheer. "Here," he writes, "is the finest air to live upon in the universe: the soil bears all things, but not for me; for, according to the custom of the country, the sachems are the poorest of the people." "Sancho Panza," he avers, "was indeed but a type of me."

In September, 1710, within less than five months of his arrival, he was disputing with an assembly. The desire to conquer Canada prevailed, in the summer of 1711, to obtain a specific grant of bills of credit for £10,000; but no concession was made in regard to the ordinary expenses of the government.

Hunter could not effectually obey the lords of trade: they instruct him as to what the legislature shall do, and the legislature is inflexible. "I have spent three years in such torment and vexation," wrote the really well-disposed man, "that nothing in life can ever make amends for it." Concession and philosophical indifference afterwards gave him calm; but the spirit roused in New York was never lulled.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

NEW ENGLAND AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

New York would willingly, after the revolution, have extended her boundary over a part of Connecticut; but the people of the colony themselves vindicated its liberties and the integrity of its territory.

Governor Treat having resumed his office, the assembly which convened in May, 1689, obeying the declared opinion

of the freemen, organized the government according to their charter.

In London, Whiting, the agent of Connecticut, was aided by all the influence which the religious sympathy of the Presbyterians could enlist for New England. The English corporations had been restored; and Edward Ward gave his opinion, that a surrender, of which no legal record existed, did not invalidate a patent. Somers assented. "There is no ground of doubt," reiterated George Treby. And the sanctity attached to the democratic charter and government of Connecticut is the most honorable proof of the respect which was cherished by the revolution of 1688 for every existing franchise.

The English crown would willingly have resumed, at least, the command of the militia, which, after having been, at one time, assigned to the governor of Massachusetts, by whom it was never challenged, was, in 1692, claimed as a part of the royal prerogative, and conferred on the governor of New York. But, refusing to await the decision in England, in October, 1693, Fletcher appeared in Hartford, and, after fruitless negotiation, ordered its militia under arms, that he might beat up for volunteers for the war.

Hartford was then a small but delightful township, with its meeting-house and cluster of dwellings, built on land just above the rich meadows which the Connecticut annually overflows—a community of farmers, the unmixed progeny of Puritans, William Wadsworth, the senior captain of the town, walked in front of the assembled train-bands, "busy in exercising them." Fletcher advances, to assume command, ordering Bayard, of New York, to read his commission and the royal instructions. At the order of Captain Wadsworth, the drums began to roll, beating some of the old marches that may have been handed down from the veterans of Gustavus or the volunteers of Naseby. The petulant Fletcher commanded silence. "I will not" such had been his words to the governor of Connecticut—"I will not set my foot out of this colony till I have seen his majesty's commission obeyed;" and Bayard, of New York, once more began to read. Once more the drums beat. "Silence!" exclaimed Fletcher. "Drum, drum, I say!" shouted Wadsworth, adding, as he turned to the governor of New York, "If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment." Fletcher was daunted; and, as the excited people came swarming into Hartford, in spite of his expressed determination, he fled from the scene to his government in New York.

In April, 1694, the king, in council, decided, on the advice of Ward and Treves, that the ordinary power of the militia in Connecticut belonged to its government.

The decisions which established the rights of Connecticut included those of Rhode Island. The assaults of the royalists were always made upon the more powerful colony, in the assurance that the fate of both would be included in its overthrow. These two commonwealths were the portion of the British empire distinguished above all others by the largest liberty. Each presented the anomaly of a nearly absolute democracy under the shelter of a monarchy.

But danger was not passed. The crown, reserving to itself the right of appeal, had still a method of interfering in the internal concerns of the little republics. Besides, their charters were never safe; absolute sovereignty being claimed in England, their freedom rested on forbearance. Both were included among the colonies in which the lords of trade advised a complete restoration of the prerogatives of the crown. Both were named in the bill which, in 1701, was introduced into parliament for the abrogation of all American charters.

The insurrection in Boston, which had overthrown the dominion of Andros, had sprung spontaneously from the people. Among the magistrates, and especially among the ministers, some distrusted every popular movement, and sought to control a revolution, of which they feared the tendency. The insurgents insisted on the restoration of the colonial charter; but Cotton Mather, claiming only English liberties, and not charter liberties, and selfishly jealous of popular power, was eager to thwart the design; and, against the opinion of the venerable Bradstreet, the charter magistrates, joining to themselves "the principal inhabitants" of Boston, became a self-constituted "council for the safety of the people."

When, in May, 1689, the convention of the people assembled, they, too, demanded their ancient privileges. The council resisted, and the question was referred to the people. Nearly four-fifths of the towns instructed their representatives to reassume the charter; but the pertinacity of a majority of the council permitted only a compromise. Thus was lost the only opportunity for Massachusetts to recover its sequestered freedom. But the popular party, at the assembly in June, jealous of the dispositions of Increase Mather, joined with him, in the agency for New England, Sir Henry Ashurst and two of their own adherents, the patriot Elisha Cook, and the honest but less able Thomas Oakes.

King William was a friend to Calvinists, and, in March, 1689, on the first interview with Increase Mather, conceded the recall of Sir Edmund Andros. The convention parliament voted that the taking away of the New England charters was a grievance; and the English Presbyterians, with singular affection, declared that "the king could not possibly do anything more grateful to his dissenting subjects in England, than by restoring to New England its former privileges." The dissolution of the convention parliament, followed by one in which an influence friendly to the tories was perceptible, destroyed the hope of relief from the English legislature: to attempt a reversal of the judgment by a writ of error was hopeless. There was no avenue to success but through the favor of a monarch who loved authority. The people of New England "are like the Jews under Cyrus," said Wiswall, the agent for Plymouth colony: with a new monarch "on the throne of their oppressors, they hope in vain to rebuild their city and their sanctuary."

Yet William III. professed friendship for Massachusetts. The hope of colonial conquest over the French was excited; his subjects in New England, said Increase Mather, if they could but enjoy "their ancient rights and privileges," would make him "the emperor of America." In the family of Hampden, Massachusetts inherited a powerful intercessor. The countess of Sunderland, whom the Princess, afterwards Queen, Anne describes as "a hypocrite," "running from church to church after the famousest preachers, and keeping a clatter with her devotions," is remembered in America as a benefactress. The aged Lord Wharton, last surviving member of the Westminster assembly of divines, "a constant and cordial lover of all good men," never grew weary in his zeal. The tolerant archbishop of Canterbury, the rational Tillotson, charged the king "not to take away from the people of New England any of the privileges which Charles I. had granted them." "The charter of New England," said Burnet, "was not an act of grace, but a contract between the king and the first patentees, who promised to enlarge the king's dominion at their own charges, provided they and their posterity might enjoy certain privileges." Yet Somers resisted the restoration of the charter of Massachusetts, pleading its imperfections. The charter sketched by Sir George Treby was rejected by the privy council for its liberality; and that which, in October, 1691, was finally conceded, reserved such powers to the crown, that Cooke, the popular envoy, declined to accept it. Somers and King William were less liberal to Massachusetts than Clarendon and Charles II.

The charter government of Massachusetts, as established by the revolutionary monarch of England, differed from that of the royal provinces in nothing but the council. In the royal colonies, that body was appointed by the king; in Massachusetts, it was, in the first instance, appointed by the king, and, subject to a negative from the governor, was ever after elected, in joint ballot, by the members of the council and the representatives of the people. As the councillors were twenty-eight in number, they generally, by their own vote, succeeded in effecting their own reëlection; and, instead of being, as elsewhere, a greedy oligarchy, were famed for their unoffending respectability. For long years, they ventured on nothing that could deeply displease royalty or the people.

The territory of Massachusetts was by the charter vastly enlarged. On the south, it embraced Plymouth colony and the Elizabeth Islands; on the east, it included Maine and all beyond it to the Atlantic; on the north, it was described as swept by the St. Lawrence — the fatal gift of a wilderness, for the conquest and defence of which Massachusetts expended more treasure, and lost more of her sons, than all the English continental colonies beside.

From the Elizabeth Islands to the St. Lawrence, and eastward to the Atlantic, Massachusetts now included the whole vast region, except New Hampshire. That colony became henceforward a royal province. In 1689, its inhabitants had assembled in convention to institute a government for themselves; at their second session, they resolved to unite, and did actually unite, with Massachusetts; and both colonies desired that the union might be permanent. But England, if it annexed to Massachusetts the burden of the unconquered desert east and north of the Piscataqua, held itself bound by no previous compact to concede to New Hampshire any charter whatever. The right to the soil, which Samuel Allen, of London, had purchased of Mason, was recognized as valid; and Allen himself received the royal commission to govern a people whose territory, including the farms they had redeemed from the wilderness, he claimed as his own. His son-in-law Usher, of Boston, formerly an adherent of Andros, and a great speculator in lands, was appointed, under him, lieutenant-governor. Such was the English revolution of 1688. It valued the uncertain claims of an English merchant more than the liberties of a province. Indeed, that revolution loved, not liberty, but privilege, and respected popular liberty only where it had the sanction of a vested right.

In 1692, the new government for New Hampshire was organ-

ized by Usher. The civil history of that colony, for a quarter of a century, is a record of lawsuits about land. Complaints against Usher were met by counter-complaints, till New Hampshire was placed, with Massachusetts, under the government of Bellamont, and, in 1699, a judiciary, composed of men attached to the colony, was instituted. Then, and for years afterwards, followed scenes of confusion;—trials in the colonial courts, resulting always in verdicts against the pretended proprietary; appeals to the English monarch in council; papers withheld; records of the court under Cranfield destroyed; orders from the lords of trade and the crown disregarded by a succession of inflexible juries; a compromise proposed, and rendered of no avail by the death of one of the parties; an Indian deed manufactured to protect the cultivators of the soil; till, in 1715, the heirs of the proprietary abandoned their claim in despair. The yeomanry of New Hampshire gained quiet possession of the land which their labor had redeemed and rendered valuable. The waste domain reverted to the crown. A proprietary, sustained by the crown, claimed the people of New Hampshire as his tenants, and they made themselves freeholders.

For Massachusetts, the nomination of its first officers under the charter was committed to Increase Mather. As governor he proposed Sir William Phipps, a native of New England, who honestly loved his country,—of a dull intellect, headstrong, and with a reason so feeble, that, in politics, he knew nothing of general principles,—in religion, was the victim to superstition. Accustomed, from boyhood, to the axe and the oar, he had gained distinction only by his wealth, the fruits of his enterprise with the diving-bell in raising treasures from a Spanish wreck. His partners in this enterprise gained him the honor of knighthood; his present favor was due to the honest bigotry and ignorance which left him open to the influence of the ministers. Intercession had been made by Cotton Mather for the advancement of William Stoughton, a man of cold affections, proud, self-willed, and covetous of distinction. He had acted under James II. as deputy-president—a fit tool for such a king, joining in all "the miscarriages of the late government." The people had rejected him, in their election of judges, giving him not a vote. Yielding to the request of his son, Increase Mather assigned to Stoughton the office of deputy-governor. "The twenty-eight assistants, who are the governor's council, every man of them," wrote the agent, "is a friend to the interests of the churches." "The time for favor is come," exulted Cotton Mather; "yea, the set time is come."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

WITCHCRAFT AT SALEM.

But, instead of a restoration of political power to the ministers, a revolution in opinion was impending. The reformation had rested truth on the Bible, as the Catholic church had rested it on authority in tradition; and a slavish interpretation of the Bible had led to a blind idolatry of the book. But true religion has no alliance with bondage; and, as the spirit of the reformation, which was but a less perfect form of freedom of mind, was advancing, reason was summoned to interpret the records of the past, and to separate time-hallowed errors from truths of the deepest moment. The statute-book, in obedience to this adoration of the letter, had asserted the existence of witchcraft by establishing death as its penalty; sustaining both the superstition and its punishment by reference to the Jewish records.

Belief in witchcraft had sprung alike from the letter of the Mosaic law, and from the natural wonder excited by the mysteries of nature; had fastened itself on the elements of religious faith, and become deeply branded into the common mind. Do not despise the credulity. The people did not rally to error; they accepted the superstition only because it had not yet been disengaged from religion.

In the last year of the administration of Andros, the daughter of John Goodwin, a child of thirteen years, charged a laundress with having stolen linen from the family. Glover, the mother of the laundress, a friendless emigrant, almost ignorant of English, like a true woman, with a mother's heart, rebuked the false accusation. Immediately the girl, to secure revenge, became bewitched. The infection spread. Three others of the family, the youngest a boy of less than five years old, soon succeeded in equally arresting public attention. They would affect to be deaf, then dumb, then blind, or all three at once; they would bark like dogs, or purr like so many cats; but they ate well, and slept well. The magistrates, William Stoughton being one of the judges, and all holding commissions exclusively from the English king, with a "vigor" which the united ministers commended as "just," made "a discovery of the wicked instrument of the devil." The culprit was evidently a wild Irish woman, of a strange tongue. Goodwin, who made the com-

plaint, "had no proof that could have done her any hurt;" but "the scandalous old hag," whom some thought "crazed in her intellectuals," was bewildered, and made strange answers, which were taken as confessions. Accordingly she was condemned as a witch, and executed.

There were skeptics in Boston. Cotton Mather, eager to learn the marvels of the world of spirits, and "wishing to confute the Sadducism" of his times, invited the bewitched girl to his house; and she easily imposed upon his credulity. The devil would permit her to read in Quaker books, or the Common Prayer, or Popish books; but a prayer from Cotton Mather, or a chapter from the Bible, would throw her into convulsions. By a series of experiments, in reading aloud passages from the Bible in various languages, the minister satisfied himself, "by trials of their capacity," that devils are well skilled in languages, and understand Latin, and Greek, and even Hebrew; though he fell "upon one inferior Indian language which the demons did not seem so well to understand." The vanity of Cotton Mather was further gratified; for the bewitched girl would say that the demons could not enter his study, and that his own person was shielded by God against blows from the evil spirits.

Yet the rapid progress of free inquiry was alarming. "There are multitudes of Sadducees in our day," sighed Cotton Mather. "Men count it wisdom to credit nothing but what they see and feel. They never saw any witches; therefore there are none." "Witchcraft," he shouted from the pulpit, "is the most nefandous high treason against the Majesty on high"—"a capital crime." "A witch is not to be endured in heaven or on earth." And because men were growing inquisitive and merciful, his discourse was printed with a copious narrative of the recent case of witchcraft. The story was confirmed by Goodwin, and recommended by all the ministers of Boston and Charlestown; and Cotton Mather, announcing himself as an eye-witness, resolved henceforward to regard "the denial of devils, or of witches," as a personal affront, the evidence "of ignorance, incivility, and dishonest impudence."

This book, thus prepared and recommended, and destined to have a wide circulation, was printed in 1689, and distributed through New England. Unhappily, it gained fresh power from England, where it was "published by Richard Baxter," who declared the evidence strong enough to convince all but "a very obdurate Sadducee."

The revolution seemed to open once more a career of ambi-

tion to ecclesiastical influence. "Ministers," said Mather, "ought to concern themselves in politics." But their political mission was accomplished. It could be prolonged only by aid of a superstitious veneration. To check free inquiry, the cry of witchcraft was raised; and "rebellion," it was said, "is as the sin of witchcraft: rebellion was the Achan, the trouble of all."

In February, 1692, at Salem village, now Danvers, where there had been a long strife between the minister and the people, the daughter of Samuel Parris, the minister, a child of nine years, and his niece, a girl of less than twelve, began to have strange caprices. "He that will read Cotton Mather's Book of Memorable Providences, may read part of what these children suffered;" and Tituba, an Indian female servant, who had practised some wild incantations, being betrayed by her husband, was scourged by Parris, her master, into confessing herself a witch. The ministers of the neighborhood held, at the afflicted house, a day of fasting and prayer; and the little children became the most conspicuous personages in Salem. Of a sudden the opportunity of fame, of which the love is not the exclusive infirmity of noble minds, was placed within the reach of persons of the coarsest mould; and the ambition of notoriety recruited the little company of the possessed. There existed no motive to hang Tituba: she was saved as a living witness to the reality of witchcraft; and Sarah Good, a poor woman of a melancholic temperament, was the first person selected for accusation. Parris became at once informer and witness; questioning his Indian servants and others, prompting their answers, and acting as recorder to the magistrates. The recollection of the old controversy in the parish could not be forgotten; and Parris "stifled the accusations of some," "vigilantly promoted the accusation" of others, and was "the beginner and procurer of the sore afflictions to Salem village and the country." Martha Cory, who, on her examination in the meeting-house before a throng, with a firm spirit, alone, against them all, denied the presence of witchcraft, was committed to prison. Rebecca Nurse, likewise, a woman of purest life, an object of the special hatred of Parris, resisted the company of accusers, and was committed. And Parris, filling his prayers with the theme, made the pulpit ring with it. "Have not I chosen you twelve,"—such was his text,—"and one of you is a devil?" At this, Sarah Cloyce, sister to Rebecca Nurse, rose up and left the meeting-house; and she too was cried out upon, and sent to prison.

In April, to examine Sarah Cloyce and Elizabeth Procter, the deputy-governor, and five other magistrates, went to Salem. It was a great day; several ministers were present. Parris officiated; and, by his own record, it is plain that he elicited every accusation. Struck with horror at the charge against her, Sarah Cloyce asked for water, and fainted. "Her spirit," shouted the band of the afflicted, "is gone to prison to her sister Nurse." Against Elizabeth Procter, the niece of Parris told stories yet more foolish than false: "Dear child," exclaimed the accused, in her agony, "it is not so. There is another judgment, dear child." And her accusers, turning towards her husband, declared that he, too, was a wizard. All three were committed. Giles Cory, a stubborn old man of more than fourscore years, could not escape the malice of his minister. Mary Easty, of Topsfield, another sister to Rebecca Nurse,—a woman of singular gentleness and force of character, deeply religious, yet uninfected by superstition,—was torn from her children, and sent to jail. Parris had had a rival in George Burroughs, who, having formerly preached in Salem village, had had friends there desirous of his settlement. He, too, a skeptic in witchcraft, was accused and committed. Thus far, there had been no success in obtaining confessions, though earnestly solicited. It had been hinted, also, that confessing was the avenue to safety. At last, in May, Deliverance Hobbs owned everything that was asked of her, and was left unharmed. The gallows was to be set up, not for those who professed themselves witches, but for those who rebuked the delusion.

Simon Bradstreet, the governor of the people's choice, deemed the evidence insufficient for conviction. On Saturday, the fourteenth of May, the new charter and the royal governor arrived in Boston. On the next Monday, the charter was published, and the parishioner of Cotton Mather, with the royal council, was installed in office. The triumph of Cotton Mather was perfect. Immediately a court of oyer and terminer was instituted by ordinance, and Stoughton appointed by the governor and council its chief judge. By the second of June, the court was in session at Salem, making its first experiment on Bridget Bishop, a poor and friendless old woman. The fact of the witchcraft was assumed as "notorious:" to fix it on the prisoner, Samuel Parris testified to her power of inflicting torture; he had seen it exercised; Deliverance Hobbs had been whipped with iron rods by her spectre; neighbors, who had quarrelled with her, were willing to lay their little ills to her charge; the poor creature had a preternatural excrescence in

her flesh; "she gave a look towards the great and spacious meeting-house of Salem,"—it is Cotton Mather who records this,—"and immediately a demon, invisibly entering the house, tore down a part of it." She was a witch by the rules and precedents of Keeble and Sir Matthew Hale, of Perkins and Bernard, of Baxter and Cotton Mather; and, on the tenth of June, protesting her innocence, she was hanged.

Phipps and his council now turned for directions to the ministers of Boston and Charlestown; and from them, by the hand of Cotton Mather, they receive this direful advice—"We recommend the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious." The obedient court, at its next session, condemned five women, all of blameless lives, all declaring their innocence. Four were convicted easily enough; Rebecca Nurse was, at first, acquitted. "The honored court was pleased to object against the verdict;" and, as she had said of the confessing witnesses, "they used to come among us," meaning that they had been prisoners together, Stoughton interpreted the words as of a witch festival. The jury withdrew, and could as yet not agree; but, as the prisoner, who was hard of hearing, and full of grief, made no explanation, they no longer refused to find her guilty. Hardly was the verdict rendered, before the foreman made a statement of the ground of her condemnation, and she sent her declaration to the court in reply. The governor, who himself was not unmerciful, saw cause to grant a reprieve; but Parris had preached against Rebecca Nurse, and prayed against her; had induced "the afflicted" to witness against her; had caused her sisters to be imprisoned for their honorable sympathy. She must perish, or the delusion was unveiled; and the governor recalled the reprieve. On the next communion day, she was taken in chains to the meeting-house, to be formally excommunicated by Noyes, her minister, and, on the nineteenth of July, was hanged with the rest.

Confessions rose in importance. "Some, by their accusations of others," "hoped to gain time, and get favor from their rulers." And who now would dare to be skeptical? who would disbelieve confessors? Besides, there were other evidences. A callous spot was the mark of the devil; did age or amazement refuse to shed tears; were threats, after a quarrel, followed by the death of cattle, or other harm; did an error occur in repeating the Lord's prayer; were deeds of great physical strength performed;—these all were signs of witchcraft.

On a new session, in August, six are arraigned and convicted.

John Willard had, as an officer, been employed to arrest the suspected witches. Perceiving the hypocrisy, he declined the service. The afflicted immediately denounced him, and he was seized, convicted, and hanged.

At the trial of George Burroughs, the bewitched persons pretended to be dumb. "Who hinders these witnesses," said Stoughton, "from giving their testimonies?" "I suppose the devil," answered Burroughs. "How comes the devil," asked Stoughton, "so loath to have any testimony borne against you?" and the question was effective. Besides Burroughs had given proofs of great, if not preternatural, muscular strength. Cotton Mather calls the evidence "enough;" the jury gave a verdict of guilty.

John Procter, who foresaw his doom, and knew from whom the danger came, sent an earnest petition, not to the governor and council, but to Cotton Mather and the ministers. He begs for a trial in Boston, or, at least, for a change of magistrates. His entreaties were in vain, as also his prayers, after condemnation, for a respite.

Among the witnesses against Martha Carrier, the mother saw her own children. Her two sons refused to perjure themselves till they had been tied neck and heels so long that the blood was ready to gush from them. The confession of her daughter, a child of seven years old, is still preserved.

The aged Jacobs was condemned, in part, by the evidence of Margaret Jacobs, his granddaughter. "Through the magistrates' threatenings and my own vile heart,"—thus she wrote to her father,—"I have confessed things contrary to my conscience and knowledge. But, O! the terrors of a wounded conscience who can bear?" And she confessed the whole truth before the magistrates. The magistrates refused their belief, and, confining her for trial, proceeded to hang her grandfather.

These five were condemned on the third, and hanged on the nineteenth, of August. On the ladder, Burroughs cleared his innocence by an earnest speech, repeating the Lord's prayer composedly and exactly, and with a fervency that astonished. Tears flowed to the eyes of many; it seemed as if the spectators would rise up to hinder the execution. Cotton Mather, on horseback among the crowd, addressed the people, cavilling at the ordination of Burroughs, as though he had been no true minister; insisting on his guilt, and hinting that the devil could sometimes assume the appearance of an angel of light: and the hanging proceeded.

On the ninth of September, six women were condemned, and

more convictions followed. Giles Cory, the octogenarian, seeing that all were convicted, refused to plead, and was condemned to be pressed to death. The horrid sentence, a barbarous usage of English law, never again followed in the colonies, was executed forthwith.

On the twenty-second of September, eight persons were led to the gallows. Of these, Samuel Wardwell had confessed, and was safe; but, from shame and penitence, he retracted his confession, and, speaking the truth boldly, he was hanged, not for witchcraft, but for denying witchcraft. Martha Cory was, before execution, visited in prison by Parris, the two deacons and another member of his church. The church record tells that, self-sustained, she "imperiously" rebuked her destroyers, and "they pronounced the dreadful sentence of excommunication against her." In the calmness with which Mary Easty exposed the falsehood of those who had selected from her family so many victims, she joined the noblest fortitude with sweetness of temper, dignity, and resignation. But the chief judge was positive that all had been done rightly, and "was very impatient in hearing anything that looked another way."

Already twenty persons had been put to death for witchcraft; fifty-five had been tortured or terrified into penitent confessions. With accusations, confessions increased; with confessions, new accusations. Even "the generation of the children of God" were in danger of "falling under that condemnation." The jails were full. Yet the zeal of Stoughton was unabated, and the arbitrary court adjourned to the first Tuesday in November; while Cotton Mather, still eager "to lift up a standard against the infernal enemy," prepared his narrative of "The Wonders of the Invisible World," in the design of promoting "a pious thankfulness to God for justice being so far executed among us."

On the second Wednesday in October, 1692, about a fortnight after the last hanging of eight at Salem, the representatives of the people assembled; and the people of Andover, their minister joining with them, appeared with their remonstrance against the doings of the witch tribunals. "We know not," say they, "who can think himself safe, if the accusations of children, and others under a diabolical influence, shall be received against persons of good fame." Of the discussions that ensued no record is preserved; we know only the issue. The general court did not place itself in direct opposition to the advocates of the trials: it repealed the old colonial law against witchcraft, by adopting the English law, word for word, as it

stood in the English statute book: it abrogated the special court, establishing a tribunal by public law. Phipps still conferred the place of chief judge on Stoughton; yet now, jurors, representing the public mind, would act independently. When the court met at Salem, in January, 1693, the grand jury dismissed more than half of the presentments; and, if it found bills against twenty-six, the trials did but show the feebleness of the testimony on which others had been condemned. The same testimony was produced, and there, at Salem, with Stoughton on the bench, verdicts of acquittal followed. "Error expired amidst its worshippers." Three had, for special reasons, been convicted: one was a wife, whose testimony had sent her husband to the gallows, and whose confession was now used against herself. All were at once reprieved, and soon set free.

Still reluctant to yield, the party of superstition were resolved on one conviction. The victim selected was Sarah Daston, a woman eighty years old, who for twenty years had enjoyed the undisputed reputation of a witch; if ever there was a witch in the world, she, it was said, was one. In the presence of a throng, the trial went forward at Charlestown; there was more evidence against her than against any at Salem; but the common mind was disinthralled, and asserted itself, through the jury, by a verdict of acquittal.

To cover his confusion, Cotton Mather got up a case of witchcraft in his own parish. The imposture was promptly exposed to ridicule by the unlettered but rational and intelligent Robert Calef. Public opinion, also, asserted its power. The inexorable indignation of the people of Salem village drove Parris from the place. Noyes made a full confession, asking forgiveness always, and consecrating the remainder of his life to deeds of mercy. Sewall, one of the judges, by the frankness and sincerity of his undisguised confession, recovered public esteem. Stoughton and Cotton Mather never repented. The former lived proud, unsatisfied, and unbeloved; the latter attempted to persuade others and himself that he had not been specially active in the tragedy. But the public mind would not be deceived. His diary proves that he did not wholly escape the rising impeachment from the monitor within; and Cotton Mather, who had sought the foundation of faith in tales of wonders, himself "had temptations to atheism, and to the abandonment of all religion as a mere delusion."

The common mind of Massachusetts was more wise. It never wavered in its faith; more ready to receive every tale

from the invisible world, than to gaze on the universe without acknowledging an Infinite Intelligence. Rejecting superstition as tending to cowardice and submission, cherishing religion as the source of courage and the fountain of freedom, the common mind in New England refused henceforward to separate belief and reason. To the west of Massachusetts, and to Connecticut, to which the influence of Cotton Mather and its consequences did not extend, we must look for the unmixed development of the essential character of New England; yet there, also, faith and "common sense" were reconciled.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

RELATION OF AMERICAN COLONIES TO EUROPE.

THE people in the charter governments could hope from England for no concession of larger liberties. Instead, therefore, of looking for the reign of absolute right, they were led to reverence the forms of their privileges as exempt from change. We hear no more of the theocracy where God was alone supreme lawgiver and king; no more of the expected triumph of freedom and justice anticipated "in the second coming of Christ;" liberty was defended by asserting the sanctity of compact. But the political morality of England did not recognize the sanctity of the compacts with colonies. It regarded "the regulation of charters as part of the public economy."

Parliament had made itself supreme by electing monarchs and a dynasty for the British dominions. Its legislative power was, in general terms, unquestioned in England even by American agents, and was by itself interpreted to extend over all the colonies, with no limitation but its own pleasure. It was "absolute and unaccountable."

The direct taxation of America for the benefit of the English treasury was, at that time, not dreamed of. That the respective colonies should contribute to the common defence against the French and Indians, was desired in America—was earnestly enjoined from England; but the demand for quotas was directed to the colonies themselves, and was refused or granted by the colonial assemblies, as their own policy prompted. The want of concert, and the refusal of contributions, readily suggested the

interference of parliament, but the proposition seems to have remained unnoticed. The institution of a general post-office was valued as a convenience, not dreaded as a tax. The colonial legislatures had their own budgets; and financial questions arose — Shall the grants be generally for the use of the crown, or carefully limited for specific purposes? Shall the moneys levied be confided to an officer of royal appointment, or to a treasurer responsible to the legislature? Shall the revenue be granted permanently, or from year to year? Shall the salaries of the royal judges and the royal governor be fixed, or depend annually on the popular contentment? These were questions consistent with the relations between metropolis and colony; but the supreme power of parliament to tax at its discretion was not yet maintained in England — was always denied in America.

The colonial press, in spite of royal instructions, was generally as free in America as in any part of the world. In matters of religion, intellectual freedom was viewed, in the colonies, as in England, as a Protestant question; and the outcry against "Popery and slavery" generated equally bitter hostility towards the Roman Catholic church. England, moreover, cherished a steady purpose of disseminating Episcopacy; yet the political effect of this endeavor was inconsiderable. The crown did no more than incorporate the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

In the settlement of American disputes, the ultimate appeal was to England; and the English crown gained the appointment of the judges in nearly every colony. Where the people selected them, as in Connecticut and Rhode Island, they were chosen annually, and the public preference, free from fickleness, gave stability to the office; where the appointment rested with the royal governor, the popular instinct desired for the judges an independent tenure.

To "make most of the money centre in England," the proclamation of Queen Anne confirmed to all the colonies a depreciated currency, but endeavored to make the depreciation uniform and safe against change. In a word, England sought to establish for itself a fixed standard of gold and silver; for the colonies, a fixed standard of depreciation. As the necessities of the colonies had led them of themselves to depreciate their currency, the first object of England was gained, and it therefore monopolized all gold and silver. Even the shillings of early coinage in Massachusetts were nearly all gathered up, and remitted; but the equality of depreciation could never be main-

tained against the rival cupidity of the competitors in bills of credit.

The enforcement of the mercantile system, in its intensest form, is also a characteristic of the policy of the aristocratic revolution of England. By the corn laws, English agriculture became an associate in the system of artificial legislation. "The value of lands" began to be urged as a motive for oppressing the colonies. The affairs of the plantations were, in 1696, intrusted permanently to the commissioners who formed the board of trade; and questions on colonial liberty and affairs were decided from the point of view of English commerce. All former acts giving a monopoly of the colonial trade to England were renewed; and, to effect their rigid execution, the paramount authority of parliament was strictly asserted.

Wool was the great staple of England, and its growers and manufacturers envied the colonies the possession of a flock of sheep, a spindle, or a loom. Lest colonial industry should "inevitably sink the value of lands" in England, the woollen fabrics of Connecticut might not seek a market in Massachusetts, or be carried to Albany to traffic with the Indians. An English mariner might not purchase in Boston woollens of a greater value than forty shillings. The mercantile system of England, in its relations with foreign states, sought a convenient tariff; in the colonies, it prohibited industry.

And the intolerable injustice was not perceived. The interests of the landed proprietors, with the monopolies of commerce and manufactures, jointly fostered by artificial legislation, corrupted the public judgment, so that there was no secret compunction. Even the bounty on naval stores was not intended as a compensation, but grew out of the efforts of Sweden to infringe the mercantile system of England, and was accompanied by a proviso which extended the jurisdiction of parliament to every grove north of the Delaware. Every pitch-pine tree, not in an enclosure, was henceforward sacred to the purposes of the English navy; and, in the undivided domain, no tree fit for a mast might be cut without the queen's license. Thus the bounty of the English parliament was blended with monopoly, while the colonists were constantly invited to cease the manufacture of wool, and produce naval stores.

The charters were royal grants, and a parliament which had disfranchised a dynasty disdained to consider their violation a just ground for resistance. It placed its own power alike above the authority by which they had been conceded, and above the colonies which possessed them. From legislating on commerce

and industry, it proceeded to legislate on government; and, if it omitted to startle the colonies by the avowal, it plainly held the maxim as indisputable, that it might legislate for them in all cases whatsoever.

These relations, placing the property, the personal freedom, the industry, the chartered liberties, of the colonies, in the good-will, and under "the absolute power," of the English legislature, could not but lead to independence; and the English were the first to perceive the tendency.

The insurrection in New England, in 1689, excited alarm, as an indication of a daring spirit. In 1701, the lords of trade, in a public document, declared, "The independency the colonies thirst after is now notorious." "Commonwealth notions improve daily," wrote Quarry, in 1703; "and, if it be not checked in time, the rights and privileges of English subjects will be thought too narrow." It was observed, in 1705, "The colonists will, in process of time, cast off their allegiance to England, and set up a government of their own;" and by degrees it came to be said, "by people of all conditions and qualities, that their increasing numbers and wealth, joined to their great distance from Britain, would give them an opportunity, in the course of some years, to throw off their dependence on the nation, and declare themselves a free state, if not curbed in time, by being made entirely subject to the crown." "Some great men professed their belief of the feasibleness of it, and the probability of its some time or other actually coming to pass."

But if our country, in the inherent opposition between its principles and the English system, was as ripe for governing itself in 1689 as in 1776, the colonists disclaimed, and truly, a present passion for independence. A deep instinct gave assurance that the time was not yet come. They were not merely colonists of England; they were riveted into an immense colonial system, which every commercial country in Europe had assisted to frame, and which bound in its strong bonds every other quarter of the globe. The question of independence would be not a private strife with England, but a revolution in the commerce and in the policy of the world,—in the present fortunes, and still more in the prospects, of humanity itself.

The discovery of America, and of the ocean-path to India, had created maritime commerce, and the great European colonial system had united the world. Now, for the first time in the history of man, the oceans vindicated their rights as natural highways; now, for the first time, great maritime powers

struggled for dominion on the high seas. The world entered on a new epoch.

Ancient navigation kept near the coast, or was but a passage from isle to isle ; commerce now selected, of choice, the boundless deep.

The three ancient continents were divided by no wide seas, and their intercourse was chiefly by land. Their voyages were, like ours on Lake Erie, a continuance of internal trade ; the vastness of their transactions was measured, not by tonnage, but by counting caravans and camels. But now, for the wilderness, commerce substituted the sea ; for camels, merchantmen ; for caravans, fleets and convoys.

The ancients were restricted in the objects of commerce ; for how could rice be brought across continents from the Ganges, or sugar from Bengal? But now commerce gathered every production from the East and the West ;—tea, sugar, and coffee from the plantations of China and Hindostan ; masts from American forests ; furs from Hudson's Bay ; men from Africa.

With the expansion of commerce, the forms of business were changing. Larger sums than the whole revenue of an ancient state were transferred from continent to continent by bills of exchange ; and when the mercantile system grew strong enough to originate wars, it also gained power to subject national credit to the floating credits of commerce.

Every commercial state of the earlier world had been but a town with its territory ; the Phœnician, Greek, and Italian republics each was a city government, retaining its municipal character with the enlargement of its jurisdiction and the diffusion of its colonies. The great European maritime powers were vast monarchies, grasping at continents for their plantations. In the tropical isles of America and the East, they made their gardens for the fruits of the torrid zone ; the Cordilleras and the Andes supplied their mints with bullion ; the most inviting points on the coasts of Africa and Asia were selected as commercial stations ; and the temperate regions of America were to be filled with agriculturists, whose swarming increase — such was the universal metropolitan aspiration — should lead to the infinite consumption of European goods.

That the mercantile system should be applied by each nation to its own colonies, was universally tolerated by the political morality of that day. Thus each metropolis was at war with the present interests and natural rights of its colonies ; and, as the European colonial system was established on every continent,—as the single colonies were, each by itself, too feeble for

resistance,—colonial oppression was destined to endure as long, at least, as the union of the oppressors. But the commercial jealousies of Europe extended, from the first, to European colonies; and the home relations of the states of the Old World to each other were finally surpassed in importance by the transatlantic conflicts with which they were identified. The mercantile system, being founded in error and injustice, was doomed not only itself to expire, but, by overthrowing the mighty fabric of the colonial system, to emancipate commerce, and open a boundless career to human hope.

That colonial system all Western Europe had contributed to build. Portugal was dismantled of her possessions at so early a period, that she was never involved, as a leading party, in the early wars of North America. But in America there grew up a Spanish world safe against conquest, from its boundless extent, yet doubly momentous to our fathers, from its vicinity and its commercial system. Occupying Florida on our south, Spain was easily involved in controversy with England on the subject of reciprocal territorial encroachments; and, carefully excluding foreigners from all participation in her colonial trade, she could not but arouse the cupidity of English commerce, bent on extending itself, if necessary, by force.

But the two powers, of which the ambition was most actively interested in the colonial system, were France and England, both stern advocates of colonial monopoly, and both jealous competitors for new acquisitions. France, which, through the policy of Colbert and Seignelay, became a great naval power, had given her colonial system an extent even vaster than that of the British. So eager was she in her rivalry on the ocean, so menacing was the competition of her workshops in every article of ingenious manufacture, that the spirit of monopoly set its brand upon language, and men's consciences became so far debauched as to call her the natural enemy of England.

To the causes of animosity, springing from the rivalry in manufactures and in commercial stations, from contrasts in religion, philosophy, opinion, and government, there was added a struggle for territory in North America. Not only in the West Indies, in the East Indies, in Africa, were France and England neighbors,—over far the largest part of our country Louis XIV. claimed to be the sovereign; and the prelude to the overthrow of the European colonial system, which was sure to be also the overthrow of the mercantile system, was destined to be the mighty struggle for the central regions of our republic.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

WESTERN NEW YORK AND MICHIGAN.

THE first permanent efforts of French enterprise, in colonizing America, preceded any permanent English settlement north of the Potomac. Years before the Pilgrims anchored within Cape Cod, the Roman Church had been planted, by missionaries from France, in the eastern moiety of Maine ; and Le Caron, an unambitious Franciscan, the companion of Champlain, had penetrated the land of the Mohawks, had passed to the north into the hunting-grounds of the Wyandots, and, bound by his vows to the life of a beggar, had, on foot, or paddling a bark canoe, gone onward and still onward, taking alms of the savages, till he reached the rivers of Lake Huron.

While Quebec contained scarce fifty inhabitants, priests of the Franciscan order—Le Caron, Viel, Sagard—had labored for years as missionaries in Upper Canada, or made their way to the neutral Huron tribe that dwelt on the waters of the Niagara.

Religious zeal, not less than commercial ambition, had influenced France to recover Canada ; and the genius of Champlain could devise no method of building up enduring establishments for French commerce, and carrying the lilies of the Bourbons to the extremity of North America, but an alliance with the Hurons, or of confirming that alliance, but the establishment of missions.

The history of the labors of the Jesuit priests is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America ; not a cape was turned, nor a river entered, but they led the way.

Behold, then, the Jesuits Brebeuf and Daniel, soon to be followed by the gentler Lallemand, and many others of their order, in 1634, bowing meekly in obedience to their vows, and joining a party of barefoot Hurons, who were returning from Quebec to their country. The journey, by way of the Ottáwa and the rivers that interlock with it, was one of more than three hundred leagues, through a region horrible with forests. All day long, the missionaries must wade, or handle the oar. At night, there is no food for them but a scanty measure of In-

dian corn mixed with water; their couch is the earth or the rocks. At five-and-thirty waterfalls, the canoe is to be carried on the shoulders for leagues through thickest woods, or over roughest regions; fifty times, it was dragged by hand through shallows and rapids, over sharpest stones; and thus, swimming, wading, paddling, or bearing the canoe across the portages,—with garments torn, with feet mangled, yet with the breviary safely hung round the neck, and vows, as they advanced, to meet death twenty times over, if it were possible, for the honor of St. Joseph,—the devoted envoys made their way, by rivers, lakes, and forests, from Quebec to the heart of the Huron wilderness. There, to the north-west of Lake Toronto, near the shore of Lake Iroquois, which is but a bay of Lake Huron, they raised the first humble house of the Society of Jesus among the Hurons—the cradle, it was said, of His church who dwelt at Bethlehem in a cottage.

The life of a missionary on Lake Huron was simple and uniform. The earliest hours, from four to eight, were absorbed in private prayer; the day was given to schools, visits, instruction in the catechism, and a service for proselytes. Sometimes, after the manner of St. Francis Xavier, Brebeuf would walk through the village and its environs, ringing a little bell, and inviting the Huron braves and counsellors to a conference. There, under the shady forest, the most solemn mysteries of the Catholic faith were subjected to discussion. It was by such means that the sentiment of piety was unfolded in the breast of the great warrior Ahasistari. Nature had planted in his mind the seeds of religious faith. "Before you came to this country," he would say, "when I have incurred the greatest perils, and have alone escaped, I have said to myself, 'Some powerful spirit has the guardianship of my days;'" and he professed his belief in Jesus, as the good genius and protector, whom he had before unconsciously adored. After trials of his sincerity, he was baptized; and, enlisting a troop of converts, savages like himself, "Let us strive," he exclaimed, "to make the whole world embrace the faith in Jesus."

The news from this Huron Christendom awakened in France the strongest sympathy. To confirm the missions, in 1635, a college was founded at Quebec. A public hospital, also, was opened, not only to the sufferers among the emigrants, but to the maimed, the sick, and the blind of any of the numerous tribes between the Kennebec and Lake Superior; it received misfortune without asking its lineage. From the hospital nuns of Dieppe three were selected, the youngest but twenty-two,

the eldest but twenty-nine, to brave the famine and the rigors of Canada in their patient missions of benevolence. At the same time, in 1639, was established the Ursuline convent for the education of girls; while, at Silleri, a colony of the Hurons was to be trained to the faith and the manners of civilization.

Of Montreal, selected to be a nearer rendezvous for converted Indians, possession was taken, in 1640, by a solemn mass, celebrated beneath a tent. In August, 1641, in the presence of the French gathered from all parts of Canada, and of the native warriors summoned from the wilderness, the festival of the assumption was solemnized on the island itself. Henceforward, the hearth of the sacred fires of the Wyandots was consecrated to the Virgin. "There the Mohawk and the feebler Algonquin," said Le Jeune, "shall make their home; the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and a little child shall guide them."

Within six years after the recovery of Canada, the plan was formed of establishing missions, not only among the Algonquins in the north, but south of Lake Huron, in Michigan, and at Green Bay.

In the autumn of 1640, Charles Raymbault and Claude Pijart reached the Huron missions, destined for service among the Algonquins of the north and the west. By continual warfare with the Mohawks, the French had been excluded from the navigation of Lake Ontario, and had never even launched a canoe on Lake Erie. Their avenue to the west was by way of the Ottáwa and French River; so that the whole coast of Ohio and Southern Michigan remained unknown, except as seen by missionaries from their stations in Canada. In 1640, Brebeuf had been sent to the villages of the neutral nation which occupied the territory on the Niagara. Of these, some villages were extended, on the southern shore of Lake Erie, beyond Buffalo; but it is not certain that Brebeuf visited them, or that he was at any time on the soil of our republic. His mission perfected the knowledge of the great watercourse of the valley of the St. Lawrence. "Could we but gain the mastery," it was said, "of the shore of Ontario on the side nearest the abode of the Iroquois, we could ascend by the St. Lawrence, without danger, and pass free beyond Niagara, with a great saving of time and pains." Thus did Jesuits see the necessity of possessing a post in Western New York, seven years after the restoration of Quebec. The country on the sea was held by the Dutch; that part of New York which is watered by streams that flow to the St. Lawrence was first visited exclusively by the French.

But the fixed hostility and the power of the Five Nations left

no hope of success in gaining safe intercourse by the St. Lawrence. To preserve the avenue to the west by the Ottáwa, Pijart and Charles Raymbault, in 1640, on their pilgrimage to the Huron country, attempted the conversion of the roving tribes that were masters of the highways; and, in 1641, they roamed as missionaries with the Algonquins of Lake Nipissing.

Towards the close of summer, these wandering tribes prepared to celebrate "their festival of the dead,"—to gather up the bones of their deceased friends, and give them jointly an honorable sepulchre. To this ceremony all the confederate nations were invited; and, as they approach the shore, on a deep bay in Lake Iroquois, their canoes advance in regular array, and the representatives of nations leap on shore, uttering exclamations and cries of joy, which the rocks echo. The long cabin for the dead had been prepared; their bones are nicely disposed in coffins of bark, and wrapped in such furs as the wealth of Europe would have coveted; the mourning-song of the war-chiefs had been chanted, all night long, to the responsive wails of the women. The farewell to the dead, the dances, the councils, the presents,—all were finished. But, before the assembly dispersed, the Jesuits, by their presents and their festivals, had won new affection, and an invitation was given to visit the nation of Chippewas at Sault Ste. Marie.

For the leader of this first invasion of the soil of our republic in the west, Charles Raymbault was selected; and, as Hurons were his attendants, Isaac Jogues was given him as a companion.

It was on the seventeenth day of September, 1641, that the birch-bark canoe, freighted with the first envoys from Christendom, left the Bay of Penetangushene for the Falls of St. Mary. Passing to the north, they floated over a wonted track till beyond the French River; then they passed onward over the beautifully clear waters and between the thickly clustering archipelagoes of Lake Huron, beyond the Manitoulins and other isles along the shore, to the straits that form the outlet of Lake Superior. There, at the falls, after a navigation of seventeen days, they found an assembly of many hundred souls. They made inquiries respecting many nations, who had never known Europeans, and had never heard of the one God. Among other nations, they heard of the Nadowessies, the famed Sioux, who dwelt eighteen days' journey farther to the west, beyond the Great Lake, then still without a name—warlike tribes with fixed abodes, cultivators of maize and tobacco, of an unknown race and language. Thus did the religious zeal of the French bear the cross to the banks of the St. Mary and the confines of

Lake Superior, and look wistfully towards the homes of the Sioux in the valley of the Mississippi, five years before the New England Eliot had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston harbor.

The chieftains of the Chippewas invited the Jesuits to dwell among them, and hopes were inspired of a permanent mission. A council was held. "We will embrace you," said they, "as brothers; we will derive profit from your words."

After this excursion of discovery, Raymbault designed to rejoin the Algonquins of Nipissing, but the climate forbade; and, late in the season, he returned to the harbor of the Huron missions, wasting away with consumption. In midsummer of the next year, he descended to Quebec. After languishing till October, the self-denying man, who had glowed with the hope of bearing the gospel across the continent, through all the American Barbary, even to the ocean that divides America from China, ceased to live; and the body of this first apostle of Christianity to the tribes of Michigan was buried in "the particular sepulchre" which the justice of that age had "erected expressly to honor the memory of the illustrious" Champlain.

Thus the climate made one martyr;—the companion of Raymbault was destined to encounter a far more dreaded foe. From the Falls of St. Mary, Jogues had repaired to the Huron missions, and thence, in June, 1642, with the escort of Ahasistari and other Huron braves, he descended by the Ottáwa and St. Lawrence to Quebec. On the first of August, on his return with a larger fleet of canoes, a band of Mohawks lay in wait for the pilgrims, as they ascended the St. Lawrence. "There can be but three canoes of them," said Ahasistari, as, at daybreak, he examined their trail on the shore: "there is nothing to fear," added this bravest of the braves. Unhappy confidence! The Mohawks, from their ambush, attacked the canoes, as they neared the land: the thin bark is perforated: of the Hurons and the few Frenchmen, some make for the shore, to find security in the forests. Jogues might have escaped also; but there were with him converts, who had not yet been baptized,—and when did a Jesuit missionary seek to save his own life at what he believed the risk of a soul? Ahasistari had gained a hiding-place: observing Jogues to be a captive, he returned to him, saying, "My brother, I made oath to thee that I would share thy fortune, whether death or life; here am I to keep my vow."

The horrible inflictions of savage cruelty ensued, and were continued all the way from the St. Lawrence to the Mohawk.

There, for days and nights, they were abandoned to hunger and every torment which petulant youth could devise. Three Hurons were condemned to the flames. The brave Ahasistari, having received absolution, met his end with the enthusiasm of a convert and the pride of the most gallant war-chief of his tribe. Sad was the fate of the captive novice, René Goupil. He had been seen to make the sign of the cross on an infant's brow. "He will destroy the village by his charms," said his master; and, summoned while reciting, alternately with Jogues, the rosary of the Virgin, a blow with the tomahawk laid him lifeless.

Father Jogues had expected the same fate; but his life was spared, and his liberty enlarged. On a hill apart, he carved a long cross on a tree, and there, in the solitude, meditated the imitation of Christ, and soothed his griefs by reflecting that he alone, in that vast region, adored the true God of earth and heaven. Roaming through the stately forests of the Mohawk valley, he wrote the name of Jesus on the bark of trees, graved the cross, and entered into possession of these countries in the name of God,—often lifting up his voice in a solitary chant. Thus did France bring its banner and its faith to the confines of Albany. The missionary himself was humanely ransomed from captivity by the Dutch, and, sailing for France, soon returned to Canada.

Similar was the fate of Father Bressani. In May, 1644, taken prisoner by the Mohawks, while on his way to the Hurons; beaten, mangled, mutilated; driven barefoot over rough paths, through briars and thickets; scourged by a whole village; burned, tortured, wounded, and scarred,—he was an eye-witness to the fate of one of his companions, who was boiled and eaten. Yet some mysterious awe protected his life, and he, too, was, at last, humanely rescued by the Dutch.

Meantime, to make good the possession of the country, a treaty of peace is sought by the French with the Five Nations, and, in 1645, a great meeting is held at Three Rivers. There are the French officers in their magnificence; there the five Iroquois deputies, couched upon mats, bearing strings of wampum. It was agreed to smooth the forest path, to calm the river, to hide the tomahawk. "Let the clouds be dispersed," said the Iroquois; "let the sun shine on all the land between us." The Algonquins joined in the peace. "Here is a skin of a moose," said Negabamat, chief of the Montagnez; "make moccasins for the Mohawk deputies, lest they wound their feet on their way home." "We have thrown the hatchet," said the

Mohawks, "so high into the air, and beyond the skies, that no arm on earth can reach to bring it down. The French shall sleep on our softest blankets, by the warm fire, that shall be kept blazing all the night long. The shades of our braves that have fallen in war have gone so deep into the earth, that they never can be heard calling for revenge." "I place a stone on their grave," said Pieskaret, "that no one may move their bones."

With great sincerity, the Abenakis, of Maine, touched by the charities of Silleri, had solicited missionaries. Conversion to Catholic Christianity would establish their warlike tribes as a wakeful barrier against New England; and, in August, 1646, Father Gabriel Dreuillettes, first of Europeans, made the long and painful journey from the St. Lawrence to the sources of the Kennebec, and, descending that stream to its mouth, in a bark canoe continued his roamings on the open sea along the coast. The cross was already planted there,—raised by the disciples of St. Francis of Assisi over their humble lodge near the mouth of the Penobscot. After a short welcome, the earnest apostle returned to the wilderness; and a few miles above the mouth of the Kennebec, the Indians, in large numbers, gathered about him, building a rude chapel. In the winter, he was their companion in their long excursions in quest of game. Who can tell all the hazards that were encountered? The sharp rocks in the channel of the river were full of perils for the frail canoe; winter turned the solitudes into a wilderness of snow; the rover, Christian or pagan, must carry about with him his house, his furniture, and his food. But the Jesuit succeeded in winning the affections of the savages; and, in June, 1647, after a pilgrimage of ten months, an escort of thirty conducted him to Quebec, full of health and joy.

Thus, in September, 1646, within fourteen years from the restoration of Quebec, France, advancing rapidly towards a widely-extended dominion in North America, had its outposts on the Kennebec, and on the shores of Lake Huron, and had approached the settlements round Albany. The missionaries, exalted by zeal, enjoyed a fearless tranquillity, and were pledged to obedience unto death.

After the treaty of peace of 1645, for one winter, Algonquins, Wyandots, and Iroquois joined in the chase. The wilderness seemed hushed into repose. Negotiations also were continued. In May, 1646, Father Jogues, commissioned as an envoy, was hospitably received by the Mohawks, and gained an opportunity of offering the friendship of France to the Onondagas. On his re-

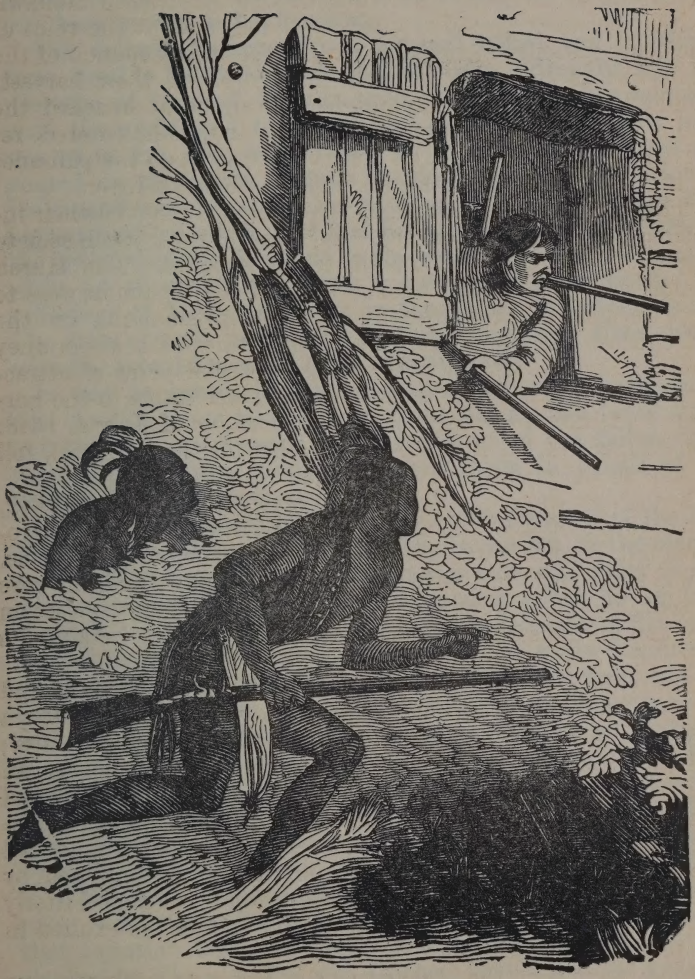
turn, his favorable report raised a desire of establishing a permanent mission among the Five Nations: and he himself, the only one who knew their dialect, was selected as its founder. "*Ibo, et non redibo*"—I shall go, but shall never return—were his words of farewell. Arriving, in October, at the Mohawk castles, he was received as a prisoner, and, against the voice of the other nations, was condemned by the grand council of the Mohawks as an enchanter, who had blighted their harvest. Timid by nature, yet tranquil from zeal, he approached the cabin where the death-festival was kept, and, as he entered, received the death-blow. His head was hung upon the palisades of the village, his body thrown into the Mohawk River.

This was the signal for war. The Iroquois renewed their invasions of the Huron country. In vain did the French seek to engage New England as an ally in the contest. The Huron nation was doomed; the ancient clans of the Wyandots were to be exterminated or scattered; and the missionaries on the Matchedash shared the dangers of the tribes with whom they dwelt. Each sedentary mission was a special point of attraction to the invader, and each, therefore, was liable to the horrors of an Indian massacre. On the morning of July 4, 1648, the villagers of St. Joseph, with Father Anthony Daniel, fell victims to the madness of destruction.

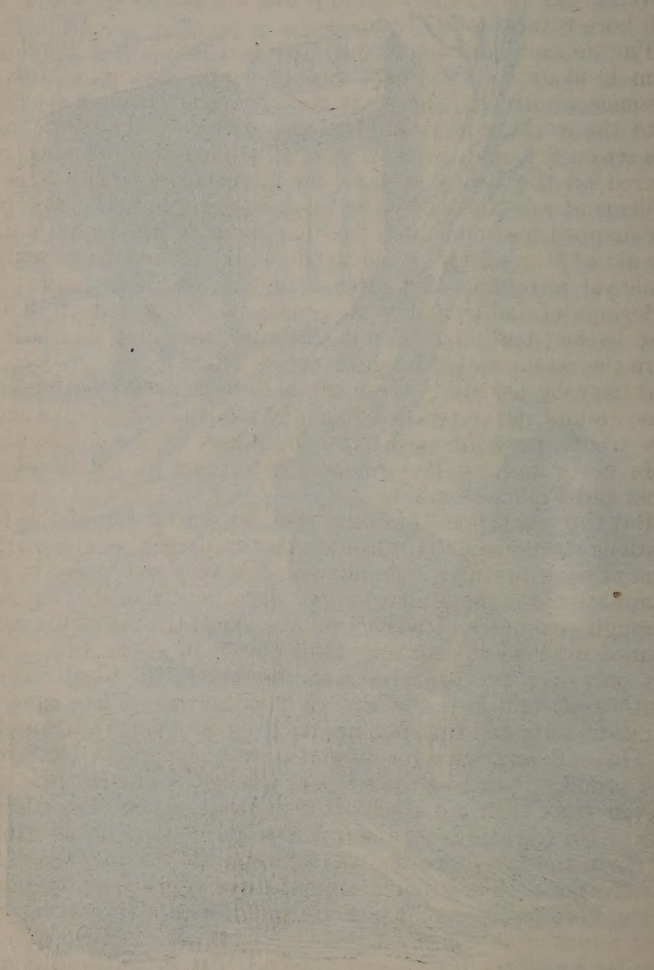
Not a year elapsed, when, on the sixteenth of March, 1649, in the dead of a Canadian winter, a party of a thousand Iroquois fell, before dawn, upon the little village of St. Ignatius. It was sufficiently fortified, but only four hundred persons were present, and there were no sentinels. The palisades were set on fire, and an indiscriminate massacre of the sleeping inhabitants followed.

The village of St. Louis was alarmed, and its women and children fly to the woods, while eighty warriors prepare a defence. A breach is made in the palisades; the enemy enter; and the group of Indian cabins becomes a slaughter-house. In this village resided Jean de Brebeuf, and the younger and gentler, yet not less patient, Gabriel Lallemand. The character of Brebeuf was firm beyond every trial;—his virtue had been nursed in the familiar sight of death. Disciplined by twenty years' service in the wilderness work, he wept bitterly for the sufferings of his converts, but for himself he exulted in the prospect of martyrdom.

Success was with the Mohawks: the Jesuit priests were now their prisoners, to endure all the tortures which the ruthless fury of a raging multitude could invent. Brebeuf was set apart



AN INDIAN ATTACK.



on a scaffold, and, in the midst of every outrage, rebuked his persecutors, and encouraged his Huron converts. They cut his lower lip and his nose ; applied burning torches to his body; burned his gums, and thrust hot iron down his throat. Deprived of his voice, his assured countenance and confiding eye still bore witness to his firmness.

The delicate Lallemand was stripped naked, and enveloped from head to foot with bark full of rosin. Brought into the presence of Brebeuf, he exclaimed, "We are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men." The pine bark was set on fire, and, when it was in a blaze, boiling water was poured on the heads of both the missionaries. The voice of Lallemand was choked by the thick smoke ; but, the fire having snapped his bonds, he lifted his hands to heaven, imploring the aid of Him who is an aid to the weak. Brebeuf was scalped while yet alive, and died after a torture of three hours ; the sufferings of Lallemand were prolonged for seventeen hours. The lives of both had been a continual heroism ; their deaths were the astonishment of their executioners.

It may be asked, if these massacres quenched enthusiasm. The Jesuits never receded one foot ; but as, in a brave army, new troops press forward to fill the places of the fallen, there were never wanting heroism and enterprise in behalf of the cross and French dominion.

But the great point of desire was the conversion of the Five Nations themselves. Undismayed by barbarism, or the martyrdom of their brethren, the missionaries were still eager to gain admission ; but the Mohawks, and the other tribes, having now, through commerce with the Dutch, learned the use of fire-arms, seemed resolved on asserting their power in every direction,— not only over the barbarians of the north, the west, and the south-west, but over the French themselves. They bade defiance to forts and intrenchments; their war parties triumphed at Three Rivers, were too powerful for the palisades of Silleri, and proudly passed by the walls of Quebec. The Ottáwas were driven from their old abodes to the forests on the Bay of Saginaw. No frightful solitude in the wilderness, no impenetrable recess in the frozen north, was safe against the passions of the Five Nations. Their chiefs, animated not by cruelty only, but by pride, were resolved that no nook should escape their invasions ; that no nation should rule but themselves ; and, as their warriors strolled by Three Rivers and Quebec, they killed the governor of the one settlement, and carried off a priest from the other.

At length, satisfied with the display of their power, they

themselves desired rest. Besides, of the scattered Hurons, many had sought refuge among their oppressors, and, according to an Indian custom, had been incorporated with the tribes of the Five Nations. Of these, some retained affection for the French. When, in 1654, peace was concluded, and Father Le Moyne appeared as envoy among the Onondagas to ratify the treaty, he found there a multitude of Hurons, who, like the Jews at Babylon, retained their faith in a land of strangers. The hope was renewed of winning the whole west and north to Christendom. Not the western tribes only, even the Mohawks relented; and Le Moyne, selecting the banks of their river for his abode, resolved to persevere, in the vain hope of infusing into their savage nature the gentler spirit of civilization.

The Onondagas were more sincere; and when, in 1655, Chaumonot, an Italian priest, long a missionary among the Hurons, left Quebec for their territory, he was accompanied by Claude Dablon, a missionary, who had recently arrived from France. In November, they were hospitably welcomed at Onondaga, the principal village of the tribe. A general convention was held, by their desire; before the multitudinous assembly of the chiefs and the whole people, gathered under the open sky, among the primeval forests, the presents were delivered; and the Italian Jesuit, with much gesture, after the Italian manner, discoursed so eloquently to the crowd, that it seemed to Dablon as if the word of God had been preached to all the nations of that land. On the next day, the chiefs and others crowded round the Jesuits, with their songs of welcome. "Happy land!" they sang; "happy land! in which the French are to dwell;" and the chief led the chorus,—"Glad tidings! glad tidings! it is well that we have spoken together; it is well that we have a heavenly message." At once, a chapel sprung into existence, and, by the zeal of the natives, was finished in a day. "For marbles and precious metals," writes Dablon, "we employed only bark; but the path to heaven is as open through a roof of bark as through arched ceilings of silver and gold;" and there, in the heart of New York, the solemn services of the Roman church were chanted as securely as in any part of Christendom. The charter of the hundred associates included the basin of every tributary of the St. Lawrence. The Onondagas dwelt exclusively on the Oswego and its tributary waters: their land was, therefore, a part of the empire of France. The cross and the lily, emblems of France and Christianity, were now known in the basin of the Oswego.

The success of the mission encouraged Dablon to invite a

French colony into the land of the Onondagas; and, though the attempt excited the jealousy of the Mohawks, in May, 1656, a company of fifty Frenchmen embarked for Onondaga. Diffuse harangues, dances, songs, and feastings, were their welcome from the Indians. In July, at a general convocation of the tribe, the question of adopting Christianity as its religion was debated; and sanguine hope already included the land of the Onondagas as a part of Christendom. The chapel, too small for the throng of worshippers that assembled to the sound of its little bell, was enlarged. The Cayugas also desired a missionary, and they received the fearless René Mesnard. In their village, a chapel was erected, with mats for the tapestry; and there the pictures of the Saviour and of the Virgin Mother were unfolded to the admiring children of the wilderness. The Oneidas also listened to the missionary; and, early in 1657, Chaumonot reached the more fertile and more densely peopled land of the Senecas. The influence of France was planted in the beautiful valleys of western New York. The Jesuit priests published their faith from the Mohawk to the Genesee, Onondaga remaining the central station.

But the savage nature of the tribes was unchanged. At this very time, a ruthless war of extermination was waged against the nation of Erie, and in the north of Ohio. The crowded hamlet became a scene of carnage. Prisoners, too, were brought home to the villages, and delivered to the flames; — and what could the Jesuits expect of nations who could burn even children with refinements of tortures? "Our lives," said Mesnard, "are not safe." In Quebec, and in France, men trembled for the missionaries. They pressed upon the steps of their countrymen who had been boiled and roasted; they make their home among cannibals; hunger, thirst, nakedness were to be encountered; nature itself offered trials; and the first colony of the French, making its home near the Lake of Onondaga, and encountering the forest with the axe, suffered from fever before they could prepare their tenements. Border collisions also continued. The Oneidas murdered three Frenchmen, and the French retaliated by seizing Iroquois. At last, when a conspiracy was framed in the tribe of the Onondagas, the French, having vainly solicited reinforcements, in March, 1658, abandoned their chapel, their cabins, and their hearths, and the valley of the Oswego. The Mohawks compelled Le Moyne to return; and the French and the Five Nations were once more at war. Such was the issue of the most successful attempt at French colonization in New York.

CHAPTER XL.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

MEANTIME the Jesuits reached our country in the far west. In August, 1654, two young fur-traders, smitten with the love of adventure, joined a band of the Ottáwas, or other Algonquins, and, in their little gondolas of bark, ventured on a voyage of five hundred leagues. After two years they reappeared, accompanied by a fleet of fifty canoes. The natives ascend the cliff of St. Louis, welcomed by a salute from the ordnance of the castle. They describe the vast lakes of the west, and the numerous tribes that hover round them; they speak of the Knisteneaux, whose homes stretched away to the Northern Sea, —of the powerful Sioux, who dwelt beyond Lake Superior; and they demand commerce with the French, and missionaries for the boundless west.

The request was eagerly granted; and, in August, 1656, Gabriel Dreuillettes, the same who carried the cross through the forests of Maine, and Leonard Gareau, of old a missionary among the Hurons, were selected as the first religious envoys to a land of sacrifices, shadows, and deaths. The canoes are launched; the tawny mariners embark; the oars flash; and sounds of joy and triumph mingle with the last adieus. But, just below Montreal, a band of Mohawks, enemies to the Ottáwas, awaited the convoy; in the affray, Gareau was mortally wounded, and the fleet dispersed.

The western Indians still desired commerce with the French, that they might gain means to resist the Iroquois; and, as furs were abundant there, the traders pressed forward to Green Bay. Two of them dared to pass the winter of 1659 on the banks of Lake Superior. Enriched with knowledge of the western world, in the summer of 1660, they came down to Quebec, with an escort of sixty canoes, rowed by three hundred Algonquins, and laden with peltry.

If the Five Nations can penetrate these remote regions to satiate their passion for blood, if mercantile enterprise can bring furs from the plains of the Sioux, why cannot the cross be borne to their cabins, and the name of the king of France be pronounced in their councils? The zeal of Francis de Laval, the bishop of Quebec, kindled with a desire himself to enter on the

mission; but the lot fell to René Mesnard. He was charged to visit Green Bay and Lake Superior, and, on a convenient inlet, to establish a residence as the common place of assembly for the surrounding nations. His departure was immediate, and with few preparations; for he trusted—such are his words—"in the Providence which feeds the little birds of the desert, and clothes the wild flowers of the forests." Every personal motive seemed to retain him at Quebec; but "powerful instincts" impelled him to the enterprise. Obedient to his vows, in August, 1660, the aged man entered on the path that was red with the blood of his predecessors, and made haste to scatter the seeds of truth through the wilderness, even though the sower cast his seed in weeping. "In three or four months," he wrote to a friend, "you may add me to the memento of deaths." In October, he reached the bay which he called St. Theresa, and which may have been the Bay of Keweena, on the south shore of Lake Superior. In 1661, after a residence of eight months, he yielded to the invitation of Hurons who had taken refuge in the Isle of St. Michael; and, bidding farewell to his neophytes and the French, and to those whom he never more should meet on earth, he departed, with one attendant, for the Bay of Che-goi-me-gon. The accounts would indicate that he took the route by way of Keweena Lake and Portage. There, while his attendant was employed in the labor of transporting the canoe, Mesnard was lost in the forest, and was never again seen. Long afterwards, his cassock and his breviary were kept as amulets among the Sioux.

Meantime the colony of New France was too feeble to defend itself against the dangerous fickleness and increasing confidence of the Iroquois. The company of the hundred associates resolved, therefore, to resign it to the king; and, in February, 1663, under the auspices of Colbert, it was conceded to the new company of the West Indies.

A powerful appeal was made, in favor of Canada, to the king; the company of Jesuits publicly invited him to assume its defence, and become their champion against the Iroquois, After various efforts at fit appointments, the year 1665 saw the colony of New France protected by a royal regiment, with the aged but indefatigable Tracy as viceroy; with Courcelles, a veteran soldier, as governor; and with Talon, a man of business and of integrity, as intendant and representative of the king in civil affairs.

Undismayed by the sad fate of Gareau and Mesnard,—indifferent to hunger, nakedness, and cold, to the wreck of the ships

of bark, and to fatigues and weariness, by night and by day,—in August, 1665, Father Claude Alloüez embarked on a mission by way of the Ottáwa, to the far west; and, on the first day of October, he arrived at the great village of the Chippewas, in the Bay of Che-goi-me-gon. It was at a moment when the young warriors were bent on a strife with the warlike Sioux. A grand council of ten or twelve neighboring nations was held to wrest the hatchet from the hands of the rash braves; and Alloüez was admitted to an audience before the vast assembly. In the name of Louis XIV. and his viceroy, he commanded peace, and offered commerce and an alliance against the Iroquois: the soldiers of France would smooth the path between the Chippewas and Quebec; would brush the pirate canoes from the rivers; would leave to the Five Nations no choice but between tranquillity and destruction. On the shore of the bay, to which the abundant fisheries attracted crowds, a chapel soon rose, and the mission of the Holy Spirit was founded. There admiring throngs, who had never seen a European, came to gaze on the white man, and on the pictures which he displayed of the realms of hell and of the last judgment; there a choir of Chippewas were taught to chant the pater and the ave. During his long sojourn, he lighted the torch of faith for more than twenty different nations. The dwellers round the Sault, a band of "the Outehibouec," as the Jesuits called the Chippewas, pitched their tents near his cabin for a month, and received his instructions. The scattered Hurons and Ottáwas, that roamed the deserts north of Lake Superior, appealed to his compassion, and, before his return, obtained his presence in their morasses. From the unexplored recesses of Lake Michigan came the Potawatomies; and these worshippers of the sun invited him to their homes. The Sacs and Foxes travelled on foot from their country, which abounded in deer, and beaver, and buffalo. The Illinois, also,—a hospitable race, unaccustomed to canoes, having no weapon but the bow and arrow,—came to rehearse their sorrows. Their ancient glory and their numbers had been diminished by the Sioux, on the one side, and the Iroquois, armed with muskets, on the other. Curiosity was roused by their tale of the noble river on which they dwelt, and which flowed towards the south. "They had no forests, but, instead of them, vast prairies, where herds of deer, and buffalo, and other animals, grazed on the tall grasses." They explained, also, the wonders of their peace-pipe, and declared it their custom to welcome the friendly stranger with shouts of joy. "Their country," said Alloüez, "is the best field for the gospel. Had

I had leisure, I would have gone to their dwellings, to see with my own eyes all the good that was told me of them."

Then, too, at the very extremity of the lake, the missionary met the wild, impassive warriors of the Sioux, who dwelt to the west of Lake Superior, in a land of prairies, with wild rice for food, and skins of beasts, instead of bark, for roofs to their cabins, on the banks of the Great River, of which Alloüez reported the name to be "Messipi."

After residing for nearly two years chiefly on the southern margin of Lake Superior, and connecting his name imperishably with the progress of discovery in the west, in August, 1667, Alloüez returned to Quebec, to urge the establishment of permanent missions, to be accompanied by little colonies of French emigrants;—and such was his own fervor, such the earnestness with which he was seconded, that, in two days, with another priest, Louis Nicolas, for his companion, he was on his way, returning to the mission at Che-goi-me-gon.

The prevalence of peace favored the progress of French dominion; the company of the West Indies, resigning its monopoly of the fur trade, gave an impulse to Canadian enterprise; a recruit of missionaries had arrived from France; and, in 1668, Claude Dablon and James Marquette repaired to the Chippewas at the Sault, to establish the mission of St. Mary. It is the oldest settlement begun by Europeans within the present limits of the commonwealth of Michigan.

For the succeeding years, the illustrious triumvirate, Alloüez, Dablon, and Marquette, were employed in confirming the influence of France in the vast regions that extend from Green Bay to the head of Lake Superior,—mingling happiness with suffering, and winning enduring glory by their fearless perseverance. For to what inclemencies, from nature and from man, was each missionary among the barbarians exposed! He defies the severity of climate, wading through water or through snows, without the comfort of fire; having no bread but pounded maize, and often no food but the unwholesome moss from the rocks; laboring incessantly; exposed to live, as it were, without nourishment, to sleep without a resting-place, to travel far, and always incurring perils,—to carry his life in his hand, or rather daily, and oftener than every day, to hold it up as a target, expecting captivity, death from the tomahawk, tortures, fire. And yet the simplicity and the freedom of life in the wilderness had their charms. The heart of the missionary would swell with delight, as, under a serene sky, and with a mild temperature, and breathing a pure air, he moved over waters as

transparent as the most limpid fountain. Every encampment offered his attendants the pleasures of the chase. Like a patriarch, he dwelt beneath a tent; and of the land through which he walked, he was its master, and in the length of it and in the breadth of it, profiting by its productions, without the embarrassment of ownership. How often was the pillow of stones like that where Jacob felt the presence of God! How often did the ancient oak, of which the centuries were untold, seem like the tree of Mamre, beneath which Abraham broke bread with angels! Each day gave the pilgrim a new site for his dwelling, which the industry of a few moments would erect, and for which nature provided a floor of green inlaid with flowers. On every side clustered beauties, which art had not spoiled, and could not imitate.

The purpose of discovering the Mississippi, of which the tales of the natives had published the magnificence, sprung from Marquette himself. He had resolved on attempting it, in the autumn of 1669; and, when delay intervened, from the necessity of employing himself at Che-goi-me-gon, which Alloüez had exchanged for a new mission at Green Bay, he selected a young Illinois as a companion, by whose instruction he became familiar with the dialect of that tribe.

Continued commerce with the French gave protection to the Algonquins of the west, and confirmed their attachment. A political interest grew up, and extended to Colbert and the ministry of Louis XIV. It became the fixed purpose of Talon, the intendant of the colony, to spread the power of France to the utmost borders of Canada. To this end, in 1670, Nicholas Perrot, as his agent in the west, proposed a congress of the nations at St. Mary's. The invitation reached the tribes of Lake Superior, and was carried even to the wandering hordes of the remotest north. Nor did the messenger neglect the south: obtaining, at Green Bay, an escort of Potawatomies, he, the first of Europeans, repaired on the same mission of friendship to the Miamis at Chicago.

In May, 1671, the day appointed for the unwonted spectacle of the congress of nations arrived; and, with Alloüez as his interpreter, St. Lusson, fresh from an excursion to Southern Canada,—that is, the borders of the Kennebec,—appeared at the Falls of St. Mary as the delegate of Talon. There were assembled the envoys of the wild republicans of the wilderness, and brilliantly clad officers from the veteran armies of France. It was formally announced to the natives, gathered, as they were, from the head-springs of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi,

and the Red River, that they were placed under the protection of the French king. A cross of cedar was raised; and, amidst the groves of maple and pine, of oak and hemlock, that are strangely intermingled on the beautiful banks of the St Mary, where the bounding river lashes its waters into snowy whiteness, as they hurry past the dark evergreen of the tufted islands in the channel—the whole company of the French, bowing before the emblem of man's redemption, chanted to its glory a hymn of the seventh century: —

"Vexilla Regis prodeunt;
Fulget crucis mysterium."

The banners of heaven's King advance;
The mystery of the cross shines forth.

By the side of the cross a cedar column was planted, and marked with the lilies of the Bourbons. Thus were the authority and the faith of France uplifted, in the presence of the ancient races of America, in the heart of our continent. Yet this daring ambition of the servants of a military monarch was doomed to leave no abiding monument,—this echo of the middle age to die away.

In the same year, Marquette gathered the wandering remains of one branch of the Huron nation round a chapel at Point St. Ignace, on the continent north of the peninsula of Michigan. The climate was repulsive, but fish abounded, at all seasons, in the strait; and the establishment was long maintained as the key to the west, and the convenient rendezvous of the remote Algonquins. Here, also, Marquette once more gained a place among the founders of Michigan.

In 1672, the countries south of the village founded by Marquette were explored by Alloüez and Dablon, who bore the cross through eastern Wisconsin and the north of Illinois, visiting the Mascoutins and the Kickapoos on the Milwaukee, and the Miamis at the head of Lake Michigan. The young men of the latter tribe were intent on an excursion against the Sioux, and they prayed to the missionaries to give them the victory. After finishing the circuit, Alloüez, fearless of danger, extended his rambles to the cabins of the Foxes, on the river which bears their name.

The long-expected discovery of the Mississippi was at hand, to be accomplished by Joliet, of Quebec,—of whom there is no record, but of this one excursion that give him immortality,—and by Marquette, who, after years of pious assiduity to the poor wrecks of Hurons, whom he planted, near abundant fish-

eries, on the cold extremity of Michigan, entered, with equal humility, upon a career which exposed his life to perpetual danger, and, by its results, affected the destiny of nations.

The enterprise projected by Marquette had been favored by Talon, the intendant of New France, who, on the point of quitting Canada, wished to signalize the last period of his stay by ascertaining if the French, descending the great river of the central west, could bear the banner of France to the Pacific, or plant it, side by side with that of Spain, on the Gulf of Mexico.

A branch of the Potawatomies, familiar with Marquette as a missionary, heard with wonder the daring proposal. "Those distant nations," said they, "never spare the strangers; their mutual wars fill their borders with bands of warriors; the Great River abounds in monsters which devour both men and canoes; the excessive heats occasion death." "I shall gladly lay down my life for the salvation of souls," replied the good father; and the docile nation joined him in prayer.

At the last village on the Fox River ever visited by the French,—where Kickapoos, Mascoutins, and Miamis dwelt together on a beautiful hill in the centre of prairies and magnificent groves, that extended as far as the eye could reach, and where Alloüez had already raised the cross, which the savages had ornamented with brilliant skins and crimson belts, a thank-offering to the Great Manitou,—the ancients assembled in council to receive the pilgrims. "My companion," said Marquette, "is an envoy of France to discover new countries; and I am ambassador from God to enlighten them with the gospel;" and, offering presents, he begged two guides for the morrow. The wild men answered courteously, and gave in return a mat, to serve as a couch during the long voyage.

Behold, then, in 1673, on the tenth day of June, the meek, single-hearted, unpretending, illustrious Marquette, with Joliet for his associate, five Frenchmen as his companions, and two Algonquins as guides, lifting their two canoes on their backs, and walking across the narrow portage that divides the Fox River from the Wisconsin. They reach the water-shed; uttering a special prayer to the immaculate Virgin, they leave the streams that, flowing onwards, could have borne their greetings to the castle of Quebec; already they stand by the Wisconsin. "The guides returned," says the gentle Marquette, "leaving us alone in this unknown land, in the hands of Providence." France and Christianity stood in the valley of the Mississippi. Embarking on the broad Wisconsin, the discoverers, as they sailed

west, went solitarily down the stream between alternate prairies and hill-sides, beholding neither man nor the wonted beasts of the forest; no sound broke the appalling silence, but the ripple of the canoe, and the lowing of the buffalo. In seven days, "they entered happily the Great River, with a joy that could not be expressed;" and the two birch-bark canoes, raising their happy sails under new skies and to unknown breezes, floated down the calm magnificence of the ocean stream, over the broad, clear sand-bars, the resort of innumerable water-fowl,—gliding past islets that swelled from the bosom of the stream, with their tufts of massive thickets, and between the wide plains of Illinois and Iowa, all garlanded as they were with majestic forests, or checkered by island groves and the open vastness of the prairie.

About sixty leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin, the western bank of the Mississippi bore on its sands the trail of men; a little footpath was discerned leading into a beautiful prairie; and, leaving the canoes, Joliet and Marquette resolved alone to brave a meeting with the savages. After walking six miles, they beheld a village on the banks of a river, and two others on a slope, at a distance of a mile and a half from the first. The river was the Mou-in-gou-e-na, or Moingona, of which we have corrupted the name into Des Moines. Marquette and Joliet were the first white men who trod the soil of Iowa. Commending themselves to God, they uttered a loud cry. The Indians hear; four old men advance slowly to meet them, bearing the peace-pipe brilliant with many-colored plumes. "We are Illinois," said they,—that is, when translated, "We are men;" and they offered the calumet. An aged chief received them at his cabin with upraised hands, exclaiming, "How beautiful is the sun, Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! Our whole village awaits thee; thou shalt enter in peace into all our dwellings." And the pilgrims were followed by the devouring gaze of an astonished crowd.

At the great council, Marquette published to them the one true God, their Creator. He spoke, also, of the great captain of the French, the governor of Canada, who chastised the Five Nations, and commanded peace; and he questioned them respecting the Mississippi, and the tribes that possessed its banks. For the messengers who announced the subjection of the Iroquois, a magnificent festival was prepared of hominy, and fish, and the choicest viands from the prairies.

After six days' delay, and invitations to new visits, the chieftain of the tribe, with hundreds of warriors, attended the

strangers to their canoes; and, selecting a peace-pipe embellished with the head and neck of brilliant birds, and all feathered over with plumage of various hues, they hung round Marquette, the mysterious arbiter of peace and war, the sacred calumet, a safe-guard among the nations.

The little group proceeded onwards. "I did not fear death," says Marquette; "I should have esteemed it the greatest happiness to have died for the glory of God." They passed the perpendicular rocks, which wore the appearance of monsters; they heard at a distance the noise of the waters of the Missouri, known to them by its Algonquin name of Pekitanoni; and when they came to the most beautiful confluence of rivers in the world,—where the swifter Missouri rushes like a conqueror into the calmer Mississippi, dragging it, as it were, hastily to the sea,—the good Marquette resolved in his heart, anticipating Lewis and Clarke, one day to ascend the mighty river to its source; to cross the ridge that divides the oceans, and, descending a westerly-flowing stream, to publish the gospel to all the people of this New World.

In a little less than forty leagues, the canoe floated past the Ohio, which was then, and long afterwards, called the Wabash. Its banks were tenanted by numerous villages of the peaceful Shawnees, who quailed under the incursions of the Iroquois.

The canes begin to appear so close and strong, that the buffalo could not break through them; the insects become intolerable; as a shelter against the suns of July, the sails are folded into an awning. The prairies vanish; forests of whitewood, admirable for vastness and height, crowd even to the skirts of the pebbly shore. It is also observed that, in the land of the Chickasas, the Indians have guns.

Near the latitude of thirty-three degrees, on the western bank of the Mississippi, stood the village of Mitchigamea, in a region that had not been been visited by Europeans since the days of De Soto. "Now," thought Marquette, "we must, indeed, ask the aid of the Virgin." Armed with bows and arrows, with clubs, axes, and bucklers, amidst continual whoops, the natives, bent on war, embark in vast canoes made out of the trunks of hollow trees; but, at the sight of the mysterious peace-pipe held aloft, God touched the heart of the old men, who checked the impetuosity of the young; and, throwing their bows and quivers into the canoes, as a token of peace, they prepared a hospitable welcome.

The next day, a long, wooden canoe, containing ten men, escorted the discoverers, for eight or ten leagues, to the village of

Akansea, the limit of their voyage. They had left the region of the Algonquins, and, in the midst of the Dahcotas and Chickasas, could speak only by an interpreter. A half league above Akansea, they were met by two boats, in one of which stood the commander, holding in his hand the peace-pipe, and singing as he drew near. After offering the pipe, he gave bread of maize. The wealth of his tribe consisted in buffalo skins; their weapons were axes of steel—a proof of commerce with Europeans.

Thus had our travellers descended below the entrance of the Arkansas, to the genial climes that have almost no winter but rains, beyond the bound of the Huron and Algonquin languages, to the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico, and to tribes of Indians that had obtained European arms by traffic with Spaniards or with Virginia.

So, having spoken of God and the mysteries of the Catholic faith,—having become certain that the Father of Rivers went not to the ocean east of Florida, nor yet to the Gulf of California,—on the seventeenth of July, Marquette and Joliet left Akansea, and ascended the Mississippi.

At the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, they entered the River Illinois, and discovered a country without its paragon for the fertility of its beautiful prairies, covered with buffaloes and stags,—for the loveliness of its rivulets, and the prodigal abundance of wild ducks and swans, of parrots and wild turkeys. The tribe of Illinois, that tenanted its banks, entreated Marquette to come and reside among them. One of their chiefs, with their young men, conducted the party, by way of Chicago, to Lake Michigan; and, before the end of September, all were safe in Green Bay.

Joliet returned to Quebec to announce the discovery, of which the fame, through Talon, quickened the ambition of Colbert; the unaspiring Marquette remained to preach the gospel to the Miamis, who dwelt in the north of Illinois, round Chicago. Two years afterwards, sailing from Chicago to Mackinaw, on the eighteenth of May, 1675, he entered a little river in Michigan. Erecting an altar, he said mass after the rites of the Catholic church; then, begging the men who conducted his canoe to leave him alone for a half-hour,

> "in the darkling wood,
> Amidst the cool and silence, he knelt down,
> And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks
> And supplication."

At the end of the half-hour, they went to seek him, and he was

no more. The good missionary, discoverer of a world, had fallen asleep on the margin of the stream that bears his name. Near its mouth the canoemen dug his grave in the sand. Ever after, the forest rangers, if in danger on Lake Michigan, would invoke his name. The people of the west will build his monument.

CHAPTER XLI.

COLONIZATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

At the death of Marquette, there dwelt at the outlet of Lake Ontario Robert Cavalier de la Salle. Of a good family, he had renounced his inheritance by entering the seminary of the Jesuits. After profiting by the discipline of their schools, and obtaining their praise for purity and diligence, he had taken his discharge from the fraternity, and, with no companions but poverty and a boundless spirit of enterprise, about the year 1667, when the attention of all France was directed towards Canada, the young adventurer embarked for fame and fortune in New France. Established, at first, as a fur trader, at La Chine, and encouraged by Talon and Courcelles, he, in 1669, explored Lake Ontario, and ascended to Lake Erie; and when, in 1675, the French governor, some years after occupying the banks of the Sorel, began to fortify the outlet of Lake Ontario, La Salle, repairing to France, and aided by Frontenac, obtained the rank of nobility, and the grant of Fort Frontenac, now the village of Kingston, on condition of maintaining the fortress. The grant was, in fact, a concession of a large domain, and the exclusive traffic with the Five Nations.

In the portion of the wilderness of which the young man was proprietary, cultivated fields proved the fertility of the soil; his herd of cattle multiplied; groups of Iroquois built their cabins in the environs; a few French settled under his shelter; Franciscans, now tolerated in Canada, renewed their missions under his auspices; the noble forests invited the construction of log-cabins and vessels with decks; and no canoemen in Canada could shoot a rapid with such address as the pupils of La Salle. Fortune was within his grasp. But Joliet, as he descended from the upper lakes, had passed by the bastions of Fort Frontenac—had spread the news of the brilliant

career of discoveries opened in the west. In the solitudes of Upper Canada, the secluded adventurer, reading the voyages of Columbus, and the history of the rambles of De Soto, and listening to the tales of the Iroquois on the course of the Ohio, framed plans of colonization in the south-west, and of commerce between Europe and the Mississippi.

Once more he repaired to France ; and from the policy of Colbert, who instinctively listened to the vast schemes which his heroic sagacity had planned, and the special favor of Seignelay, Colbert's son, he obtained, with the monopoly of the traffic in buffalo skins, a commission for perfecting the discovery of the Great River. With Tonti, an Italian veteran, as his lieutenant, and a recruit of mechanics and mariners ; with anchors and sails, and cordage for rigging a ship, and stores of merchandise for traffic with the natives ; with swelling hopes, and a boundless ambition,—La Salle, in the autumn of 1678, returned to Fort Frontenac. Before winter, "a wooden canoe," of ten tons, the first that ever sailed into Niagara River, bore a part of his company to the vicinity of the falls ; at Niagara, a trading-house was established ; in the mouth of Tonawanta Creek, the work of ship-building began ; Tonti and the Franciscan Hennepin, venturing among the Senecas, established relations of amity, while La Salle himself, skilled in the Indian dialects, was now urging forward the ship-builders, now gathering furs at his magazine, now gazing at the mighty cataract,—fittest emblem of eternity,—now sending forward a detachment into the country of the Illinois to prepare the way for his reception.

Under the auspices of La Salle, Europeans first pitched a tent at Niagara ; it was he who, in 1679, amidst the salvo from his little artillery, and the chanting of the Te Deum, and the astonished gaze of the Senecas, first launched a wooden vessel, a bark of sixty tons, on the upper Niagara River, and, in the Griffin, freighted with the colony of fur traders for the valley of the Mississippi, on the seventh day of August, unfurled a sail to the breezes of Lake Erie. Indifferent to the malignity of those who envied his genius, or were injured by his special privileges, La Salle, first of mariners, sailed over Lake Erie, and between the verdant isles of the majestic Detroit ; debated planting a colony on its banks ; gave a name to Lake St. Clair, from the day on which he traversed its shallow waters ; and, after escaping from storms on Lake Huron, and planting a trading-house at Mackinaw, he cast anchor in Green Bay. Here having despatched his brig to Niagara River, with the richest cargo of

furs, he himself, with his company in scattered groups, repaired in bark canoes to the head of Lake Michigan; and at the mouth of the St. Joseph's, in that peninsula where Alloüez had already gathered a village of Miamis, awaiting the return of the Griffin. he constructed the trading-house, with palisades, known as the Fort of the Miamis. It marks his careful forethought, that he sounded the mouth of the St. Joseph's and raised buoys to mark the channel. But of his vessel, on which his fortunes so much depended, no tidings came. Weary of delay, he resolved to penetrate Illinois; and, leaving ten men to guard the Fort of the Miamis, La Salle himself, with Hennepin and two other Franciscans, with Tonti and about thirty followers, ascended the St. Joseph's, and, by a short portage over bogs and swamps made dangerous by a snow-storm, entered the Kankakee. Descending its narrow stream, before the end of December, the little company had reached the site of an Indian village on the Illinois, probably not far from Ottáwa, in La Salle county. The tribe was absent, passing the winter in the chase.

In January, 1680, on the banks of Lake Peoria, Indians appeared;—they were Illinois, and, desirous to obtain axes and fire-arms, they offered the calumet, and agreed to an alliance: if the Iroquois should renew their invasions, they would claim the French as allies. They heard with joy that colonies were to be established in their territory; they described the course of the Mississippi, and they were willing to guide the strangers to its mouth. The spirit and prudence of La Salle, who was the life of the enterprise, won the friendship of the natives. But clouds lowered over his path; the Griffin, it seemed certain, was wrecked, thus delaying his discoveries, as well as impairing his fortunes; his men began to despond: alone, of himself, he toiled to revive their courage;—there could be no safety but in union: "None," he added, "shall stay after the spring, unless from choice." But fear and discontent pervaded the company; and when La Salle planned and began to build a fort on the banks of the Illinois, four days' journey, it is said, below Lake Peoria, thwarted by destiny, and almost despairing, he named the fort Crevecœur.

Yet here the immense power of his will appeared. Dependent on himself, fifteen hundred miles from the nearest French settlement, impoverished, pursued by enemies at Quebec, and in the wilderness surrounded by uncertain nations, he inspired his men with a resolution to saw trees into plank and prepare a bark; he despatched Louis Hennepin to explore the upper

Mississippi; he questioned the Illinois and their southern captives on the course of the Mississippi; he formed conjectures respecting the Tennessee River; and then, as new recruits were needed, and sails and cordage for the bark, in the month of March, 1680, with a musket and a pouch of powder and shot, with a blanket for his protection, and skins of which to make moccasins, he, with three companions, set off on foot for Fort Frontenac, to trudge through thickets and forests, to wade through marshes and melting snows, having for his pathway the ridge of highlands which divide the basin of the Ohio from that of the lakes,—without drink, except water from the brooks,—without food, except supplies from the gun. Of his thoughts on that long journey no record exists.

During the absence of La Salle, Louis Hennepin, bearing the calumet, and accompanied by Du Gay (whom the narrative untruly ascribed to Tonti calls Dacan) and Michel Ako, as oarsmen, followed the Illinois to its junction with the Mississippi, and, invoking the guidance of St. Anthony of Padua, ascended the mighty stream far beyond the mouth of the Wisconsin—as he falsely held forth, far enough to discover its source. The great falls in the river, which he describes with reasonable accuracy, were named from the chosen patron of the expedition. On a tree near the cataract, the Franciscan engraved the cross, and the arms of France; and, after a summer's rambles, diversified by a short captivity among the Sioux, he and his companions returned, by way of the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers, to the French mission at Green Bay.

In Illinois, Tonti was less fortunate. The quick perception of La Salle had selected, as the fit centre of his colony, Rock Fort, near a village of the Illinois—a cliff rising two hundred feet above the river that flows at its base, in the centre of a lovely country of verdant prairies, bordered by distant slopes, richly tufted with oak, and black walnut, and the noblest trees of the American forest. This rock Tonti was to fortify; and, during the attempt, men at Crevecœur deserted. Besides, the enemies of La Salle had instigated the Iroquois to hostility, and, in September, 1680, a large party of them, descending the river, threatened ruin to his enterprise. After a parley, Tonti and the few men that remained with him, excepting the aged Franciscan Gabriel de la Ribourde, fled to Lake Michigan, where they found shelter with the Potawatomies.

When, therefore, La Salle returned to Illinois, with large supplies of men, and stores for rigging a brigantine, he found the post in Illinois deserted. Hence came the delay of another

year, which was occupied in visiting Green Bay, and conducting traffic there; in finding Tonti and his men, and perfecting a capacious barge. At last, in the early part of 1682, La Salle and his company descended the Mississippi to the sea. His sagacious eye discerned the magnificent resources of the country. As he floated down its flood; as he framed a cabin on the first Chickasa bluff; as he raised the cross by the Arkansas; as he planted the arms of France near the Gulf of Mexico,—he anticipated the future affluence of emigrants, and heard in the distance the footsteps of the advancing multitude that were coming to take possession of the valley. Meantime he claimed the territory for France, and gave it the name of Louisiana.

This was the period of the proudest successes and largest ambition of Louis XIV. "La Salle will return," it was said, "to give to the court an ample account of the terrestrial paradise of America;—there the king will at once call into being a flourishing empire." And, in fact, La Salle, remaining in the west till his exclusive privilege had expired, returned to Quebec, and, in November, 1683, embarked for France.

Colbert, whose genius had awakened a national spirit in behalf of French industry, and who yet had rested his system of commerce and manufactures on no firmer basis than that of monopoly, was no more; but Seignelay, his son, the minister for maritime affairs, listened confidingly to the expected messenger from the land which was regarded with pride as "the delight of the New World."

In the early months of 1684, the preparations for colonizing Louisiana were perfected, and in July the fleet left Rochelle. Four vessels were destined for the Mississippi, bearing two hundred and eighty persons, to take possession of the valley. Of these, one hundred were soldiers—an ill omen, for successful colonists always defend themselves: about thirty were volunteers, two of whom—young Cavalier and the rash, passionate Moranget—were nephews to La Salle; of ecclesiastics, there were three Franciscans, and three of St. Sulpice, one of them being brother to La Salle: there were, moreover, mechanics of various skill; and the presence of young women proved the design of permanent colonization. But the mechanics were poor workmen, ill versed in their trades; the soldiers, though they had for their commander Joutel, a man of courage and truth, and afterwards the historian of the grand enterprise, were themselves spiritless vagabonds, without discipline, and without experience; the volunteers were restless with indefinite ex-

pectations; and, worst of all, the naval commander, Beaujeu, was deficient in judgment, incapable of sympathy with the magnanimous heroism of La Salle, envious, self-willed, and foolishly proud.

Disasters lowered on the voyage at its commencement: a mast breaks; they return: the voyage begins anew amidst variances between La Salle and the naval commander. In every instance on the record, the judgment of La Salle was right.

At St. Domingo, La Salle, delayed and cruelly thwarted by Beaujeu, saw already the shadow of his coming misfortunes. On leaving the island they were more at variance than ever. They double Cape Antonio; they discover land on the continent; aware of the easterly direction of the Gulf Stream, they sail slowly in the opposite course. On the tenth day of January, 1685, they must have been near the mouth of the Mississippi; but La Salle thought not, and the fleet sailed by. Presently, he perceived his error, and desired to return; but Beaujeu refused; and thus they sailed to the west, and still to the west, till they reached the Bay of Matagorda. Weary of differences with Beaujeu,—believing the streams that had their outlet in the bay might be either branches from the Mississippi, or lead to its vicinity, La Salle resolved to disembark. While he was busy in providing for the safety of his men, his store-ship, on entering the harbor, was wrecked by the careless pilot. Others gazed listlessly; La Salle, calming the terrible energy of his grief at the sudden ruin of his boundless hopes, borrowed boats from the fleet to save, at least, some present supplies. But with night came a gale of wind, and the vessel was dashed utterly in pieces. The stores, provided with the munificence that marked the plans of Louis XIV., lay scattered on the sea; little could be saved. To aggravate despair, the savages came down to pilfer, and murdered two of the volunteers.

Terror pervaded the group of colonists; the evils of the wreck and gale were charged to La Salle,—as if he ought to to have deepened the channel and controlled the winds; men deserted, and returned in the fleet. La Salle, who, by the powerful activity of his will, controlled the feeble and irritable persons that surrounded him, and even censured their inefficiency, their treachery, and their disobedience, with angry vehemence, was yet, in his struggle against adversity, magnanimously tranquil. The fleet sets sail, and there remains on the beach of Matagorda a desponding company of about two hundred and

thirty, huddled together in a fort constructed of the fragments of their shipwrecked vessel, having no reliance but in the constancy and elastic genius of La Salle.

Ascending the small stream at the west of the bay, in the vain hope of finding the Mississippi, La Salle selected a site on the open ground for the establishment of a fortified post. The spot, which he named St. Louis, was a gentle slope, which showed, towards the west and south-west, the boundless expansion of the beautiful landscape, verdant with luxuriant grasses, and dotted with groves of forest-trees; south and east was the Bay of Matagorda, skirted with prairies. The waters abounded with fish, and invited crowds of wild-fowl; the fields were alive with deer, and bisons, and wild turkeys, and the dangerous rattlesnake, bright inhabitant of the meadows. There, under the suns of June, with timber felled in an inland grove, and dragged for a league over the prairie grass, the colonists prepared to build a shelter, La Salle being the architect, and himself marking the beams, and tenons, and mortises. With parts of the wreck, brought up in canoes, a second house was framed, and of each the roof was covered with buffalo skins.

This is the settlement which made Texas a part of Louisiana. In its sad condition, it had yet saved from the wreck a good supply of arms, and bars of iron for the forge. Even now, this colony possessed, from the bounty of Louis XIV., more than was contributed by all the English monarchs together for the twelve English colonies on the Atlantic. Its number still exceeded that of the colony of Smith in Virginia, or of those who embarked in the Mayflower. France took possession of Texas; her arms were carved on its stately forest-trees; and by no treaty, or public document, except the general sessions of Louisiana, did she ever after relinquish the right to the province as colonized under her banners, and made still more surely a part of her territory, because the colony found there its grave.

Excursions into the vicinity of Fort St. Louis had discovered nothing but the luxuriant productiveness of the country. La Salle proposed to seek the Mississippi in canoes; and, after an absence of about four months, and the loss of twelve or thirteen men, he returned in rags, having failed to find "the fatal river," and yet renewing hope by his presence. In April, he plunged into the wilderness, with twenty companions, lured towards New Mexico by the brilliant fictions of the rich mines of Sainte Barbe, the El Dorado of Northern Mexico. There, among the Cenis, he succeeded in obtaining five horses, and

supplies of maize and beans: he found no mines, but a country unsurpassed for beauty of climate and exuberant fertility.

On his return, he heard of the wreck of the little bark which had remained with the colony: he heard it unmoved. Heaven and man seemed his enemies; and, with the giant energy of an indomitable will, having lost his hopes of fortune, his hopes of fame,—with his colony diminished to about forty, among whom discontent had given birth to plans of crime,—with no Europeans nearer than the River Panuco, no French nearer than Illinois,—he resolved to travel on foot to his countrymen at the north, and return from Canada to renew his colony in Texas.

Leaving twenty men at Fort St. Louis, in January, 1687, La Salle, with sixteen men, departed for Canada. Lading their baggage on the wild horses from the Cenis, which found their pasture everywhere in the prairies; in shoes made of green buffalo hides; for want of other paths, following the track of the buffalo, and using skins as the only shelter against rain; winning favor with the savages by the confiding courage of their leader;—they ascended the streams towards the first ridge of highlands, walking through beautiful plains and groves, among deer and buffaloes,—now fording the clear rivulets, now building a bridge by felling a giant tree across a stream,—till they had passed the basin of the Colorado, and, in the upland country, had reached a branch of Trinity River. In the little company of wanderers, there were two men, Duhaut and L'Archevêque, who had embarked their capital in the enterprise. Of these, Duhaut had long shown a spirit of mutiny; the base malignity of disappointed avarice, maddened by suffering, and impatient of control, awakened the fiercest passions of ungovernable hatred. Inviting Moranget to take charge of the fruits of a buffalo hunt, they quarrelled with him, and murdered him. Wondering at the delay of his nephew's return, La Salle, on the twentieth of March, went to seek him. At the brink of the river, he observed eagles hovering as if over carrion; and he fired an alarm gun. Warned by the sound, Duhaut, and L'Archevêque crossed the river; the former skulked in the prairie grass; of the latter, La Salle asked, "Where is my nephew?" At the moment of the answer, Duhaut fired; and, without uttering a word, La Salle fell dead. "You are down now, grand bashaw! you are down now!" shouted one of the conspirators, as they despoiled his remains, which were left on the prairie, naked and without burial, to be devoured by wild beasts. Such was the end of this daring adventurer. For force of will and

vast conceptions; for various knowledge, and quick adaptation of his genius to untried circumstances: for a sublime magnanimity, that resigned itself to the will of Heaven, and yet triumphed over affliction by energy of purpose and unfaltering hope,—he had no superior among his countrymen. He had won the affection of the governor of Canada, the esteem of Colbert, the confidence of Seignelay, the favor of Louis XIV. After beginning the colonization of Upper Canada, he perfected the discovery of the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to its mouth; and he will be remembered through all time as the father of colonization in the great central valley of the west.

But avarice and passion were not calmed by the blood of La Salle. Duhaut and another of the conspirators, grasping at an unequal share in the spoils, were themselves murdered, while their reckless associates joined a band of savages. Joutel, with the brother and surviving nephew of La Salle, and others, in all but seven, obtained a guide for the Arkansas; and—fording rivulets, crossing ravines by rafts or boats of buffalo hides making a ferry over rivers, not meeting the cheering custom of the calumet till they reached the country above the Red River, leaving an esteemed companion in a wilderness grave, on which the piety of an Indian matron heaped offerings of maize—at last, on the twenty-fourth of July, as the survivors came upon a branch of the Mississippi, they beheld on an island a large cross. Never did Christian gaze on that emblem with heartier joy. Near it stood a log hut, tenanted by two Frenchmen. Tonti had descended the river, and, full of grief at not finding La Salle, had established a post near the Arkansas.

CHAPTER XLII.

FRANCE CONTENDS FOR THE FISHERIES AND THE GREAT WEST.

Such were the events which gave to the French not only New France and Acadia, Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland, but a claim to a moiety of Maine, of Vermont, and to more than a moiety of New York, to the whole valley of the Mississippi, and to Texas even, as far as the Rio Bravo del Norte. Throughout that wide region, it sought to introduce its authority, under the severest forms of the colonial system. That

system was enforced, with equal eagerness, by England upon the sea-coast. Could France, and England, and Spain have amicably divided the American continent,—could they have been partners, and not rivals, in oppression,—hope could not have beamed upon the colonies.

But the aristocratic revolution of England was the signal for a war with France, growing out of "a root of enmity," which Marlborough described as "irreconcilable to the government and the religion" of Great Britain. Louis XIV. took up arms in defence of legitimacy; and England had the glorious office of asserting the right of a nation to reform its government. Yet, as the Spanish Netherlands, which constituted the barrier of Holland and Germany against France, could be saved from conquest by France only through the interposition of England and Holland, an alliance followed between the Protestant revolutionary republic and monarchy, on the one side, and the bigoted defender of the Roman Catholic church and legitimacy, on the other. Hence, in the war of King William, the frontiers of Carolina, bordering on the possessions of Spain, were safe against invasion: Spain and England were allies. William III. was not only the defender of the nationality of England, but of the territorial freedom of Europe.

In America, the strife was, on behalf of the respective mother countries, for the fisheries, and for territory at the north and west. If the issue had depended on the condition of the colonies, it could hardly have seemed doubtful. The French census for the North American continent, in 1688, showed but eleven thousand two hundred and forty-nine persons—scarcely a tenth part of the English population on its frontiers—about a twentieth part of English North America.

West of Montreal, the principal French posts, and those but inconsiderable ones, had been at Frontenac, at Mackinaw, and on the Illinois. At Niagara, there was a wavering purpose of maintaining a post, but no permanent occupation. The savages still held the keys of the great west; no intercourse existed but by means of the forest rangers, who penetrated the barren heaths round Hudson's Bay, the morasses of the north-west, the homes of the Sioux and Miamis, the recesses of every forest where there was an Indian with skins to sell. The attention of the court of France was directed to the fisheries; and Acadia had been represented by De Meules as the most important settlement of France. To protect it, the Jesuits Vincent and James Bigot collected a village of Abenakis on the Penobscot; and a flourishing town now

marks the spot where the baron de St. Castin, a veteran officer of the regiment of Carignan, established a trading fort.

Thus France, bounding its territory next New England by the Kennebec, claimed the whole eastern coast, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Labrador, and Hudson's Bay; and, to assert and defend this boundless region, Acadia and its dependencies counted but nine hundred French inhabitants. The missionaries, swaying the mind of the Abenakis, were the sole source of hope.

On the declaration of war by France against England, in June, 1689, Count Frontenac, once more governor of Canada, was charged to recover Hudson's Bay, to protect Acadia, and, by a descent from Canada, to assist a fleet in making conquest of New York. But, on reaching the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Frontenac learned the capture of Montreal.

On the twenty-fifth of August, 1689, the Iroquois, fifteen hundred in number, reached the Isle of Montreal, at La Chine, at break of day, and, finding all asleep, set fire to the houses, and engaged in one general massacre. In less than an hour, two hundred people met death under forms too horrible for description. Approaching the town of Montreal, they made an equal number of prisoners, and, after a severe skirmish, became masters of the fort, and of the whole island, of which they retained unmolested possession till the middle of October. In the moment of consternation, Denonville had ordered Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, to be evacuated and razed. From Three Rivers to Mackinaw, there remained not one French town, and hardly even a post.

In Hudson's Bay, a band of brothers—De Sainte Helene and D'Iberville—sustained the honor of French arms. They were Canadians, sons of Charles Lemoine, an early emigrant from Normandy, whose numerous offspring gave also to American history the name of Bienville.

In the east, blood was first shed at Cocheco, where, thirteen years before, an unsuspecting party of three hundred and fifty Indians had been taken prisoners, and shipped for Boston, to be sold into foreign slavery. The memory of the treachery was indelible; and the Indian emissaries of Castin easily excited the tribe of Penacook to revenge. On the evening of the twenty-seventh of June, 1689, two squaws repaired to the house of Richard Waldron, and the octogenarian magistrate bade them lodge on the floor. At night, they rise, unbar the gates, and summon their companions, who at once enter every apartment. "What now? what now?" shouted the brave old

man; and, seizing his sword, he defended himself till he fell, stunned by a blow from a hatchet. They then placed him in a chair on a table in his own hall. "Judge Indians again!" —thus they mocked him; and, making cruel sport of their debts to him as a trader, they drew gashes across his breast, and each one cried, "Thus I cross out my account!" At last the mutilated man reeled from faintness, and died in the midst of tortures. The Indians, burning his house, and others that stood near it, having killed three-and-twenty, returned to the wilderness with twenty-nine captives.

August comes. The women and children, at the Penobscot village of Canibas, have confessed their sins to the Jesuit Thury, that so they may uplift purer hands, while their fathers and brothers proceed against the heretics;—in the little chapel, the missionary and his neophytes have established a perpetual rosary during the expedition, and even the hours of repast do not interrupt the edifying exercise. A hundred warriors, purified also by confession, in a fleet of bark canoes, steal out of the Penobscot, and paddle towards Pemaquid. Thomas Gyles and his sons are at work, in the sunny noontide, making hay: a volley whistles by them;—a short encounter ends in their defeat. "I ask no favor," says the wounded father, "but leave to pray with my children." Pale with the loss of blood, he commends his children to God, then bids them farewell for this world, yet in the hope of seeing them in a better. The Indians, restless at delay, use the hatchet, and, for burial, heap boughs over his body. After a defence of two days, the stockade at Pemaquid capitulates; and the warriors return to Penobscot to exult over their prisoners. Other inroads were made by the Penobscot and St. John Indians, so that the settlements east of Falmouth were deserted.

In September, commissioners from New England held a conference with the Mohawks at Albany, soliciting an alliance. "We have burned Montreal," said they; "we are allies of the English; we will keep the chain unbroken." But they refused to invade the Abenakis.

Had Frontenac never left New France, Montreal would probably have been safe. He now used every effort to win the Five Nations to neutrality or to friendship. To recover esteem in their eyes,—to secure Durantaye, the commander at Mackinaw, the means of treating with the Hurons and the Ottáwas, —it was resolved by Frontenac to make a triple descent into the English provinces.

From Montreal, a party of one hundred and ten, composed

of French, and of the Christian Iroquois, who had been established in a village near Montreal,—having De Mantet and Sainte Helene as leaders, and D'Iberville, the hero of Hudson's Bay, as a volunteer,—for two-and-twenty days, waded through snows and morasses, through forests and across rivers, to Schenectady. On the night of the eighth of February, 1690, the village had given itself calmly to slumber: through open and unguarded gates, the invaders entered silently, and having, just before midnight, reached its heart, the war-whoop was raised, (dreadful sound to the mothers of that place and their children!) and the dwellings set on fire. Of the inhabitants, some, half-clad, fled through the snows to Albany; sixty were massacred, of whom seventeen were children, and ten were Africans. For such ends had the hardships of a winter's expedition, frost, famine, and frequent deaths, been encountered: such was war.

In March, a party from Three Rivers, led by Hertel, and consisting of but fifty-two persons, of whom three were his sons, and two his nephews, surprised the settlement at Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua, and, after a bloody engagement, burned houses, barns, and cattle in the stalls, and took fifty-four prisoners, chiefly women and children.

Returning from this expedition, Hertel met a war party, under Portneuf, from Quebec, and, with them and a reënforcement from Castin, made a successful attack on the fort and settlement in Casco Bay.

Meantime danger taught the colonies the necessity of union, and, on the first day of May, 1690, New York beheld the momentous example of an American "congress." The idea originated with the government of Massachusetts, established by the people in the period that intervened between the overthrow of Andros and the arrival of the second charter; and the place of meeting was New York, where, likewise, the government had sprung directly from the action of the people. Thus, without exciting suspicion, were the forms of independence and union prepared. The invitations were given by letters from the general court of Massachusetts, and extended to all the colonies as far, at least, as Maryland. Massachusetts, the parent of so many states, is certainly the parent of the American Union. At that congress, it was resolved to attempt the conquest of Acadia and Canada.

Acadia was soon conquered: before the end of May, Sir William Phipps, failing to bring seasonable supplies to Falmouth, sailed to Port Royal, which readily surrendered. New

England was mistress of the coast to the eastern extremity of Nova Scotia, though the native hordes of that wilderness still retained their affection for the French.

While the people of New England and New York were concerting the grand enterprise of the conquest of Canada, the French had, by their successes, inspired the savages with respect, and renewed their intercourse with the west. But, in August, Montreal became alarmed. An Indian announced that Iroquois and English were busy in constructing canoes on Lake George; and immediately Frontenac himself placed the hatchet in the hands of his allies, and, with the tomahawk in his own grasp, old as he was, chanted the war-song, and danced the war-dance. On the twenty-ninth of August, it was said that an army had reached Lake Champlain; but, on the second of September, the spies could observe no trail. The projected attack by land was defeated by divisions,—Leisler charging Winthrop, of Connecticut, with treachery, and the forces from Connecticut blaming Milborne, and the commissary of New York, for the insufficiency of the supplies.

But, just as Frontenac, in the full pride of security, was preparing to return to Quebec, he heard that an Abenaki, hurrying through the woods in twelve days from Piscataqua, had announced the approach of a hostile fleet from Boston. The little colony of Massachusetts had sent forth a fleet of thirty-four sail, under the command of the incompetent Phipps, manned by two thousand of its citizens, who, as they now, without pilots, sounded their way up the St. Lawrence, anxious for the result of the expedition against Montreal, watched wistfully the course of the winds, and hoped in the efficacy of the prayers that went up, evening and morning, from every hearth in New England.

Had the excursion from Albany by land succeeded,—had pilots, or fair winds, or decision in the commander, conducted the fleet more rapidly but by three days,—the castle of St. Louis would have been surprised and taken. But, in the night of the fourteenth of October, Frontenac reached Quebec. The inhabitants of the vicinity were assembled; and the fortifications of the city had already been put in a tenable condition, when, on the sixteenth, at daybreak, the fleet from Boston came in sight, and soon cast anchor near Beauport, in the stream. It was too late. The herald from the ship of the admiral, demanding a surrender of the place, was dismissed with scoffs. What availed the courage of the citizen soldiers who effected a landing at Beauport? Before them was a forti-

fied town, defended by a garrison far more numerous than the assailants, and protected by marshes and a river fordable only at low tide. The diversion against Montreal had utterly failed: the New England men reëmbark, and sail for Boston. In Quebec there were great rejoicings. For the church in the lower town, the yearly festival of Our Lady of Victory was established; and in France a medal commemorated the successes of Louis XIV. in the New World. Sir William Phipps reached home in November. The treasury was empty. "Considering the present poverty of the country, and, through scarcity of money, the want of an adequate measure of commerce," issues of bills of credit were authorized, in notes from five shillings to five pounds, to "be in value equal to money, and accepted in all public payments."

Repulsed from Canada, the exhausted colonies attempted little more than the defence of their frontiers. Their borders were full of terror and sorrow, of captivity and death; but no designs of conquest were formed. If Schuyler, in 1691, made an irruption into the French settlements on the Sorel, it was only to gain successes in a skirmish, and to effect a safe retreat. A French ship anchoring in Port Royal, the red cross that floated over the town made way for the banner of France; and Acadia was once more a dependency on Canada. In January, 1692, a party of French and Indians, coming in snow-shoes from the east, burst upon the town of York, offering its inhabitants no choice but captivity or death. The fort which was rebuilt at Pemaquid was, at least, an assertion of English supremacy over the neighboring region. In England, the conquest of Canada was resolved on; but the fleet designed for the expedition, after a repulse at Martinique, sailed for Boston, freighted with the yellow fever, which destroyed two-thirds of the mariners and soldiers on board. For a season, hostilities in Maine were suspended by a treaty of peace with the Abenakis; but, in less than a year, solely through the influence of the Jesuits, they were again in the field, led by Villieu, the French commander on the Penobscot; and the village at Oyster River, in New Hampshire, was the victim of their fury. Ninety-four persons were killed and carried away. The young wife of Thomas Drew was taken to the tribe at Norridgewock: there, in midwinter, in the open air, during a storm of snow, she gave birth to her first-born, doomed by the savages to instant death. In Canada, the chiefs of the Micmacs presented to Frontenac the scalps of English killed on the Piscataqua.

Once, indeed, in March, 1697, a mother achieved a startling

revenge. Seven days after her confinement, the Indian prowlers raised their shouts near the house of Hannah Dustin, of Haverhill: her husband rode home from the field, but too late to provide for her rescue. He must fly, if he would save even one of his seven children, who had hurried before him into the forest. But, from the cowering flock, how could a father make a choice? With gun in his hand, he now repels the assault, now cheers on the innocent group of little ones, as they rustle through the dry leaves and bushes, till all reach a shelter. The Indians burned his home, and dashed his infant against a tree; and, after days of weary marches, Hannah Dustin and her nurse, with a boy from Worcester, find themselves on an island in the Merrimac, just above Concord, in a wigwam occupied by two Indian families. The mother planned escape. "Where would you strike," said the boy, Samuel Leonardson, to his master, "to kill instantly?" and the Indian told him where, and how to scalp. At night, while the household slumbers, the captives, two women and a boy, each with a tomahawk, strike vigorously, and fleetly, and with wise division of labor, —and, of the twelve sleepers, ten lie dead; of one squaw the wound was not mortal; one child was spared from design. The love of glory next asserted its power; and the gun and tomahawk of the murderer of her infant, and a bag heaped full with scalps, were choicely kept as the trophies of the heroine.—The streams are the guides which God has set for the stranger in the wilderness: in a bark canoe, the three descended the Merrimac to the English settlements, astonishing their friends by their escape, and filling the land with wonder at their successful daring.

Such scenes had no influence on the question of boundaries between Canada and New England. In the late summer of 1696, the fort of Pemaquid was taken by D'Iberville and Castin. Thus the frontier of French dominion was extended into the heart of Maine; and Acadia was yet, for a season, secured to the countrymen of De Monts and Champlain.

In the west, after the hope of conquering Canada was abandoned, Frontenac had little strife but with the Five Nations, whom he alternately, by missions and treaties, endeavored to win, and, by invasions, to terrify into an alliance. In February, 1692, three hundred French, with Indian confederates, were sent over the snows against the hunting parties of the Senecas in Upper Canada, near the Niagara. In the following year, a larger party invaded the country of the Mohawks, bent on their extermination. The first castle, and the second also, fell easily,—for the war-chiefs were absent; at the third, a

party of forty, who were dancing a war-dance, gave battle,—and victory cost the invaders thirty men. But Schuyler, of Albany, collecting two hundred men, and pursuing the party as it retired, succeeded in liberating many of the captives.

Nor did the Five Nations continue their control over western commerce. After many vacillations, the prudence of the memorable La Motte Cadillac, who had been appointed governor at Mackinaw, confirmed the friendship of the neighboring tribes; but the Indians of the west would not rally under the banner of Onondio; and, in 1696, the French of Canada, aided only by their immediate allies, made their last invasion of Western New York. Frontenac, then seventy-four years of age, himself conducted the army: from Fort Frontenac they passed over to Oswego, and occupied both sides of that river; at night, they reached the falls three leagues above its mouth, and, by the light of bark torches, they dragged the canoes and boats above the portage. As they advanced, they found the savage defiance, in two bundles of reeds, suspended on a tree—a sign that fourteen hundred and thirty-four warriors (such was the number of reeds) defied them. As they approached the great village of the Onondagas, the nation set fire to it, and, by night, the invaders beheld the glare of the burning wigwams. Early in August, the army encamped near the Salt Springs, while a party was sent to ravage the country of the Oneidas, with orders to cut up their corn, burn their villages, put to death all who should offer resistance, and take six chiefs as hostages. Meantime, an aged Onondaga captive, who had refused to fly, was abandoned to the fury of the allies of the French; and never did the marvellous fortitude of an Indian brave display more fully its character of passive grandeur. All the tortures that more than four hundred savages could inflict on the decrepit old man, extorted from him not one word of weakness; he scoffed always at his tormentors as the slaves of those whom he despised. On receiving mortal wounds, his last words were, "You should have taken more time to learn how to meet death manfully! I die contented; for I have no cause for self-reproach." Such scenes were enacted at Salina.

After these successes against the Onondagas and Oneidas, it was proposed to go against the Cayugas; but Frontenac refused, as if uncertain of the result: "It was time for him to repose;" and the army returned to Montreal. He had humbled, but not subdued, the Five Nations, and left them to suffer from a famine, yet to recover their lands and their spirit,—hav-

ing pushed hostilities so far that no negotiations for peace could easily succeed.

The last year of the war was one of especial alarm, as rumor divulged the purpose of the French king to send out a powerful fleet to devastate the coast of New England, and to conquer New York. But nothing came of it; and the peace of Ryswick occasioned, at least, a suspension of hostilities, though not till the English exchequer had been recruited by means of a great change in financial policy. In 1694, England accepted from individuals a loan of one and a half million pounds sterling, paying for it eight per cent. per annum, and constituting the subscribers to the loan an incorporated bank of circulation. This was the origin of the Bank of England.

CHAPTER XLIII.

COLONIZATION OF MICHIGAN, ILLINOIS, MISSISSIPPI, LOUISIANA, ALABAMA.

THE peace of Ryswick, ratified in September, 1697, was itself a victory of the spirit of reform; for Louis XIV., with James II. at his court, recognized the revolutionary sovereign of England; and the encroachments of France on the German empire were restrained. In America, France retained all Hudson's Bay, and all the places of which she was in possession at the beginning of the war; in other words, with the exception of the eastern moiety of Newfoundland, France retained the whole coast and adjacent islands, from Maine to beyond Labrador and Hudson's Bay, besides Canada and the valley of the Mississippi. But the boundary lines were reserved as subjects for wrangling among commissioners.

On the east, England claimed to the St. Croix, and France to the Kennebec; and, had peace continued, the St. George would have been adopted as a compromise.

The boundary between New France and New York was still more difficult to be adjusted. The Iroquois were proud of their independence; France asserted its right to dominion over their lands; England claimed to be in possession. Religious sympathies inclined the nations to the French, but commercial advantages brought them always into connection with the English.

After many collisions and acts of hostility between the Iroquois and the allies of the French, especially the Ottáwas; after many ineffectual attempts, on the part of Lord Bellamont, to constitute himself the arbiter of peace, and thus to obtain an acknowledged ascendency,—the four upper nations, in the summer of 1700, sent envoys to Montreal "to weep for the French who had died in the war." After rapid negotiations, peace was ratified between the Iroquois, on the one side, and France and her Indian allies, on the other. The Rat, chief of the Hurons from Mackinaw, said, "I lay down the axe at my father's feet;" and the deputies of the four tribes of Ottáwas echoed his words. The envoy of the Abenakis said, "I have no hatchet but that of my father, and, since my father has buried it, now I have none;" the Christian Iroquois, allies of France, assented. A written treaty was made, to which each nation placed for itself a symbol;—the Senecas and Onondagas drew a spider; the Cayugas a calumet; the Oneidas a forked stick; the Mohawks a bear; the Hurons a beaver; the Abenakis a deer; and the Ottáwas a hare. It was declared, also, that war should cease between the French allies and the Sioux; that peace should reach beyond the Mississippi. As to limits in Western New York, Callieres, becoming governor-general, still proposed to the French minister to assert French jurisdiction over the land of the Iroquois, or, at least, to establish its neutrality.

The question remained undecided, and, through the Five Nations, England shared in the Indian trade of the west; but France kept the mastery of the great lakes, and De Callieres resolved on founding an establishment at Detroit. The Five Nations, by their deputies, remonstrated, but in vain; and, in the month of June, 1701, De la Motte Cadillac, with a Jesuit missionary and one hundred Frenchmen, was sent to take possession of Detroit. This is the oldest permanent settlement in Michigan. That commonwealth began to be colonized before even Georgia; it is the oldest, therefore, of all the inland states, except, perhaps, Illinois. The country on the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair was esteemed the loveliest in Canada; Nature had lavished on it all her charms — slopes and prairies, plains and noble forests, fountains and rivers; the lands, though of different degrees of fertility, were all productive; the isles seemed as if scattered by art to delight the eye; the lake and the river abounded in fish; the water was pure as crystal, the air serene; the genial climate, temperate and giving health, charmed the emigrant from Lower Canada. Two numerous Indian villages gathered near the fort: here were, at last, the

wigwams of the Hurons, who, from their old country, had fled first to the Falls of St. Mary, and then to Mackinaw; and above, on the right, in Upper Canada, rose a settlement of the Ottáwas, their inseparable companions.

The military occupation of Illinois seems to have continued, without interruption, from 1681, when La Salle returned from Fort Frontenac. Joutel found a garrison at Fort St. Louis in 1687; in 1689, La Hontan bears testimony that it still continued; in 1696, a public document proves its existence, and the wish of Louis XIV. to preserve it in good condition; and when, in 1700, Tonti again descended the Mississippi, he was attended by twenty Canadian residents in Illinois.

The oldest permanent European settlement in the valley of the Mississippi is the village of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, or Kaskaskia, the seat of a Jesuit mission, which gradually became a central point of French colonization. We know that Father Gravier was its founder, but it is not easy to fix the date of its origin. Marquette had been followed by Alloüez, who, in 1684, may have been at Rock Fort, but who was chiefly a missionary to the Miamis, among whom he died. Gravier followed Alloüez, but in what year is unknown. Sebastian Rasles, after a short residence among the Abenakis, received orders to visit the west; and, from his own narrative, it is plain that, after passing a winter at Mackinaw, he, in the spring of 1693, repaired to Illinois, where he remained two years before exchanging its prairies for the borders of the Kennebec. He was sent, perhaps, as a companion to Gravier, who is famed as having been the first to ascertain the principles of the Illinois language, and to reduce them to rules, and as having, in the midst of perpetual perils and opposition from sorcerers, succeeded in beginning the establishment which was destined to endure.

When the founder of Kaskaskia was recalled to Mackinaw, he was relieved by two missionaries—by Pinet, who became the founder of Cahokia, preaching with such success, that his chapel could not contain the multitude that thronged to him; and Binneteau, who left his mission among the Abenakis to die on the upland plains of the Mississippi. Having followed the tribe to which he was attached, in their July ramble over their widest hunting-grounds,—now stifled amongst the tall grasses, now panting with thirst on the dry prairies,—all day tortured with heat, all night exposed on the ground to chilling dews,—he was seized with a mortal fever, and left his bones on the wilderness range of the buffaloes.

Before his death, and before Tonti left Illinois, Gabriel Marest, the Jesuit,—who, after chanting an ave to the cross among the icebergs of Hudson's Bay, had been taken by the English, and, on his liberation at the peace, had returned, by way of France, to America,—joined the mission at Kaskaskia, and, for a season, after the death of Binneteau and Pinet, had the sole charge of it. Very early in the eighteenth century, he was joined by Mermet. It was Mermet who assisted the commandant Jucherau, from Canada, in collecting a village of Indians and Canadians, and thus founding the first French post on the Ohio, or, as the lower part of that river was then called, the Wabash. But a contagious disease invaded the mixed population, and the dreadful mortality broke up the settlement.

About the same time, Gravier returned to Illinois, to plant a mission near Rock Fort, which had been abandoned by Tonti. Here he was unsuccessful, falling a victim to the assaults of the natives; but, on the banks of the Mississippi, the settlements slowly increased. The more hardy services of the mission fell to the lot of Marest. "Our life," he writes, "is passed in roaming through thick woods, in clambering over hills, in paddling the canoe across lakes and rivers, to catch a poor savage who flies from us, and whom we can tame neither by teachings nor by caresses."

In 1711, on Good Friday, Marest started for the Peorias, who desired a new mission. In two days he reached Cahokia. "I departed," he writes again, "having nothing about me but my crucifix and my breviary, being accompanied by only three savages, who might abandon me from levity, or from fear of enemies might fly. The horror of these vast, uninhabited forest regions, where in twelve days not a soul was met, almost took away all courage. Here was a journey where there was no village, no bridge, no ferry, no boat, no house, no beaten path, and over boundless prairies, intersected by rivulets and rivers,—through forests and thickets filled with briers and thorns,—through marshes, where we plunged sometimes to the girdle. At night, repose was sought on the grass, or on leaves, exposed to wind and rain,—happy if by the side of some rivulet, of which a draught might quench thirst. A meal was prepared from such game as was killed on the way, or by roasting ears of corn."

The gentle virtues and fervid eloquence of Mermet made him the soul of the mission at Kaskaskia. At early dawn, his pupils came to church, dressed neatly and modestly, each in a large

deer skin, or in a robe stitched together from several skins After receiving lessons, they chanted canticles; mass was then said in presence of all the Christians in the place, the French and the converts,—the women on one side, the men on the other. From prayer and instruction, the missionaries proceeded to visit the sick and administer medicine; and their skill as physicians did more than all the rest to win confidence. In the afternoon, the catechism was taught, in presence of the young and the old, where every one, without distinction of rank or age, answered the questions of the missionary. At evening, all would assemble at the chapel for instruction, for prayer, and to chant the hymns of the church. On Sundays and festivals, even after vespers, a homily was pronounced; at the close of the day, parties would meet in the cabins to recite the chaplet, in alternate choirs, and sing psalms into the night. Their psalms were often homilies, with the words set to familiar tunes. Saturday and Sunday were the days appointed for confession and communion, and every convert confessed once in a fortnight. The success of the mission was such, that marriages of the French emigrants were sometimes solemnized with the daughters of the Illinois according to the rites of the Catholic church. The occupation of the territory was a cantonment of Europeans among the native proprietors of the forests and prairies.

Jesuits and fur traders were the founders of Illinois; Louis XIV. and privileged companies were the patrons of Southern Louisiana; but the honor of beginning the work of colonization in the south-west of our republic belongs to the illustrious Canadian, Lemoine D'Iberville. Present, as a volunteer, in the midnight attack upon Schenectady, where he was chiefly remembered for an act of clemency; the captor of Pemaquid; the successful invader of the English possessions on Newfoundland; in spite of icebergs and a shipwreck, victorious in naval contests on the gloomy waters of Hudson's Bay, and recognized as the most skilful naval officer in the service of France; — he, the idol of his Canadian countrymen, ever buoyant and brave, after the peace of Ryswick, sought and obtained a commission for establishing direct maritime intercourse between France and the Mississippi.

On the seventeenth day of October, 1698, two frigates and two smaller vessels, with a company of marines, and about two hundred settlers, including a few women and children,—most of the men being disbanded Canadian soldiers,—embarked for the Mississippi, which, as yet, had never been entered from the

sea. Happier than La Salle, the leader of the enterprise won confidence and affection everywhere: the governor of St. Domingo gave him a welcome, and bore a willing testimony to his genius and his good judgment. A larger ship-of-war from that station joined the expedition, which, in January, 1699, caught a glimpse of the continent, and anchored before the Island St. Rose. On the opposite shore, the fort of Pensacola had just been established by three hundred Spaniards from Vera Cruz. This prior occupation is the reason why, afterwards, Pensacola remained a part of Florida, and the dividing line between that province and Louisiana was drawn between the Bays of Pensacola and Mobile. Obedient to his orders, and to the maxims of the mercantile system, the governor of Pensacola would allow no foreign vessel to enter the harbor. Sailing to the west, D'Iberville cast anchor south-south-east of the eastern point of Mobile, and, in February, landed on Massacre, or, as it was rather called, Dauphine, Island. The water between Ship and Horn Islands being found too shallow, the larger ship from the station of St. Domingo returned, and the frigates anchored near the groups of the Chandeleur, while D'Iberville with his people erected huts on Ship Island, and made the discovery of the River Pascagoula and the tribes of Biloxi. The next day, a party of Bayagoulas, from the Mississippi, passed by: they were warriors returning from an inroad into the land of the Indians of Mobile.

In two barges, D'Iberville and his brother Bienville, with a Franciscan, who had been a companion to La Salle, and with forty-eight men, set forth to seek the Mississippi. Floating trees, and the turbid aspect of the waters, guided to its mouth. On the second day in March, they entered the mighty river, and ascended to the village of the Bayagoulas—a tribe which then dwelt on its western bank, just below the River Iberville, worshipping, it was said, an opossum for their manitou, and preserving in their temple an undying fire. There they found a letter from Tonti to La Salle, written in 1684, and safely preserved by the wondering natives. The Oumas also were visited; and the party probably saw the great bend at the mouth of the Red River. A parish and a bayou, that bear the name of Iberville, mark the route of his return, through the lakes which he named Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the bay which he called St. Louis. Early in May, at the head of the Bay of Biloxi, on a sandy shore, under a burning sun, he erected the fort which, with its four bastions and twelve cannon, was to be the sign of French jurisdiction over the terri-

tory from near the Rio del Norte to the confines of Pensacola. While D'Iberville himself sailed for France, his two brothers, Sauvolle and Bienville, were left in command of the station, round which the few colonists were planted. Thus began the commonwealth of Mississippi. Prosperity was impossible; hope could not extend beyond a compromise with the Spaniards on its flank, and the Indian tribes around,—with the sands, which it was vain to till, and the burning sun, that may have made the emigrants sigh for the cool breezes of Hudson's Bay. Yet there were gleams of light: the white men from Carolina, allies of the Chickasas, invaded the neighboring tribes of Indians, making it easy for the French to establish alliances. Missionaries, also, had already conciliated the good-will of remoter nations; and from the Taensas and the Yazoos, Davion—whose name belonged of old to the rock now called Fort Adams—and Montigny floated down the Mississippi to visit their countrymen. Already a line of communication existed between Quebec and the Gulf of Mexico. The boundless southern region—made a part of the French empire by lilies carved on forest-trees, or crosses erected on bluffs, and occupied by French missionaries and forest rangers —was annexed to the command of the governor of Biloxi.

During the absence of D'Iberville, it became apparent that England was jealous of his enterprise. Already Hennepin had been taken into the pay of William III., and, in 1698, had published his new work, in which, to bar the French claim of discovery, he had, with impudent falsehood, claimed to have himself first descended the Mississippi, and had interpolated into his former narrative a journal of his pretended voyage down the river. This had been published in London while the fort at Biloxi was in progress; and, at once, an exploring expedition, under the auspices of Coxe, a proprietor of New Jersey, sought also for the mouths of the Mississippi. When Bienville, who passed the summer in exploring the forks below the site of New Orleans, in September, 1699, descended the river, he met an English ship of sixteen guns, commanded by Barr,—one of two vessels which had been sent to sound the passes of the majestic stream. Giving heed to the assertion of Bienville of French supremacy, as proved by French establishments, the English captain turned back; and the bend in the river which was the scene of the interview was named, and is still called, English Turn. England was never destined to acquire more than a nominal possession of the Mississippi.

It was at this time that Bienville received the memorial of French Protestants to be allowed, under French sovereignty, and in the enjoyment of freedom of conscience, to plant the banks of the Mississippi. "The king," answered Pontchartrain at Paris, "has not driven Protestants from France to make a republic of them in America;" and D'Iberville returned from Europe with projects far unlike the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. First came the occupation of the Mississippi, in January, 1700, by a fortress built on a point elevated above the marshes, not far from the sea, soon to be abandoned. In February, Tonti came down from the Illinois; and, under his guidance, the brothers D'Iberville and Bienville ascended the Great River, and made peace between the Oumas and the Bayagoulas. Among the Natchez, the Great Sun, followed by a large retinue of his people, welcomed the illustrious strangers, His country seemed best suited to a settlement; and a bluff. now known as Natchez, was selected for a town, and, in honor of the countess of Pontchartrain, was called Rosalie.

While D'Iberville descended to his ships, soon to embark for France, his brother, in March, explored Western Louisiana, and, crossing the Red River, approached New Mexico. No tidings of exhaustless wealth were gleaned from the natives; no mines of unparalleled productiveness were discovered among the troublesome morasses; and St. Denys, with a motley group of Canadians and Indians, was sent to ramble for six months in the far west, that he might certainly find the land of gold. In April, Le Sueur led a company, in quest of mineral stores, to mountains in our north-western territory. Passing beyond the Wisconsin, beyond the Chippewa, beyond the St. Croix, he sailed north till he reached the mouth of the St. Peter's, and did not pause till, entering that river, he came to the confluence of the Blue Earth. There, in a fort among Iowas, he passed the winter, that he might take possession of a copper mine, and, on the return of spring, fill his boats with heaps of ore.

Le Sueur had not yet returned to Biloxi, when, in May, 1701, news came from the impatient ministry of impoverished France, that certainly there were gold mines on the Missouri. But bilious fevers sent death among the dreamers about veins of precious metals and rocks of emerald. Sauvolle was an early victim, leaving the chief command to the youthful Bienville; and great havoc was made among the colonists, who were dependent on the Indians for baskets of corn, and were saved from famine by the chase and the net and line. The Choctas and the Mobile Indians desired an alliance against the Chicka-

sas, and the French were too weak to act, except as mediators. In December, D'Iberville, arriving with reënforcements, found but one hundred and fifty alive.

Early in 1702, the chief fortress of the French was transferred from Biloxi to the western bank of the Mobile River, the first settlement of Europeans in Alabama; and, during the same season, though Dauphine Island was very flat, and covered with sands which sustained no grasses, and hardly nourished a grove of pines, its excellent harbor was occupied as a convenient station for ships. Such was Louisiana in the days of its founder. Attacked by the yellow fever, D'Iberville escaped with his life, but his health was broken; and, though he gained strength to render service to France in 1706, the effort was followed by a severe illness, which terminated in his death at the Havana. In him the colonies and the French navy lost a hero worthy of their regret. But Louisiana, at his departure, in 1702, was little more than a wilderness claimed in behalf of the French king; in its whole borders, there were scarcely thirty families. The colonists were unwise in their objects, searching for pearls, for the wool of the buffalo, for productive mines. Their scanty number was scattered on discoveries, or among the Indians in quest of furs. There was no quiet agricultural industry. Of the lands that were occupied, the coast of Biloxi is as sandy as the deserts of Libya; the soil on Dauphine Island is meagre: on the delta of the Mississippi, where a fort had been built, Bienville and his few soldiers were insulated and unhappy, at the mercy of the rise of waters in the river; and the buzz and sting of mosquitoes, the hissing of the snakes, the croakings of the frogs, the cries of alligators, seemed to claim that the country should still, for a generation, be the inheritance of reptiles,—while, at the fort of Mobile, the sighing of the pines, and the hopeless character of the barrens, warned the emigrants to seek homes farther within the land.

But, at least, the Spaniards at Pensacola were no longer hostile; Spain, as well as France, had fallen under the sovereignty of the Bourbons; and, after ineffectual treaties for a partition of the Spanish monarchy, all Europe was kindling into wars, to preserve the balance of power, or to refute the doctrine of legitimacy. This is the period when Spain became intimately involved in our destinies; and she long remained, like France, the enemy to our fathers as subjects of England—the friend to their independence.

CHAPTER XLIV.

WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

THE dynasty of Spain had become extinct. If the doctrine of legitimacy was to be recognized as of divine origin, and therefore paramount to treaties, the king of France could claim for his own family the inheritance of the monarchy. That claim had been sanctioned by the testament of the last Spanish king, and was desired by the Spanish people, of whom the anger had been roused by attempts at partition. To the crown of Spain belonged the Low Countries, the Milanese, and the Two Sicilies, besides its world in the Indies; the union of so many states in the family of the Bourbons seemed to threaten the freedom of Europe, and to secure to France colonial supremacy. William III. resolved on war. Ever true to his ruling passion for the liberty of Holland against France; persevering in it in opposition to his ministry and parliament; in the last year of his life, suffering from a mortal disease; with swollen feet, voice extinguished; too infirm to receive visits; alone, separate from the world, at the castle of St. Loo;—he still rallied new alliances, governed the policy of Europe, and, as to territory, shaped the destinies of America. In September, 1701, during the negotiations, James II. died at St. Germain; and Louis roused the nationality of England by recognizing the son of the royal exile as the legitimate king of Great Britain. Thus the war for the balance of power, for colonial territory, and for commercial advantages, became also a war of opinion, in which England vindicated the independence of national power.

Louis XIV. was an old man, and the men of energy in his cabinet and his army were gone. There was no Colbert, to put order into the finances; no Louvois, by his savage resoluteness, to inspire terror: Luxemburgh was dead, and the wise Catinat no more a favorite. Long wars had enfeebled agriculture, and had exhausted the population; and the excess of royal vanity insured defeat; for the monarch expected victory to obey his orders, and genius to start into action from his choice. Two years passed without reverses; but in 1704, the battle of Blenheim, fatal to the military reputation of France, revealed the exhaustion of the kingdom. The armies of Louis

XIV. were opposed by troops collected from England, Holland, Savoy, Portugal, Denmark, Prussia, and Lorraine, led on by Eugene and Marlborough, who, completing the triumvirate with the grand pensionary Heinsius, combined in their service money, numbers, forethought, and military genius.

In North America, the central colonies of our republic scarce knew the existence of war, except as they were invited to aid in defending the borders, or were sometimes alarmed at a privateer hovering off their coast. The Five Nations, at peace with both France and England, protected New York by a mutual compact of neutrality. South Carolina, bordering on Spanish Florida,—New England, which had so often conquered Acadia, and coveted the fisheries,—were alone involved in the direct evils of war.

South Carolina began colonial hostilities. In September, 1702, its governor, James Moore, by the desire of the commons, placed himself at the head of an expedition for the reduction of St. Augustine. The town was easily ravaged; but the garrison retreated to the castle, and the besiegers waited the arrival of heavy artillery. To obtain it, a sloop was sent to Jamaica; but an emissary had already announced the danger to Bienville, at Mobile, who conveyed the intelligence to the Spanish viceroy; and when two Spanish vessels of war appeared near the mouth of the harbor, Moore abandoned his ships and stores, and retreated by land. The colony, burdened with debt, pleaded the precedent "of great and rich countries," and issued bills of credit to the amount of six thousand pounds. To Carolina the first fruits of war were debt and paper money.

This ill success diminished the terror of the Indians. The Spaniards had long occupied the country on the Bay of Appalache; had gathered the natives into towns, built for them churches, and instructed them by missions of Franciscan priests. The traders of Carolina beheld with alarm the continuous line of communication from St. Augustine to the incipient settlements in Louisiana; and, in the last weeks of 1705, a company of fifty volunteers, under the command of Moore, and assisted by a thousand savage allies, roamed through the woods by the trading path across the Ocmulgee, descended through the regions which none but De Soto had invaded, and came upon the Indian towns near the port of St. Mark's. The inhabitants spoke a dialect of the language of the Muskhogees. They had already learned the use of horses and of beeves, which multiplied without care in their groves.

At sunrise, on the fourteenth of December, the bold adventurers reached the strong place of Ayavalla. Beaten back from the assault with loss, they succeeded in setting fire to the church, which adjoined the fort. A "barefoot friar," the only white man, came forward to beg mercy; more than a hundred women and children, and more than fifty warriors, were taken and kept as prisoners for the slave market. On the next morning, the Spanish commander on the bay, with twenty-three soldiers and four hundred Indians, gave battle, and was defeated; but the Spanish fort was too strong to be carried by storm. The tawny chief of Ivitachma "compounded for peace with the plate of his church and ten horses laden with provisions." Five other towns submitted without conditions. Most of their people abandoned their homes, and were received as free emigrants into the jurisdiction of Carolina. Thus was St. Augustine insulated by the victory over its allies. The Creeks, that dwelt between Appalache and Mobile, being friends to Carolina, interrupted the communication with the French. The English flag having been carried triumphantly through the wilderness to the Gulf of Mexico, the savages were overawed; and Great Britain established a new claim to the central forests that were soon to be named Georgia.

In the next year, a French squadron from the Havana attempted revenge by an invasion of Charleston; but the brave William Rhett, and the governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, inspired courage, and prepared defence. The Huguenots, also, panted for action. One of the French ships was taken; and, wherever a landing was effected, the enemy was attacked with such energy that, of eight hundred, three hundred were killed or taken prisoners. Unaided by the proprietaries, South Carolina gloriously defended her territory, and, with very little loss, repelled the invaders. The result of the war at the south was evidently an extension of the English boundary far into the territory that Spain had esteemed as a portion of Florida.

At the north, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, now governor of Canada, made haste to conciliate the Iroquois. The treaty of neutrality with the Senecas was commemorated by two strings of wampum: to prevent the rupture of this happy league, he resolved to send no war parties against the English on the side of New York.

The English were less successful in their plans of neutrality with the Abenakis. In June, 1703, a congress of chiefs from the Merrimac to the Penobscot met Governor Dudley at Casco.

"The sun," said they, "is not more distant from the earth than our thoughts from war;" and, giving the belt of wampum, they added new stones to the two piles which had been raised as memorials of friendship. Yet, within six weeks, the whole country from Casco to Wells was in a conflagration. On one and the same day, the several parties of the Indians, with the French, burst upon every garrison in that region.

Death hung on the frontier. The farmers, that had built their dwellings on the bank just above the beautiful meadows of Deerfield, had surrounded with pickets an enclosure of twenty acres—the village citadel. There were separate dwelling-houses, also fortified by a circle of sticks of timber set upright in the ground. Their occupants knew, through the Mohawks, that danger was at hand. There was not a night but the sentinel was abroad; not a mother lulled her infant to rest, but knew that, before morning, the tomahawk might crush its skull. The snow lay four feet deep, when the clear, invigorating air of mid-winter cheered the war party of about two hundred French and one hundred and forty-two Indians, who, with the aid of snow-shoes, and led by Hertel de Rouville, had walked all the way from Canada. On the last night in February, 1704, a pine forest near Deerfield gave them shelter till after midnight. When, at the approach of morning, the unfaithful sentinels retired, the war party entered within the palisades, which drifts of snow had made useless; and the war-whoop of the savages bade each family prepare for captivity or death. The village was set on fire, and all but the church and one dwelling-house were consumed. Of the inhabitants, but few escaped: forty-seven were killed; one hundred and twelve, including the minister and his family, were made captives. One hour after sunrise, the party began its return to Canada. But who would know the horrors of that winter's march through the wilderness? Two men starved to death. Did a young child weep from fatigue, or a feeble woman totter from anguish under the burden of her own offspring, the tomahawk stilled complaint, or the helpless infant was cast out upon the snow. Eunice Williams, the wife of the minister, had not forgotten her Bible; and, when they rested by the way-side, or, at night, made their couch of branches of evergreen strown on the snow, the savages allowed her to read it. Having but recently recovered from confinement, her strength soon failed. To her husband, who reminded her of the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," "she justified God in what had happened." The mother's heart rose to her lips, as she commended her

five captive children, under God, to their father's care; and then one blow from a tomahawk ended her sorrows. "She rests in peace," said her husband, "and joy unspeakable and full of glory." In Canada, no entreaties, no offers of ransom, could rescue his youngest daughter, then a girl of but seven years old. Adopted into the village of the praying Indians near Montreal, she became a proselyte to the Catholic faith, and the wife of a Cahnewaga chief; and when, after long years, she visited her friends at Deerfield, she appeared in an Indian dress; and, after a short sojourn, in spite of a day of fast of a whole village, which assembled to pray for her deliverance, she returned to the fires of her own wigwam, and to the love of her own Mohawk children.

I have no tale to tell of battles like those of Blenheim or of Ramillies, but only one sad narrative of rural dangers and sorrows. Children, as they gamboled on the beach; reapers, as they gathered the harvest; mowers, as they rested from using the scythe; mothers, as they busied themselves about the household,—were victims to an enemy who disappeared the moment a blow was struck, and who was ever present where a garrison or a family ceased its vigilance.

In 1708, a party of French, under Des Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville, the destroyer of Deerfield, with Algonquin Indians as allies, passed through the White Mountains,—and, too feeble for an attack on Portsmouth, resolved to sack some frontier village.

Haverhill was, at that time, a cluster of thirty cottages and log-cabins, embosomed in the primeval forests, near the tranquil Merrimac. In the centre of the settlement stood a new meeting-house, the pride of the village. On the few acres of open land, the ripening Indian corn rose over the charred stumps of trees, and, on the north and west, bordered on the illimitable, unbroken wilderness, which stretched far away to the White Mountains, and beyond them, and, by its very depth, seemed a bulwark against invasion. On the night of the twenty-ninth of August, the evening prayers had been said in each family, and the whole village fearlessly resigned itself to sleep. That night, the band of invaders slept quietly in the near forest. At daybreak, they assumed the order of battle; Rouville addressed the soldiers, who, after their orisons, marched against the fort, raised the shrill yell, and dispersed themselves through the village to their work of blood. The rifle rang; the cry of the dying rose. Benjamin Rolfe, the minister, was beaten to death; one Indian sunk a hatchet deep into the brain of his wife, while

another caught his infant child from its dying mother, and dashed its head against a stone. Thomas Hartshorne and his two sons, attempting a rally, were shot; a third son was tomahawked. John Johnston was shot by the side of his wife: she fled into the garden, bearing an infant; was caught and murdered; but, as she fell, she concealed her child, which was found, after the massacre, clinging to her breast. Simon Wainwright was killed at the first fire. Mary, his wife, fearlessly unbarred the door; with cheerful mien, bade the savages enter, and procured for them what they wished: when they demanded money, she retired as if to bring it, and, gathering up all her children save one, succeeded in escaping.

All the attacks were made simultaneously. The English began to gather; the intrepid Davis sounded an alarm; and, as the destroyers retired, Samuel Ayer, ever to be remembered in village annals, with but a thirteenth part of their number, hung on their rear,—himself a victim, yet rescuing several from captivity.

Such were the sorrows of that generation. At daybreak, the villagers seemed secure: a little later in the morning, while the dew was hardly dry on the willows by the river-side, the smoke rose from smouldering ruins, and the sward was red with the blood of their pastor and brave men, of women and mangled babes.

But enough of these heart-rending tales. Such fruitless cruelties inspired our fathers with a deep hatred of the French missionaries. They compelled the employment of a large part of the inhabitants as soldiers; so that there was one year, during this war, when even a fifth part of all who were capable of bearing arms were in active service. They gave birth, also, to a willingness to exterminate the natives. The Indians vanished when their homes were invaded; they could not be reduced by usual methods of warfare: hence a bounty was offered for every Indian scalp: to regular forces under pay, the grant was ten pounds,—to volunteers in actual service, twice that sum; but if men would, of themselves, without pay, make up parties, and patrol the forests in search of Indians, as of old the woods were scoured for wild beasts, the chase was invigorated by the promised "encouragement of fifty pounds per scalp."

Meantime, in 1704, a fleet from Boston harbor had defied Port Royal, and, three years afterwards, under the influence of Dudley, Massachusetts attempted its conquest. The failure of that costly expedition, which was thwarted by the activity of

Castin, created discontent in the colony, by increasing its paper money and its debts. In 1709, a fleet and an army were to be sent from Europe. The colonies kindled at the prospect; to defray the expenses of preparation, Connecticut, and New York, and New Jersey, then first issued bills of credit; stores were collected; the troops levied from the hardy agriculturists. But no English fleet arrived; and the energies that had been roused were wasted in inactive expectation.

At last, in 1710, the final successful expedition against Acadia took place. Under the command of Nicholson, six English vessels, joined by thirty of New England, and four New England regiments, sailed in September from Boston. In six days, the fleet anchored before the fortress of Port Royal. The garrison of Subercase, the French governor, was weak and disheartened, and could not be rallied; murmurs and desertions multiplied; the terms of capitulation were easily concerted; the tattered and starved garrison, one hundred and fifty-six in number, marched out with the honors of war. In honor of the queen, the place was called Annapolis, over which the English flag from that day floated.

Flushed with victory, Nicholson repaired to England, and succeeded in urging St. John, afterwards raised to the peerage as Viscount Bolingbroke, then secretary of state, a statesman of no soundness of judgment or power of combination, to plan the conquest of Canada. "As that whole design," wrote St. John, in June, 1711, "was formed by me, and the management of it singly carried on by me, I have a sort of paternal concern for the success of it."

The fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of war and forty transports, was placed under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker; the seven veteran regiments from Marlborough's army, with a battalion of marines, were intrusted to Hill, Mrs. Masham's second brother, whom the queen had pensioned and made a brigadier-general. In the preparations, the public treasury was defrauded for the benefit of favorites. "Improve to-day, instead of depending on to-morrow;"—such was the secretary's admonition to his admiral. "The queen is very uneasy at the unaccountable loss of time in your stay in Portsmouth." Yet the fleet did sail at last; and when St. John heard of its safe arrival at Boston, he wrote exultingly to the duke of Orrery, "I believe you may depend on our being masters, at this time, of all North America."

From June twenty-fifth to the thirtieth day of July, the fleet lay at Boston, taking in supplies and the colonial forces. At

the same time, an army of men from Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York, Palatine emigrants, and about six hundred Iroquois, assembling at Albany, prepared to burst upon Montreal.

The news of the intended expedition was seasonably received in Quebec; the fortifications were strengthened; Beauport was garrisoned; and the people were resolute and confiding—even women were ready to labor for the common defence.

Men watched impatiently the approach of the fleet. Towards the last of August, it was said that peasants at Matanes had descried ninety or ninety-six vessels with the English flag. Yet September came, and still from the heights of Cape Diamond no eye caught one sail of the expected enemy.

The English squadron, leaving Boston on the thirtieth of July, after loitering near the Bay of Gaspe, at last began to ascend the St. Lawrence, while Sir Hovenden Walker puzzled himself with contriving how he should secure his vessels during the winter at Quebec. On the evening of the twenty-second of August, a thick fog came on, with an easterly breeze. The pilots, with one accord, advised that the fleet should lie to, with the heads of the vessels to the southward: this was done, and, even so, the vessels were carried towards the northern shore. Just as Walker was going to bed, the captain of his ship came down to say that land could be seen; and, without going on deck, the admiral wantonly ordered the ships to head to the north. There was on the quarter-deck a man of sense,—Goddard, a captain in the land service: he rushed to the cabin in great haste, and importuned the admiral at least to come on deck; but the self-willed man laughed at his fears, and refused. A second time Goddard returned. "For the Lord's sake, come on deck," cried he, "or we shall certainly be lost; I see breakers all around us!"—"Putting on my gown and slippers," writes Walker, "and coming upon deck, I found what he told me to be true." Even then the blind admiral shouted, "I see no land to the leeward!" but the moon, breaking through the mists, gave him the lie. The fleet was close upon the north shore, among the Egg Islands. Now the admiral believed the pilots, and made sail immediately for the middle of the river; but morning showed that eight ships had been wrecked, and eight hundred and eighty-four men drowned. A council of war voted unanimously that it was impossible to proceed. "Had we arrived safe at Quebec," wrote the admiral, "ten or twelve thousand men must have been left to perish of cold and hunger: by the loss of a part, Providence

saved all the rest!" and he expected public honors for his successful retreat, which to him seemed as glorious as a victory.

Such was the issue of hostilities in the north-east. The failure of the attack on Quebec left Nicholson no option but to retreat, and Montreal also was unmolested. Detroit, although besieged, in 1712, by a party of the Ottagamies, or Foxes, was preserved to the French. Cherished as the loveliest spot in Canada, its possession secured the intercourse with the upper Indians and the great highway to the Mississippi.

In the meantime, the preliminaries of a treaty between France and England had been signed, and, in April, 1713, peace was concluded at Utrecht, on conditions of momentous character and consequences. The Netherlands were severed from Spain, and assigned to Austria, as the second land power on the continent. In the south, the house of Savoy, in the north, the house of Brandenburg, were raised to the rank of royalty; the kingdom of Naples was at first wholly severed from Spain, though afterwards it was constituted a secundogeniture. Spain, while she retained all her colonies, lost all her European provinces. Thus, in regard to territorial arrangements, the balance of power, as far as France and England were interested on the continent, was arranged in a manner that might have permitted between the two neighbors a perpetual peace.

The war between England and France had been not only a contest for the balance of power on the continent, but a conflict of opinions; and this, also, was amicably settled. France assented to the emancipation of England from the maxims of legitimacy, and England abandoned every question of freedom agitated. The liberty of the seas was quietly vindicated. "Free ships"—such was international law, as interpreted by England at Utrecht—"Free ships shall also give a freedom to goods." The name of contraband was narrowly defined, and the right of blockade severely limited. Sailors, in those days, needed no special protections; for it was convenanted that the flag should cover the persons that sailed under it.

And yet the treaty of peace at Utrecht scattered the seeds of war broadcast throughout the globe. The world had entered on the period of mercantile privilege. Instead of establishing equal justice, England sought commercial advantages. Guarding with the utmost strictness the monopoly of her own colonial trade, she encroached by treaty on the colonial monopoly of Spain. There shall be trade, it was said, between Great Britain and Spain, and their respective plantations and provinces,

"where hitherto trade and commerce have been accustomed;" so that a prescriptive right might spring from the continued successes of British smugglers.

But the assiento itself was, for English America, the most weighty result of the negotiations at Utrecht. It was demanded by St. John, in 1711; and Louis XIV. promised his good offices to procure this advantage for the English. "Her Britannic majesty did offer and undertake,"—such are the words of that treaty,—"by persons whom she shall appoint, to bring into the West Indies of America belonging to his Catholic majesty, in the space of thirty years, one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred in each of the said thirty years,"—paying, on four thousand of them, a duty of thirty-three and a third dollars a head. The assientists might introduce as many more as they pleased, at the less rate of duty of sixteen and two-thirds dollars a head —only, no scandal was to be offered to the Roman Catholic religion! Exactest care was taken to secure a monopoly. For the Spanish world in the Gulf of Mexico, on the Atlantic, and along the Pacific, as well as for the English colonies, her Britannic majesty, by persons of her appointment, was the exclusive slave trader. England extorted the privilege of filling the New World with negroes. As great profits were anticipated from the trade, Philip V. of Spain took one-quarter of the common stock, agreeing to pay for it by a stock-note; Queen Anne reserved to herself another quarter; and the remaining moiety was to be divided among her subjects. Thus did the sovereigns of England and Spain become the largest slave merchants in the world. Lady Masham promised herself a share of the profits; but Harley, who had good sense, and was free from avarice, advised the assignment of her majesty's portion of the stock to the South Sea company.

Finally, England, by the peace of Utrecht, obtained from France supremacy in the American fisheries; the entire possession of the Bay of Hudson and its borders, of Newfoundland, and of all Nova Scotia or Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries. It was agreed, also, that "France should never molest the Five Nations subject to the dominion of Great Britain." —But how far did Louisiana extend? It included, according to French ideas, the whole basin of the Mississippi. Did the treaty of Utrecht assent to such an extension of French territory? And what were the ancient limits of Acadia? Did they include all that is now New Brunswick? or had France still a large territory on the Atlantic between Acadia and Maine? And what

were the bounds of the territory of the Five Nations, which the treaty appeared to recognize as a part of the English dominions? These were questions which were never to be adjusted amicably.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE ABORIGINES EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

On the surrender of Acadia to England, the lakes, the rivulets, the granite ledges of Cape Breton were immediately occupied as a province of France; and, in 1720, the fortifications of Louisburg began to rise—the key to the St. Lawrence, the bulwark of the French fisheries, and of French commerce in North America. From Cape Breton, the dominion of Louis XIV. extended up the St. Lawrence to Lake Superior, and from that lake, through the whole course of the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico and the Bay of Mobile. Just beyond that bay began the posts of the Spaniards, which continued round the shores of Florida to the fortress of St. Augustine. The English colonies skirted the Atlantic, extending from Florida to the eastern verge of Nova Scotia. The Europeans had established a wide circle of plantations, or of posts, and had encompassed the aborigines that dwelt east of the Mississippi. Their respective settlements were now kept asunder by an unexplored wilderness, of which savages were the occupants. The great strife of France and England for American territory could not, therefore, but involve the ancient possessors of the continent in a series of conflicts, which have, at last, banished the Indian tribes from the earlier limits of our republic. The picture of the unequal contest inspires a compassion that is honorable to humanity. The weak demand sympathy. If a melancholy interest attaches to the fall of a hero, who is overpowered by superior force, shall we not drop a tear at the fate of nations, whose defeat foreboded the exile, if it did not indeed shadow forth the decline and ultimate extinction, of a race?

The earliest books on America contained tales as wild as fancy could invent or credulity repeat. The land was peopled with pigmies and with giants; the tropical forests were said to conceal tribes of negroes; and tenants of the hyperborean regions were white, like the polar bear or the ermine. Jaques Cartier had heard of a nation that did not eat; and the pedant

Lafitau believed, if not in a race of headless men, at least, that there was a nation of men with the head not rising above the shoulders.

Yet the first aspect of the original inhabitants of the United States was uniform. Between the Indians of Florida and Canada, the difference was scarcely perceptible. Their manners and institutions, as well as their organization, had a common physiognomy; and, before their language began to be known, there was no safe method of grouping the nations into families. But when the vast variety of dialects came to be compared, there were found east of the Mississippi not more than eight radically distinct languages, of which five still constitute the speech of powerful communities, and three are known only as memorials of tribes that have almost disappeared from the earth.

I. The primitive language which was the most widely diffused, and the most fertile in dialects, received from the French the name of ALGONQUIN. It was the mother tongue of those who greeted the colonists of Raleigh at Roanoke, of those who welcomed the Pilgrims to Plymouth. It was heard from the Bay of Gaspe to the valley of the Moingona; from Cape Fear, and, it may be from the Savannah, to the land of the Esquimaux; from the Cumberland River of Kentucky to the southern bank of the Missinipi. It was spoken, though not exclusively, in a territory that extended through sixty degrees of longitude, and more than twenty degrees of latitude.

The Micmacs, who occupied the east of the continent, south of the little tribe that dwelt round the Bay of Gaspe, holding possession of Nova Scotia and the adjacent isles, and probably never much exceeding three thousand in number, were known to our fathers only as the active allies of the French. They often invaded, but never inhabited, New England.

The Etchemins, or Canoemen, dwelt not only on the St. John River, the Ouygondy of the natives, but on the St. Croix, which Champlain always called from their name, and extended as far west, at least, as Mount Desert.

Next to these came the Abenakis, of whom one tribe has left its name to the Penobscot, and another to the Androscoggin; while a third, under the auspices of Jesuits, had its chapel and its fixed abode in the fertile fields of Norridgewock.

Of the Sokokis, who appear to have dwelt near Saco, and to have had an alliance with the Mohawks, many, at an early day, abandoned the region where they first became known to European voyagers, and placed themselves under the shelter of the French in Canada.

The forest beyond the Saco, with New Hampshire, and even as far as Salem, constituted the sachemship of Pennacook, or Pawtucket, and often afforded a refuge to the remnants of feebler nations around them. The tribe of the Massachusetts, even before the colonization of the country, had almost disappeared from the shores of the bay that bears its name; and the villages of the interior resembled insulated and nearly independent bands, that had lost themselves in the wilderness.

Of the Pokanokets, who dwelt round Mount Hope, and were sovereigns over Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a part of Cape Cod; of the Narragansetts, who dwelt between the bay that bears their name and the present limits of Connecticut, holding dominion over Rhode Island and its vicinity, as well as a part of Long Island,—the most civilized of the northern nations; of the Pequods, the branch of the Mohegans that occupied the eastern part of Connecticut, and ruled a part of Long Island,—earliest victims to the Europeans,—I have already related the overthrow. The country between the banks of the Connecticut and the Hudson was possessed by independent villages of the Mohegans, kindred with the Manhattans, whose few "smokes" once rose amidst the forests on New York Island.

The Lenni Lenape, in their two divisions of the Minsi and the Delawares, occupied New Jersey, the valley of the Delaware far up towards the sources of that river, and the entire basin of the Schuylkill. The passive devotion of the Delawares to a system of peace was to them the degrading confession of their defeat and submission to the Five Nations.

Beyond the Delaware, on the Eastern Shore, dwelt the Nanticokes, who disappeared without glory, or melted imperceptibly into other tribes; and the names of Accomac and Pamlico are the chief memorials of tribes that made dialects of the Algonquin the mother tongue of the natives along the sea-coast as far south, at least, as Cape Hatteras. It is probable, also, that the Corees, or Coramines, who dwelt to the southward of the Neuse River, spoke a kindred language—thus establishing Cape Fear as the southern limit of the Algonquin speech.

In Virginia, the same language was heard throughout the whole dominion of Powhatán, which had the tribes of the Eastern Shore as its dependencies, and included all the villages west of the Chesapeake, from the most southern tributaries of James River to the Patuxent.

The Shawnees connect the south-eastern Algonquins with the west. The basin of the Cumberland River is marked by the earliest French geographers as the home of this restless nation

of wanderers. A part of them afterwards had their "cabins" and their "springs" in the neighborhood of Winchester. Their principal band removed from their hunting-fields in Kentucky to the head-waters of one of the great rivers of South Carolina; a part of them joined the Muskhogees. About the year 1698, three or four score of their families, with the consent of the government of Pennsylvania, removed from Carolina, and planted themselves on the Susquehannah. Others followed; and when, in 1732, the number of Indian fighting men in Pennsylvania was estimated to be seven hundred, one-half of them were Shawnee emigrants.

The Miamis were more stable, and their own traditions tell, that their ancient limits extended from the Scioto to the mouth of the Wabash, and from thence to Chicago. They occupied the southern moiety of the peninsula of Michigan, and their principal mission was founded by Alloüez on the banks of the St. Joseph.

The Illinois were kindred to the Miamis, and their country lay between the Wabash, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. Marquette found a village of them on the Moingona, but its occupants soon withdrew to the east of the Mississippi; and Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Peoria still preserve the names of the principal bands, of which the original strength has been greatly exaggerated.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, the Potawatomies had crowded the Miamis from their dwellings at Chicago: the intruders came from the islands near the entrance of Green Bay, and were a branch of the great nation of the Chippewas. That nation, or, as some write, the Ojibwas,—the Algonquin tribes of whose dialect, mythology, traditions, and customs we have the fullest accounts,—held the country from the mouth of Green Bay to the head-waters of Lake Superior, and were early visited by the French at Sault Ste. Mary and Chegoimegon. They adopted into their tribes many of the Ottáwas from Upper Canada, and were themselves often included by the early French writers under that name.

Ottáwa is but the Algonquin word for "trader;" and Mascoutins are but "dwellers in the prairie." The latter hardly implies a band of Indians distinct from the Chippewas; but history recognizes, as a separate Algonquin tribe near Green Bay, the Menomonies, who were found there in 1669, who retained their ancient territory long after the period of French and of English supremacy, and who prove their high antiquity as a nation by the singular character of their dialect.

South-west of the Menomonies, the restless Sacs and Foxes, ever dreaded by the French, held the passes from Green Bay and Fox River to the Mississippi, and, with insatiate avidity, roamed, in pursuit of contest, over the whole country between the Wisconsin and the upper branches of the Illinois. The Shawnees are said to have an affinity with this nation: that the Kickapoos, who established themselves, by conquest, in the north of Illinois, are but a branch of it, is demonstrated by their speech.

So numerous and so widely extended were the tribes of the Algonquin family. They were scattered over a moiety, or perhaps more than a moiety, of the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the St. Lawrence, and constituted about one-half of the original population of that territory.

II. North-west of the Sacs and Foxes, west of the Chippewas, bands of the SIOUX, or DAHCOTAS, had encamped on prairies east of the Mississippi, vagrants between the headwaters of Lake Superior and the Falls of St. Anthony. They were a branch of the great family which, dwelling for the most part west of the Mississippi and the Red River, extended from the Saskatchawan to lands south of the Arkansas. French traders discovered their wigwams in 1659; Hennepin was among them, on his expedition to the north; Joseph Marest and another Jesuit visited them in 1687, and again in 1689. There seemed to exist a hereditary warfare between them and the Chippewas. Their relations to the colonists, whether of France or England, were, at this early period, accidental, and related chiefly to individuals. But one little community of the Dahcota family had penetrated the territory of the Algonquins; the Winnebagoes, dwelling between Green Bay and the lake that bears their name, preferred rather to be environed by Algonquins than to stay in the dangerous vicinity of their own kindred. Like other western and southern tribes, their population appears of late to have greatly increased.

III. The nations which spoke dialects of the HURON-IROQUOIS, or, as it has also been called, of the WYANDOT, were, on the discovery of America, found powerful in numbers, and diffused over a wide territory. The peninsula enclosed between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario had been the dwelling-place of the five confederated tribes of the Hurons. After their defeat by the Five Nations, a part descended the St. Lawrence, and their progeny may still be seen near Quebec; a part were adopted, on equal terms, into the tribes of their conquerors; the Wyandots fled beyond Lake Superior, and hid them-

selves in the dreary wastes that divided the Chippewas from their western foes. In 1671, they retreated before the powerful Sioux, and made their home first at St. Mary's and at Michilimackinac, and afterwards near the post of Detroit. Thus the Wyandots within our borders were emigrants from Canada. Having a mysterious influence over the Algonquin tribes, and making treaties with the Five Nations, they spread along Lake Erie; and, leaving to the Miamis the country beyond the Miami of the Lakes, they gradually acquired a claim to the whole territory from that river to the western boundary of New York.

The immediate dominion of the Iroquois—where the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas were first visited by the trader, the missionary, or the war parties of the French—stretched, as we have seen, from the borders of Vermont to Western New York, from the lakes to the head-waters of the Ohio, the Susquehannah, and the Delaware. The number of their warriors was declared by the French, in 1660, to be two thousand two hundred; and, in 1677, an English agent, sent on purpose to ascertain their strength, confirmed the precision of the statement. Their geographical position made them umpires in the contest of the French for dominion in the west. Besides, their political importance was increased by their conquests. Not only did they claim some supremacy in Northern New England as far as the Kennebec, and to the south as far as New Haven, and were acknowledged as absolute lords over the conquered Lenape,—the peninsula of Upper Canada was their hunting-field by right of war; they had exterminated the Eries and the Andastes, both tribes of their own family, the one dwelling on the south-eastern banks of Lake Erie, the other on the head-waters of the Ohio; they had triumphantly invaded the tribes of the west as far as Illinois; their warriors had reached the soil of Kentucky and Western Virginia; and England, to whose alliance they steadily inclined, availed itself of their treaties for the cession of territories, to encroach even on the empire of France in America.

Nor had the labors of the Jesuit missionaries been fruitless. The few families of the Iroquois who migrated to the north of Lake Ontario, and raised their huts round Fort Frontenac, remained in amity with the French; and two villages of Iroquois converts, the Cahnewagas of New England writers, were established near Montreal, a barrier against their heathen countrymen and against New York.

The Huron tribes at the north were environed by Algon-

quins. At the south, the Chowan, the Meherrin, the Nottoway, villages of the Wyandot family, have left their names to the rivers along which they dwelt; and the Tuscaroras, kindred with the Five Nations, were the most powerful tribe in North Carolina. In 1708, its fifteen towns still occupied the upper country on the Neuse and the Tar, and could count twelve hundred warriors, as brave as their Mohawk brothers.

IV. South of the Tuscaroras, the midlands of Carolina sheltered the CATAWBAS. Its villages included the Woccons, and the nation spoke a language of its own: that language is now almost extinct, being known only to less than one hundred persons, who linger on the banks of a branch of the Santee. Imagination never assigned to the Catawbas, in their proudest days, more than twelve hundred and fifty warriors; the oldest enumeration was made in 1743, and gives but four hundred. It may therefore be inferred, that, on the first appearance of Europeans, their language was in the keeping of not more than three thousand souls. History knows them chiefly as the hereditary foes of the Iroquois tribes, before whose prowess and numbers they dwindled away.

V. The mountaineers of aboriginal America were the CHEROKEES, who occupied the upper valley of the Tennessee River, as far west as Muscle Shoals, and the highlands of Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama—the most picturesque and salubrious region east of the Mississippi. Their homes were encircled by blue hills rising beyond hills, of which the lofty peaks would kindle with the early light, and the overshadowing ridges envelop the valleys like a mass of clouds. There the rocky cliffs, rising in naked grandeur, defy the lightning, and mock the loudest peals of the thunder-storm; there the gentler slopes are covered with magnolias, and flowering forest-trees, decorated with roving climbers, and ring with the perpetual note of the whip-poor-will; there the wholesome water gushes profusely from the earth in transparent springs; snow-white cascades glitter on the hill-sides; and the rivers, shallow, but pleasant to the eye, rush through the narrow vales, which the abundant strawberry crimsons, and coppices of rhododendron and flaming azalea adorn. At the fall of the leaf, the fruit of the hickory and the chestnut is thickly strown on the ground. The fertile soil teems with luxuriant herbage, on which the roebuck fattens; the vivifying breeze is laden with fragrance; and daybreak is ever welcomed by the shrill cries of the social nighthawk and the liquid carols of the mocking-bird. Through this lovely region were scattered the little villages of the Cher-

okees, nearly fifty in number, each consisting of but a few cabins, erected where the bend in the mountain stream offered at once a defence and a strip of alluvial soil for culture. Their towns were always by the side of some creek or river, and they loved their native land; above all, they loved its rivers—the Keowee, the Tugeloo, the Flint, and the beautiful branches of the Tennessee. Running waters, inviting to the bath, tempting the angler, alluring wild-fowl, were necessary to their paradise. Their language, like that of the Iroquois, abounds in vowels, and is destitute of the libials. Its organization has a common character, but etymology has not yet been able to discover conclusive analogies between the roots of words. The "beloved" people of the Cherokees were a nation by themselves. Who can say for how many centuries, safe in their undiscovered fastnesses, they had decked their war-chiefs with the feathers of the eagle's tail, and listened to the councils of their "old beloved men"? Who can tell how often the waves of barbarous migrations may have broken harmlessly against their cliffs, where nature was the strong ally of the defenders of their land?

VI. South-east of the Cherokees dwelt the UCHEES. They claimed the country above and below Augusta, and, at the earliest period respecting which we can surmise, seem not to have extended beyond the Cha-ta-hoo-chee; yet they boast to have been the oldest inhabitants of that region. They now constitute an inconsiderable band in the Creek confederacy, and are known as a distinct family, not from political organization, but from their singularly harsh and guttural language. When first discovered they were but a remnant,—bewildering the inquirer by favoring the conjecture, that, from the north and west, tribe may have pressed upon tribe; that successions of nations may have been exterminated by invading nations; that even languages, which are the least perishable monument of the savages, may have become extinct.

VII. The NATCHEZ, also, are now merged in the same confederacy; but they, with the Taensas, were known to history as a distinct nation, residing in scarcely more than four or five villages, of which the largest rose near the banks of the Mississippi. Their language, as far as comparisons have been instituted, has no etymological affinity with any other whatever. Here, again, the imagination too readily kindles to invent theories; and the tradition has been widely received, that the dominion of the Natchez once extended even to the Wabash; that they are emigrants from Mexico; that they are the kin-

dred of the incas of Peru. The close observation of the state of the arts among them tends to dispel these illusions; and history knows them only as a feeble and inconsiderable nation.

VIII. With these exceptions of the Uchees and the Natchez, the whole country south-east, south, and west of the Cherokees, to the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, to the Mississippi and the confluence of the Tennessee and Ohio, was in the possession of one great family of nations, of which the language was named by the French the MOBILIAN, and is described by Gallatin as the MUSKHOGEE-CHOCTA. The name includes three considerable confederacies, each of which still exists, and perhaps even with some increase of numbers.

The country bounded on the Ohio at the north, on the Mississippi at the west, on the east by a line drawn from the bend in the Cumberland River to the Muscle Shoals of the Tennessee, and extending at the south into the territory of the State of Mississippi, was the land of the cheerful, brave Chickasas, the faithful, the invincible allies of the English. Marquette found them already in possession of guns, obtained probably through Virginia; La Salle built Fort Prudhomme on one of their bluffs; but their chosen abodes were in the upland country, which gives birth to the Yazoo and the Tombecbee, the finest and most fruitful on the continent,—where the grass is verdant in midwinter; the blue-bird and the robin are heard in February; the springs of pure water gurgle up through the white sands, to flow through natural bowers of evergreen holly; and, if the earth be but carelessly gashed to receive the kernel of maize, the thick corn springs abundantly from the fertile soil. The region is as happy as any beneath the sun; and the love which it inspired made its occupants, though not numerous, yet the most intrepid warriors of the South.

Below the Chickasas, between the Mississippi and the Tombecbee, was the land of the Choctas, who were gathered, on the eastern frontier, into compact villages, but elsewhere were scattered through the interior of their territory. Dwelling in plains or among gentle hills, they excelled every North American tribe in their agriculture,—subsisting chiefly on corn, and placing little dependence on the chase. Their country was healthful, abounding in brooks. The number of their warriors perhaps exceeded four thousand. Their dialect of the Mobilian so nearly resembles that of the Chickasas, that they almost seemed but one nation. The Choctas were allies of the French, yet preserving their independence: their love for

their country was intense, and, in defending it, they utterly contemned danger.

The ridge that divided the Tombecbee from the Alabama was the line that separated the Choctas from the groups of tribes which were soon united in the confederacy of the Creeks or Muskhogees. Their territory, including all Florida, reached, on the north, to the Cherokees ; on the north-east and east, to the country on the Savannah and to the Atlantic. Along the sea, their northern limit seems to have extended almost to Cape Fear ; at least, the tribes with which the settlers at Charleston first waged war are enumerated by one writer as branches of the Muskhogees. Their population, spread over a fourfold wider territory, did not exceed that of the Choctas in number. Their towns were situated on the banks of beautiful creeks, in which their country abounded ; the waters of their bold rivers, from the Coosa to the Chatahoochee, descended rapidly, with a clear current, through healthful and fertile regions ; they were careful in their agriculture, and, before going to war, assisted their women to plant. In Florida, they welcomed the Spanish missionaries ; and, throughout their country, they derived so much benefit from the arts of civilization that their numbers soon promised to increase ; and, being placed between the English of Carolina, the French of Louisiana, the Spaniards of Florida,—bordering on the Choctas, the Chickasas, and the Cherokees,—their political importance made them esteemed as the most powerful Indian nation north of the Gulf of Mexico. They readily gave shelter to fugitives from other tribes ; and their speech became so modified, that, with radical resemblances, it has the widest departure from its kindred dialects. The Yamassees were one of their bands ; and the Seminoles of Florida are but "wild men," lost from their confederacy, and abandoning agriculture for the chase.

Such is a synopsis of the American nations east of the Mississippi. It is not easy to estimate their probable numbers at the period of their discovery. Yet we shall approach, and perhaps exceed, a just estimate of their numbers two hundred and fifty years ago, if to the various tribes of the Algonquin race we allow about ninety thousand ; of the Eastern Sioux, less than three thousand ; of the Iroquois, including their southern kindred, about seventeen thousand ; of the Catawbas, three thousand ; of the Cherokees, twelve thousand ; of the Mobilian confederacies and tribes,—that is, of the Chickasas, Choctas, and Muskhogees,—fifty thousand ; of the Uchees, one thousand ; of the

Natchez, four thousand;—in all, it may be, not far from one hundred and eighty thousand souls.

CHAPTER XLVI.

WAR WITH THE TUSCARORAS AND YAMASSEES.

The Tuscaroras changed their dwelling-place before the treaty of Utrecht was completed. Their chiefs had become indignant at the encroachments of the proprietaries of Carolina, who had assigned their lands to unhappy German fugitives from the banks of the Neckar and the Rhine. De Graffenried, who had undertaken the establishment of the exiles, accompanied by Lawson, the surveyor-general for the northern province, in September of 1711, ascended the Neuse River in a boat, to discover how far it was navigable, and through what kind of country it flowed. Seized by a party of sixty well-armed Indians, both were compelled to travel all night long, till they reached a village of the Tuscaroras, and were delivered up to its chief. Before a numerous council of the principal men from various towns of the tribe, complaint was made of the conduct of the English in Carolina, and especially of the severity of Lawson. He who, with his compass and chain, had marked their territory into lots for settlers, was reproved as "the man who sold their land." After a discussion of two days, the death of the prisoners was decreed. The large fire was kindled; the ring was drawn round the victims, and strown with flowers. On the morning appointed for the execution, a council assembled anew. Round the white men sat the chiefs, in two rows; behind them were three hundred of the people, engaged in festive dances. No reprieve was granted to Lawson, yet Graffenried, as the great chieftain of the Palatines, on pledging his people to neutrality, and promising to occupy no land without the consent of the tribe, was suffered, after a captivity of five weeks, to return through the woods on foot. He returned to desolated settlements. On the twenty-second of September, small bands of Tuscaroras and Corees, acting in concert, approached the scattered cabins along the Roanoke and Pamlico Sound. As night came on, a whoop from a warrior called his fierce associates from the woods, to commence the indiscriminate carnage. The wretched Palatines, now tenants

of the wilderness, encountered a foe more savage than Louvois and the hated Louis XIV. At Bath, the Huguenot refugees, and the planters in their neighborhood, were struck down by aid of the glare from the burning of their own cabins; and, with a lighted pine knot in one hand, and the tomahawk in the other, the hunters after men pursued their game through the forests. In the three following days, they scoured the country on the Albemarle Sound, and did not desist from slaughter till they were disabled by fatigue.

Not all the Tuscaroras had joined in the conspiracy; Spotswood sought immediately to renew with them an alliance. But the burgesses of Virginia would grant no effectual aid. The assembly of South Carolina promptly voted relief; and, defying the hardships of a long march through the wilderness, Barnwell, with Cherokees, Creeks, Catawbas, and Yamassees, as allies, led a small detachment of militia to the banks of Neuse River. There, in the upper part of Craven county, the Indians were intrenched in a rude fort. With the aid of a few soldiers of North Carolina, the fort was besieged. But the province was rent by intestine divisions; even imminent danger had not roused its inhabitants to harmonious action; they retained their hatred for the rule of the proprietaries; and, surrounded by difficulties, Barnwell could only negotiate with the Indians a treaty of peace.

The troops of South Carolina, on their return, themselves violated the treaty, enslaving inhabitants of villages which should have been safe under its guaranties; and the massacres on Neuse River were renewed. The province was impoverished, the people dissatisfied with their government; in autumn, 1712, the yellow fever raged under its most malignant form; and the country south of Pamlico Sound seemed destined to become once more a wilderness. But Spotswood succeeded in dividing the Tuscaroras. Large reënforcements of Indians from South Carolina arrived, with a few white men, under James Moore; in March, 1713, the enemy were pursued to their fort (within the limits of the present Greene county) on the Neuse; and, on its surrender, eight hundred became captives. The legislature of North Carolina, assembling in May, under a new governor, issued its first bills of credit, to the amount of eight thousand pounds; "the very refractory" among the people grew zealous to supply the forces with provisions; the enemy was chased across the lakes and swamps of Hyde county; the woods were patrolled by red allies, who hunted for prisoners to be sold as slaves, or took scalps for a

reward. At last, the hostile part of the Tuscaroras abandoned their old hunting-grounds, and, migrating to the vicinity of the Oneida Lake, were welcomed by their kindred of the Iroquois as the sixth nation of their confederacy. In 1715, their humbled allies were established as a single settlement in the precincts of Hyde. Thus the power of the natives of North Carolina was broken, and its interior forests became safe places of resort to the emigrant.

Meantime, in August, 1714, the house of Hanover had ascended the English throne—an event doubly grateful to the colonies. The contest of parties is the struggle, not between persons, but between ideas; and the abiding sympathy of nations is never won but by an appeal to the controlling principles of the age. George I. had crossed the sea to become the sovereign of a country of which he understood neither the institutions, the manners, nor the language. And yet, throughout English America, even the clergy heralded his elevation as an omen of happiness; and from the pulpit in Boston it was announced of its people that, in the whole land, "not a dog can wag his tongue to charge them with disloyalty." To the children of the Puritans, the event was the triumph of Protestantism, and the guarantee of Protestant liberties.

The accession of the house of Hanover was, moreover, a pledge of a pacific policy; and the pledge was redeemed. Louis XIV. drew near his end; he had outlived his children and every grandchild, except the new king of Spain,—his own glory,—the gratitude of those whom he had advanced. "My child," said he, as, in August, 1715, he gave a farewell blessing to his great-grandson, the boy of five years old, who was to be his successor, "you will be a great king; do not imitate me in my passion for war; seek peace with your neighbors, and strive to be, what I have failed to be, a solace to your people." "Sad task," Madame de Maintenon had written, "to amuse a man who is past being amused;" and, quitting his bedside, she left him, after a reign of seventy-two years, to die alone. He had sought to extend his power beyond his life by establishing a council of regency; but the will was cancelled by the parliament, in favor of his nephew, the brave, generous, but abandoned Philip of New Orleans.

The personal interest of the absolute regent in France was opposed to the rigid doctrine of legitimacy, and sought an alliance with England; while the king of Spain, under the guidance of Alberoni, was moved not less by hereditary attachment to legitimacy than by personal ambition, to favor alike

the pretensions of the Stuarts to the British throne and of himself to the succession in France. By the influence of Protestant England, the wily, degenerate, avaricious Du Bois was made cardinal, the successor of Fenelon in an archbishopric, and prime minister of France. Under such auspices was a happy peace secured to the colonies of rival nations.

Neither the accession of George II. in 1727, nor the coming of age of Louis XV., changed the dispositions of the governments. The character of Walpole was a pledge of moderation. Ignorant of theories, not familiar with the history or politics of foreign nations, he was profoundly versed in the maxims of worldly wisdom. Of the American colonies he knew little; but they profited by the character of a statesman who ever shunned measures that might lead to an insurrection,—who rejected every system of revenue that required the sabre and the bayonet to enforce it.

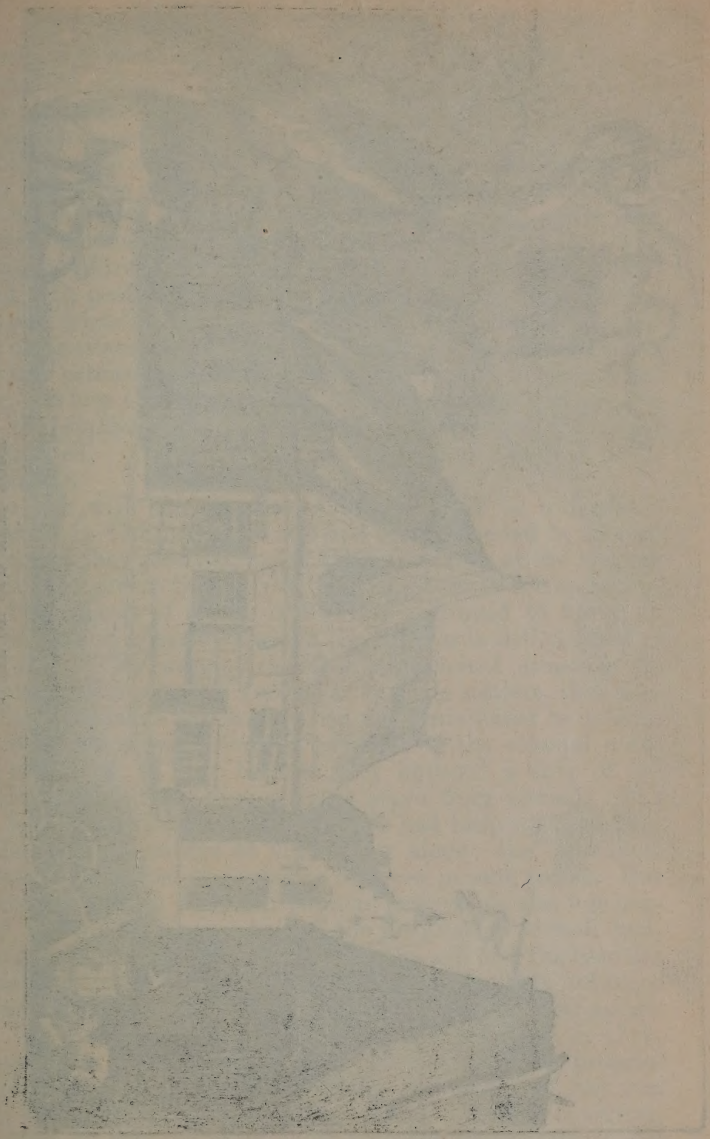
In his honorable policy, Walpole was favored by the natural moderation of Fleury, who, at the age of seventy-three, was called by Louis XV. to direct the affairs of France. The wise cardinal had a discriminating mind, and an equitable candor, which shunned intrigue and forbade distrust. The preservation of peace was his rule of administration; and he was the chosen mediator between conflicting sovereigns. His clear perceptions anticipated impending revolutions; but he hushed the storm till his judgment sunk under the infirmities of fourscore. Happy period for the colonies! Let England judge as it will of the minister to whom it owes septennial parliaments, America blesses the memory of Walpole and of Fleury, as of statesmen who preferred commerce to conquest, and desired no higher glory than that of guardians of peace. For a quarter of a century, if less forbearance was shown towards Spain, the controversies of Great Britain and France respecting colonial boundaries, though they might lead to collisions, could not occasion a rupture.

The prospect of continued peace occasioned a rapid extension of the Indian traffic of South Carolina. Favored by the mild climate, its traders had their storehouses among the Chickasas and near the Natchez, and by intimidation, rather than by goodwill, gained admission even into villages of the Choctas. Still more intimate were their commercial relations with the branches of the Muskhogees in the immediate vicinity of the province, especially with the Yamassees, who, from impatience at the attempts at their conversion to Christianity, had deserted their old abodes in Florida, and planted themselves from Port Royal

Island along the north-east bank of the Savannah River. The tribes of Carolina had been regarded as "a tame and peaceable people;" they were very largely in debt for the advances which had been made them; and "the traders began to be hard upon them, because they would be paid." The influence of Bienville, of Louisiana, prevailed with the Choctas, and the English were driven from their villages. The whole Indian world from Mobile River to Cape Fear was in commotion. The Yamassees renewed friendly relations with the Spaniards at St. Augustine; they won the alliance of the Catawbas and the Cherokees; and their messenger with "the bloody stick" made his way through flowering groves to the new towns of the Appalachian emigrants on the Savannah, to the ancient villages of the Uchees, to the rivers along which the various tribes of the Muskhogees had their dwellings; and they delayed their rising till the deliberations of the grand council of the Creeks should be finished, and the emblem of war be returned.

In passion-week of 1715, the traders at Pocotaligo observed the madness of revenge kindling among the Yamassees. On Thursday night, unaware of immediate danger, Nairne, the English agent, sent with proposals of peace, slept in the round-house, with the civil chiefs and the war captains. On the morning of Good Friday, the indiscriminate massacre of the English began. One boy escaped into the forest, and, after wandering for nine days, reached a garrison. Seaman Burroughs, a strong man and swift runner, broke through the ranks of the Indian band; and, though hotly pursued, and twice wounded, by running ten miles, and swimming one, he reached Port Royal, and alarmed the town. Its inhabitants, some in canoes, and some on board a ship, which chanced to be in the harbor, fled to Charleston. The numerous bands of the enemy, hiding by day in the swamps, and by night attacking the scattered settlements, drove the planters towards the capital. The Yamassees and their confederates advanced even as far as Stono, where they halted, that their prisoners—planters, with their wives and little ones—might be tormented and sacrificed at leisure. On the north, a troop of horse, insnared by a false guide in an ambush among large trees, thickly strown by a late hurricane, lost its commander, and retreated. The insurgent Indians carried their ravages even to the parish of Goose Creek; Charleston itself was in peril; the colony seemed near its ruin.

But the impulse of savage passion could not resist the deliberate courage of civilized man. The spirit of the colony was aroused. On the north, the insulated band of invaders received



A BIT OF OLD NEW YORK.

a check, and vanished into the forests; on the south, Charles Craven, the governor of the province, himself promptly led the forces of Colleton district to the desperate conflict with the confederated warriors on the banks of the Salke-hachie. The battle was bloody, and often renewed. The air resounded with savage yells; arrows, as well as bullets, were discharged, with fatal aim, from behind trees and coppices. At last, the savages gave way, and were pursued beyond the present limits of Carolina. The Yamassees retired into Florida, and at St. Augustine were welcomed with peals from the bells and a salute of guns, as though allies and friends had returned from victory. The Uchees left their old settlements below Broad River, and the Appalachians their new cabins near the Savannah, and retired towards Flint River. When Craven returned to Charleston, he was greeted with the applause which his alacrity, courage, and conduct had merited. The colony had lost about four hundred of its inhabitants.

The war with the Yamassees was followed by a domestic revolution in Carolina. Its soil had been defended by its own people, and they resolved, under the sovereignty of the English monarch, to govern themselves. Scalping-parties of Yamassees, from their places of refuge in Florida, continued to hover on the frontiers of a territory which the Spaniards still claimed as their own. The proprietaries took no efficient measures for protecting their colony. Instead of inviting settlers, they monopolized the lands which they had not contributed to defend. The measures adopted for the payment of the colonial debts were negatived, in part because they imposed a duty of ten pounds on the introduction of every negro from abroad. The polls for the election of representatives had hitherto been held for the whole province at Charleston alone; the provincial legislature permitted the votes to be given in each parish. But because this reform increased popular power, this also was negatived. Some of the members of the proprietary council had, by long residence, become attached to the soil and the liberties of their new country; they were supplanted, or their influence destroyed, by an abrupt increase of the number of their associates. In consequence, at the election of the assembly, in 1719, though it was chosen at Charleston, the agents of the proprietaries could not succeed in procuring the return of any one whom they desired. The members elect, at private meetings, "resolved to have no more to do with the proprietors;" and the people of the province entered "into an association to stand by their rights and privileges." It was remembered that the

lords of trade had formerly declared the charter forfeit; that the house of peers had favored its prosecution; and, as the known hostility of Spain threatened an invasion, the assembly, in November, resolved "to have no regard to the officers of the proprietaries or to their administration," and begged Robert Johnson, the governor, "to hold the reins of government for the king." When Johnson, remaining true to his employers, firmly rejected their offer, they, with Arthur Middleton for their president, voted themselves "a convention delegated by the people;" and, resolved "on having a governor of their own choosing," they elected the brave James Moore, a favorite with the people, "whom all the country had allowed to be the fittest person" for undertaking its defence. The militia of Charleston was to be reviewed on the twenty-first of December; and that day was selected for proclaiming the new chief magistrate. To Parris, the commanding officer, Johnson issued particular orders to delay the muster, nor suffer a drum to be beat in the town. But the people of Carolina had, by the power of public opinion, renounced the government of the proprietaries; and, on the appointed day, with colors flying at the forts, and on all the ships in the harbor, the militia, which was but the people in arms, drew up in the public square. It would be tedious to relate minutely by what menaces, what entreaties, what arguments, Johnson struggled to resist the insurrection. In the king's name, he commanded Parris to disperse his men; and Parris answered, "I obey the convention." "The revolutioners had their governor, council, and convention, and all of their own free election." Peacefully, and without bloodshed, palatines, landgraves, and caciques were dismissed from Carolina, where they had become so little connected with the vital interests of the state, that history with difficulty preserves them from oblivion.

In 1720, the agent from Carolina obtained in England a ready hearing from the lords of the regency. The proprietors were esteemed to have forfeited their charter; measures were taken for its abrogation; and, in the meantime, Francis Nicholson —an adept in colonial governments, trained by experience in New York, in Virginia, in Maryland; brave, and not penurious, but narrow and irascible; of loose morality, yet a fervent supporter of the Church—received a royal commission as provisional governor of the province. The bold act of the people of Carolina, which in England was respected as an evidence of loyalty, was remembered in America as an example for posterity. The introduction of the direct regal supremacy was a

pledge of more than security to the southern frontier : no lines were either run or proposed ; and the neglect was an omen that the limits of the stronger nation would be advanced by encroachments or conquest.

The first act of Nicholson, in 1721, confirmed peace with the natives. On the borders of the territory of the peaceful Cherokees, he was met, in congress, by the chiefs of thirty-seven different villages. They smoked with him the pipe of peace, and marked the boundaries between the "beloved nation" and the colonists; and they returned to their happy homes in the mountain vales pleased with their generous brother and new ally. A treaty of commerce and peace was also concluded with the Creeks, whose hunting-grounds it was solemnly agreed should extend to the Savannah. Yet the ambition of England was not bounded by that river; and on the forks of the Alatamaha, in defiance of remonstrances from Spain and from Florida, a fort was kept by a small English garrison.

The controversy was not adjusted, when, in September, 1729, under the sanction of an act of parliament, and for the sum of twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds, seven-eighths of the proprietaries sold to the crown their territory, the jurisdiction over it, and their arrears of quitrents. Lord Carteret alone, joining in the surrender of the government, reserved an eighth share in the soil. This is the period when a royal governor was first known in North Carolina. Its secluded hamlets had not imitated the popular revolution of the southern province.

So soon as the royal government was fully confirmed, it attempted, by treaties of union, to convert the Indians on the borders of Carolina into allies or subjects; and, early in 1730, Sir Alexander Cumming, a special envoy, guided by Indian traders to Keowee, summoned a general assembly of the chiefs of the Cherokees to meet at Nequassee, in the valley of the Tennessee. They came together in the month of April, and were told that King George was their sovereign. When they offered a chaplet, four scalps of their enemies, and five eagles' tails, as the records of the treaty, and the pledge of their fidelity, it was proposed to them to send deputies to England ; and English writers interpreted their assent as an act of homage to the British monarch. In England, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was drawn up by the English, and signed by the name and seal of one party, by the emblems and marks of the other. No white men, except the English, might build cabins or plant corn upon the wide lands of the Cherokees. Thus a nation rose up as a barrier against the

French. In September, the seven envoys from the mountains of Tennessee, already bewildered by astonishment at the vastness of London, and the splendor and discipline of the English army, were presented at court; and when the English king claimed their land and all the country about them as his property, surprise and inadvertence extorted from one of their warchieftains the irrevocable answer, "*To-eu-hah,*"—it is "a most certain truth;" and the delivery of eagles' feathers confirmed his words. The covenant promised that love should flow forever like the rivers, that peace should endure like the mountains; and it was faithfully kept, at least for one generation.

CHAPTER XLVII.

BOUNDARY OF FRENCH COLONIES AT THE NORTH.

Of the maritime powers of Europe, it was Spain which chiefly took umbrage at the progress of the English settlements and the English alliances at the south. The questions at issue with France were attended with greater difficulty. The treaty of Utrecht surrendered to England, Acadia and Nova Scotia, "with its ancient boundaries." Disputes were to arise respecting them; but even the eastern frontier of the province of Massachusetts was not vindicated without a contest. To the country between the Kennebec and the St. Croix a new claimant appeared in the Abenakis themselves. In 1716, the general court extended its jurisdiction to the utmost bounds of the province; the enterprise of the fishermen and the traders of New England, whom, at first, the convenience of commerce made welcome, not only revived the villages that had been desolated during the war, but, on the eastern bank of the Kennebec, laid the foundation of new settlements, and protected them by forts.

The red men became alarmed. Away went their chiefs across the forests to Quebec, to ask if France had indeed surrendered the country, of which they themselves were the rightful lords; and as Vaudreuil answered, that the treaty of which the English spoke made no mention of their country, their chief resisted the claim of the government of Massachusetts. "I have my land," said he, "where the Great Spirit has placed me; and while there remains one child of my tribe, I shall

fight to preserve it." France could not maintain its influence by an open alliance, but its missionaries guided their converts. At Norridgewock, on the banks of the Kennebec, the venerable Sebastian Rasles, for more than a quarter of a century the companion and instructor of savages, had gathered a flourishing village round a church which, rising in the desert, made some pretensions to magnificence. Severely ascetic,—using no wine, and little food except pounded maize,—a rigorous observer of the days of Lent,—he built his own cabin, tilled his own garden, drew for himself wood and water, prepared his own hominy, and, distributing all that he had received, gave an example of religious poverty. And yet he was laborious in garnishing his forest sanctuary, believing the faith of the savage must be quickened by striking appeals to the senses. Himself a painter, he adorned the humble walls of his church with pictures. There he gave instruction almost daily. Following his pupils to their wigwams, he tempered the spirit of devotion with familiar conversation and innocent gayety, winning the mastery over their souls by his powers of persuasion. He had trained a little band of forty young savages, arrayed in cassock and surplice, to assist in the service, and chant the hymns, of the church; and their public processions attracted a great concourse of red men. Two chapels were built near the village,—one dedicated to the Virgin, and adorned with her statue in relief,—another to the guardian angel; and before them the hunter muttered his prayers, on his way to the river or the woods. When the tribe descended to the sea-side, in the season of wild-fowl, they were followed by Rasles; and on some islet a little chapel of bark was quickly consecrated.

In 1717, the government of Massachusetts also attempted to establish a mission; and its minister made a mocking of purgatory and the invocation of saints, of the cross and the rosary. "My Christians," retorted Rasles, "believe the truths of the Catholic faith, but are not skilful disputants;" and he himself prepared a defence of the Roman church. Thus Calvin and Loyola met in the woods of Maine. But the Protestant minister, unable to compete with the Jesuit for the affections of the Indians, returned to Boston, while "the friar remained, the incendiary of mischief."

Several chiefs had, by stratagem, been seized by the New England government, and were detained as hostages. For their liberty a stipulated ransom had been paid; and still they were not free. In 1721, the Abenakis demanded that their territory should be evacuated, and the imprisoned warriors delivered up,

or reprisals would follow. Instead of negotiating, the English seized the young baron de St. Castin, who, being a half-breed, at once held a French commission and was an Indian war-chief; and, after vainly soliciting the savages to surrender Rasles, in January, Westbrooke led a strong force to Norridgewock to take him by surprise. The warriors were absent in the chase, yet the Jesuit had sufficient warning to escape, with the old men and the infirm, into the forest; and the invaders gained nothing but his papers. These were important; for the correspondence with Vaudreuil proved a latent hope of establishing the power of France on the Atlantic. There was found, moreover, a vocabulary of the Abenaki language, which the missionary had compiled, and which has been preserved to this day.

These insults induced the Indians to hope for no peace but by inspiring terror. On returning from the chase, after planting their grounds, they resolved to destroy the English settlements on the Kennebec. They sent deputies to carry the hatchet and chant the war-song among the Hurons of Quebec, and in every village of the Abenakis. The war-chiefs met at Norridgewock, and the work of destruction began by the burning of Brunswick.

The clear judgment of Rasles perceived the issue. The forts of the English could not be taken by the feeble means of the natives: "unless the French should join with the Indians," he reported the land as lost. Many of his red people retired to Canada: he bid them go; but to their earnest solicitations that he would share their flight, the aged man, foreseeing the impending ruin of Norridgewock, replied, "I count not my life dear unto myself, so I may finish with joy the ministry which I have received."

The government of Massachusetts, by resolution, declared the eastern Indians to be traitors and robbers; and, while troops were raised for the war, it also stimulated the activity of private parties, by offering for each Indian scalp at first a bounty of fifteen pounds, and afterwards of a hundred.

The expedition to Penobscot was under public auspices. After five days' march through the woods, Westbrooke, with his company, came upon the Indian settlement, that was probably above Bangor, at Old Town. He found a fort, seventy yards long, and fifty in breadth, well protected by stockades, fourteen feet high, enclosing twenty-three houses regularly built. On the south side, near at hand, was the chapel, sixty feet long, and thirty wide, well and handsomely furnished within and without; and south of this stood the "friar's dwell-

ing-house." The invaders arrived there on the ninth of March, 1723, at six in the evening. That night they set fire to the village, and by sunrise next morning every building was in ashes.

Twice it was attempted in vain to seize Rasles. At last, on the twenty-third of August, 1724, a party from New England reached Norridgewock unperceived, and escaped discovery till they discharged their guns at the cabins.

There were then about fifty warriors in the place. They seized their arms and marched forth tumultuously, not to fight, but to protect the flight of their wives, and children, and old men. Rasles, roused to the danger by their clamors, went forward to save his flock by drawing down upon himself the attention of the assailants; and his hope was not in vain. Meantime the savages fled to the river, which they passed by wading and swimming, while the English pillaged the cabins and the church, and then, heedless of sacrilege, set them on fire.

After the retreat of the invaders, the savages returned to nurse their wounded and bury their dead. They found Rasles mangled by many blows, scalped, his skull broken in several places, his mouth and eyes filled with dirt; and they buried him beneath the spot where he used to stand before the altar.

Thus died Sebastian Rasles, the last of the Catholic missionaries in New England; thus perished the Jesuit missions and their fruits,—the villages of the semi-civilized Abenakis and their priests. Rasles was in his sixty-seventh year, and had been thirty-seven years in the service of the church in America. He was naturally robust, but had wasted by fatigues, age, and fastings. He knew several dialects of the Algonquin, and had been as a missionary among various tribes from the ocean to the Mississippi. In 1721, Father de la Chasse had advised his return to Canada. "God has intrusted to me this flock"—such was his answer;—"I shall follow its fortunes, happy to be immolated for its benefit." In New England, he was regarded as the leader of the insurgent Indians; the brethren of his order mourned for him as a martyr, and gloried in his happy immortality as a saint. The French ministry, intent on giving an example of forbearance, restrained its indignation, and trusted that the joint commissioners for regulating boundaries would restore tranquillity.

The overthrow of the missions completed the ruin of French influence. The English themselves had grown skilful in the Indian warfare; and no war parties of the red men ever displayed more address or heroism than the brave John Lovewell

and his companions. His volunteer associates twice returned laden with scalps. On a third expedition, in April, 1725, falling into an ambush of a larger party of Saco Indians, he lost his life in Fryeburg, near a sheet of water which has taken his name; and the little stream that feeds it is still known to the peaceful husbandman as the Battle Brook.

At last, the eastern Indians, despairing of success, instigated, but not supported, by the French, unable to contend openly with their opponents, and excelled even in their own methods of warfare, concluded a peace, which, in August, 1726, was solemnly ratified by the Indian chiefs as far as the St. John, and was long and faithfully maintained. Influence by commerce took the place of influence by religion, and English trading-houses supplanted French missions. The eastern boundary of New England was established.

Beyond New England no armed collisions took place. By the treaty of Utrecht, the subjects and friends of both nations might resort to each other for the reciprocal benefit of their trade; and an active commerce subsisted between Albany and Montreal by means of the Christian Iroquois. In the administration of Burnet, that commerce was prohibited; and, amidst the bitter hostility of the merchants whose trade was interrupted, New York established a commercial post at Oswego. This was the first in a series of measures which carried the bounds of the English colonies towards Michigan, and, in public opinion, annexed the north-west to our country. In 1727, this trading-post was converted into a fortress, in defiance of the discontent of the Iroquois and the constant protest of France. It was the avenue through which the west was reached by English traders, and the Miamis, and even the Hurons from Detroit, found their way to Albany.

The limit of jurisdiction, as between England and France, was not easy of adjustment. Canada, by its original charter, comprised the whole basin of the St. Lawrence; and that part of Vermont and New York which is watered by streams flowing to the St. Lawrence had ever been regarded by France as Canadian territory. The boat of Champlain had entered the lake that makes his name a familiar word, in the same summer in which Hudson ascended the North River. Holland had never dispossessed the French; and the conquest and surrender of New Netherlands could transfer no more than the possessions of Holland. There was, therefore, no act of France relinquishing its claim till the treaty of Utrecht. The ambiguous language of that treaty did, indeed, refer to "the Five Nations

subject to England;" but French diplomacy would not interpret an allusion to savage hordes as an express surrender of Canadian territory. The right of France, then, to that part of New York and Vermont which belongs to the basin of the St. Lawrence, sprung from discovery, occupation, the uniform language of its grants and state papers.

As the claims of discovery and earliest occupation were clearly with the French, the English revived and exaggerated the rights of the Five Nations. In the strife with France, during the government of De la Barre, some of the chiefs had fastened the arms of the duke of York to their castles; and this act was taken as a confession of irrevocable allegiance to England. The treaty of Ryswick made the condition at the commencement of hostilities the basis of occupation at the time of peace. Now, at the opening of the war, Fort Frontenac had been razed, and the country around it, and Montreal itself, were actually in possession of the Mohawks; so that all Upper Canada was declared to have become, by the treaty of Ryswick, a part of the domain of the Five Nations, and therefore subject to England.

Again, in 1701, at the opening of the war of the Spanish succession, the chiefs of the Mohawks and Oneidas had appeared in Albany; and the English commissioners, who could produce no treaty, had seen cause to make a minute in their books of entry, that the Mohawks and the Oneidas had placed their hunting-grounds under the protection of the English. Immediately their hunting-grounds were interpreted to extend to Lake Nipissing; and, on old English maps, the vast region is included within the dominions of England, by virtue of an act of cession from the Iroquois.

But as a treaty, of which no record existed, could hardly be cited by English lawyers as a surrender of lands, it was the object of Governor Burnet to obtain a confirmation of this grant. Accordingly, in the treaty concluded at Albany, in September, 1726, the cession of the Iroquois country west of Lake Erie, and north of Erie and Ontario, was confirmed; and, in addition, a strip of sixty miles in width, extending from Oswego to Cuyahoga River at Cleveland, was "submitted and granted," by sachems of the three western tribes, to "their sovereign lord, King George," "to be protected and defended by his said majesty, for the use of the said three nations." The chiefs could give no new validity to the alleged treaty of 1701; they had no authority to make a cession of land; nor were they conscious of attempting it. If France had renounced its rights to Western New York, it had done so only by the treaty of Utrecht. Each new ground for

an English claim was a confession that the terms of that treaty were far from being explicit.

But France did not merely remonstrate against the attempt to curtail its limits and appropriate its provinces. Entering Lake Champlain, it established, in 1731, the fortress of the Crown. The garrison of the French was at first stationed on the eastern shore of the lake, but soon removed to the Point, where its batteries defended the approach to Canada by water, and gave security to Montreal.

The fort at Niagara had already been renewed. Among the public officers of the French, who gained influence over the red men by adapting themselves, with happy facility, to life in the wilderness, was the Indian agent Joncaire. For twenty years he had been successfully employed in negotiating with the Senecas. He was become, by adoption, one of their own citizens and sons, and to the culture of a Frenchman added the fluent eloquence of an Iroquois warrior. "I have no happiness," said he in council, "like that of living with my brothers;" and he asked leave to build himself a dwelling. "He is one of our own children," it was said, in reply; "he may build where he will." And, in 1721, he planted himself in the midst of a group of cabins, at Lewiston, on the site where La Salle had driven a rude palisade, and where Denonville had designed to lay the foundation of a settlement. In May of that year, a party arrived at the spot, to take measures for a permanent establishment; among them were the son of the governor of New France, De Longeuil, from Montreal, and the admirable Charlevoix, best of early writers on American history. It was then resolved to construct a fortress. The party were not insensible to the advantages of the country; they observed the rich soil of Western New York, its magnificent forests, its agreeable and fertile slopes, its mild climate. "A good fortress in this spot, with a reasonable settlement, will enable us"—thus they reasoned—"to dictate law to the Iroquois, and to exclude the English from the fur trade." And, in 1726, four years after Burnet had built the English trading-house at Oswego, the flag of France floated from Fort Niagara.

The fortress at Niagara gave a control over the commerce of the remote interior: if furs descended by the Ottáwa, they went directly to Montreal; and if by way of the lakes, they passed over the portage at the falls. The boundless region in which they were gathered knew no jurisdiction but that of the French, whose trading-canoes were safe in all the waters, whose bark chapels rose on every shore, whose missions extended be-

yond Lake Superior. The implacable Foxes were chastised, and driven from their old abode on the borders of Green Bay. Except the English fortress at Oswego, the entire country watered by the St. Lawrence and its tributaries was possessed by France.

The same geographical view was applied by the French to their province of Louisiana. On the side of Spain, at the west and south, it was held to extend to the River Del Norte ; and on the map published by the French Academy, the line passing from that river to the ridge that divides it from the Red River followed that ridge to the Rocky Mountains, and then descended to seek its termination in the Gulf of California. On the Gulf of Mexico, it is certain that France claimed to the Del Norte. At the north-west, where its collision would have been with the possessions of the company of Hudson's Bay, no treaty, no commission, appears to have fixed its limits.

On the east, the line as between Spain and France was the half way between the Spanish garrison at Pensacola and the fort which, in 1711, the French had established on the site of the present city of Mobile : with regard to England, Louisiana was held to embrace the whole valley of the Mississippi. Not a fountain bubbled on the west of the Alleghanies but was claimed as being within the French empire. Louisiana stretched to the head-springs of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, of the Kenawah and the Tennessee. "Half a mile from the head of the southern branch of the Savannah River is Herbert's Spring, which flows to the Mississippi : strangers, who drank of it, would say they had tasted of French waters."

The energy of the centralized government of New France enabled it to act with promptness ; and, before the English government could direct its thoughts to the consequences, the French had secured their influence on the head-springs of the Ohio.

In 1698, a branch of the Shawnees, offended with the French, established themselves at Conestogo ; in 1700, William Penn received them as a part of the people of Pennsylvania ; and they scattered themselves along the upper branches of the Delaware and the Susquehannah. About the year 1724, the Delaware Indians, for the conveniency of game, migrated to the branches of the Ohio ; and, in 1728, the Shawnees gradually followed them. They were soon met by Canadian traders ; and Joncaire, the adopted citizen of the Seneca nation, found his way to them from Lake Erie. The wily emissary invited their chiefs to visit the governor at Montreal ; and, in 1730, they

descended with him to the settlement at that place. In the next year, more of them followed; and the warriors of the tribe put themselves wholly under the protection of Louis XV., having, at their whim, hoisted a white flag in their town. It was even rumored that, in 1731, the French were building strong houses for them. The government of Canada annually sent them presents and messages of friendship, and deliberately pursued the design of estranging them from the English.

The dangerous extent of the French claims had for a long time attracted the attention of the colonies. To resist it was one of the earliest efforts of Spotswood, who hoped to extend the line of the Virginia settlements far enough to the west to interrupt the chain of communication between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico. He caused, also, the passes in the mountains to be examined, desired to promote settlements beyond them, and sought to concentrate within his province bands of friendly Indians. Finding other measures unavailing, he planned the incorporation of a Virginia Indian company, which, from the emoluments of a monopoly of the traffic, should sustain forts in the western country. Disappointed by the determined opposition of the people to a privileged company, he was still earnest to resist the encroachments of the French; although a wilderness of a thousand miles was a good guarantee against reciprocal collisions.

In the more northern province of Pennsylvania, the subject never slumbered. In 1719, it was earnestly pressed upon the attention of the lords of trade by the governor of that colony, who counselled the establishment of a fort on Lake Erie. But, after the migration of the Delawares and Shawnees, James Logan, the mild and estimable secretary of Pennsylvania, could not rest from remonstrances, demanding the attention of the proprietary to the ambitious designs of France, which extended "to the heads of all the tributaries of the Ohio."

Nor was this all. In the autumn of 1731, the subject was pressed upon the attention of Sir Robert Walpole. But "the grand minister and those about him were too solicitously concerned for their own standing to lay anything to heart that was at so great a distance."

Thus did England permit the French to establish their influence along the banks of the Alleghany to the Ohio. They had already quietly possessed themselves of the three other great avenues from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi: for the safe possession of the route by way of the Fox and Wisconsin, they had no opponents but in the Sacs and Foxes; that by way of

Chicago had been safely pursued since the days of Marquette; and a report on Indian affairs, written by Logan, in 1718, proves that they very early made use of the Miami of the Lakes, where, after crossing the carrying-place of about three leagues, they passed the summit level, and floated down a shallow branch into the Wabash and the Ohio. Upon this line of communication the French established a post; and of the population of Vincennes, a large part trace their lineage to early emigrants from Canada. Yet it has not been possible to fix the date of its foundation with precision. It seems evident from records, that the hero, whose name it bears, was commander there before 1733. In 1735, it was certainly a well-established post. Thus began the commonwealth of Indiana. Travellers, as they passed from Quebec to Mobile or New Orleans, pitched their tents on the banks of the Wabash; till, at last, in 1742, a few families of resident herdsmen gained permission of the natives to pasture their beeves on the fertile fields above Blanche River.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

PROGRESS OF LOUISIANA.

That Louisiana extended to the head-spring of the Alleghany, and included the Laurel Ridge, the Great Meadows, and every brook that flowed to the Ohio, was, on the eve of the treaty of Utrecht, expressly asserted in the royal grant of the commerce of the province. Weary of fruitless efforts, in September, 1712, Louis XIV. had assigned the exclusive trade of the unbounded territory to Anthony Crozat, a French merchant, who had "prospered in opulence to the astonishment of all the world." La Motte Cadillac, now the royal governor of Louisiana, became his partner; and the merchant proprietary and the founder of Detroit sought fortune by discovering mines and encroaching on the colonial monopolies of Spain.

The latter attempt met with no success whatever. Hardly had the officers of the new administration, in May, 1713, landed at Dauphine Island, when they found that every Spanish harbor in the Gulf of Mexico was closed against the vessels of Crozat. Nor could commercial relations be instituted by land. Even liberty of commerce across the wilderness was sternly refused.

From the mines of Louisiana it was still hoped to obtain "great quantities of gold and silver." Two pieces of silver ore, left at Kaskaskia by a traveller from Mexico, were exhibited to Cadillac as the produce of a mine in Illinois; and he hurried up the river, to be, in his turn, disappointed,—finding in Missouri abundance of the purest ore of lead, but neither silver nor gold.

In 1714, on the head-waters of the Alabama, at the junction of the Coosa and the Tallapoosa, with the aid of a band of Choctas, Fort Toulouse, a small military post, was built and garrisoned. After a short period of hostilities, which sprung, in part, from the influence of English traders among the Chickasas, the too powerful Bienville, in 1716, chanted the calumet with the great chief of the Natchez; and Fort Rosalie, built chiefly by the natives, protected the French commercial establishment in their village. Such was the origin of the city of Natchez. In the Mississippi valley, it takes rank, in point of age, of every settlement south of Illinois.

Yet for the advancement of the colony Crozat accomplished nothing. The Indians were too numerous to be resisted by his factors. The English gradually appropriated the trade with the natives; and every Frenchman in Louisiana, except his agents, fomented opposition to the profitless but fatal monopoly of the Parisian merchant. Crozat resigned his charter. On receiving it, Louisiana possessed twenty-eight French families: in 1717, when he abandoned it, the troops sent by the king, joined to the colonists, did not swell the inhabitants of the colony to more than seven hundred, including persons of every age, sex, and color.

When Crozat resigned the commerce of Louisiana, it was transferred to the Western company, better known as the company of Mississippi, instituted under the auspices of John Law, who had already planned the whimsically gigantic project of collecting all the gold and silver of the kingdom into one bank. Although the union of the bank with the hazards of a commercial company was an omen of the fate of "the system," public credit seemed restored as if by a miracle. The ill success of La Salle, of Iberville, and Crozat, the fruitlessness of the long search for the mines of St. Barbe, were notorious; yet tales were revived of the wealth of Louisiana; its ingots of gold had been seen in Paris. The vision of a fertile empire, with its plantations and cities, the gains from silver mines and mountains of gold, were blended in the French mind into one boundless promise of untold treasures.

It was in September, 1717, that the Western company obtained its grant. On the twenty-fifth day of the following August, after a long but happy voyage, the Victory, the Duchess of Noailles, and the Mary, bearing eight hundred emigrants for Louisiana, chanted their Te Deum as they cast anchor near Dauphine Island. Already had Bienville, in the midsummer of 1718, as he descended the Mississippi, selected on its banks a site for the capital of the new empire; and from the prince who denied God, and "trembled at a star," the dissolute but generous regent of France, the promised city received the name of New Orleans. Instead of ascending the river in the ships, the emigrants disembarked on the crystalline sands of Dauphine Island, to make their way as they could to the lands that had been ceded to them. Some perished for want of enterprise, some from the climate; others prospered by their indomitable energy. The Canadian Du Tissenet, purchasing a compass, and taking an escort of fourteen Canadians, went fearlessly from Dauphine Island, by way of the Mobile River, to Quebec, and returned to the banks of the Mississippi with his family. The most successful colonists of Louisiana were the hardy emigrants from Canada, who brought with them little beyond a staff and the coarse clothes that covered them.

Of the recent emigrants from France, eighty convicts were sent amongst the coppices that overspread New Orleans, to prepare room for a few tents and cottages. At the end of more than three years, the place was still a wilderness spot, where two hundred persons, sent to construct a city, had but encamped among unsubdued canebrakes. And yet Charlevoix, the enlightened traveller, held America happy, as the land in which the patriot could sigh over no decay, could point in sorrow to no ruins of a more prosperous age; and, with cheerful eye, looking into futurity, he predicted the opulence and vastness of the city which was destined to become the emporium of the noblest valley in the world. Still the emigrants of the company, though, in the winter of 1718, one of their ships had sailed up the river, blindly continued to disembark on the miserable coast; and, even in 1721, Bienville himself a second time established the headquarters of Louisiana at Biloxi.

Meantime Alberoni, the active minister of Spain, having, contrary to the interests of France and of Spain, involved the two countries in a war, De Serigny arrived in February of 1719, with orders to take possession of Pensacola. This is the bay called, in the days of De Soto, Anchusi, afterwards Saint Mary,

and Saint Mary of Galve. In 1696, Don Andrés de Arriola had built upon its margin a fort, a church, and a few houses, in a place without commerce or agriculture, or productive labor of any kind. By the capture of the fort, which, after five hours' resistance, in May, 1719, surrendered, the French hoped to extend their power along the Gulf of Mexico from the Rio del Norte to the Atlantic. But within forty days the Spaniards recovered the town, and attempted, in their turn, to conquer the French posts on Dauphine Island and on the Mobile. In September, the French recovered Pensacola, which, by the treaty of 1721, reverted to Spain. The tidings of peace were welcomed at Biloxi with heartfelt joy.

During the period of hostility, La Harpe, in a letter to the nearest Spanish governor, had claimed "Texas to the Del Norte as a part of Louisiana." France was too feeble to stretch its colonies far to the west; but its rights were esteemed so clear, that, in time of peace, the attempt to occupy the country was renewed. This second attempt of Bernard de la Harpe to plant a colony near the Bay of Matagorda had no other results than to incense the natives against the French, and to stimulate the Spaniards to the occupation of the country by a fort. Yet the French ever regarded the mouth of the Del Norte as the western limit of Louisiana on the Gulf of Mexico; and English geography recognized the claim.

But a change had taken place in the fortunes of the Mississippi company. By its connection with the bank of Law, its first attempts at colonization were conducted with careless prodigality. The richest prairies, the most inviting fields, in the southern valley of the Mississippi, were conceded to companies or to individuals who sought principalities in the New World. Thus it was hoped that at least six thousand white colonists would be established in Louisiana. To Law himself there was conceded on the Arkansas one of those vast prairies, of which the wide-spreading waves of verdure are bounded only by the azure of the sky. There he designed to plant a city and villages; his investments, in 1719, already amounted to a million and a half of livres; through the company, which he directed, possessing a monopoly of the slave trade for the French colonies, he had purchased three hundred negroes; mechanics from France, and a throng of German emigrants, were engaged in his service or as his tenants; his commissioners lavished gifts on the tribes with whom they smoked the calumet.

But the downfall of "the system" of Law, which left France impoverished, public and private credit subverted, the income

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of capitalists annihilated, and labor pining without employment, abruptly curtailed expenditures for Louisiana; and its very name was in France involved in disgrace. Instead of the splendid visions of opulence, the disenchanted public would now see only unwholesome marshes, which were the tombs of emigrants.

Yet a colony was already planted, destined to survive all dangers. The Alabama River had been a favorite line of communication with the north. From the easier connection of Mobile with the sea, it remained a principal post; but, in August of 1723, the quarters of Bienville were transferred to New Orleans. Thus the central point of French power, after hovering round Ship Island, and Dauphine Island, the Bays of Biloxi and Mobile, was at last established on the banks of the Mississippi; and the emigrants to Arkansas gathered into settlements along the river nearer to New Orleans.

The villages of the Natchez, planted in the midst of the most fertile climes in the south-west, rose near the banks of the Mississippi. Each was distinguished by a receptacle for the dead. In the sacred building, of an oval shape, having a circumference of one hundred feet,—a simple hut, without a window, and with a low and narrow opening on the side for the only door,—were garnered up the choicest fetiches of the tribe, of which some were moulded from clay and baked in the sun. There, too, were gathered the bones of the dead; there an undying fire was kept burning by appointed guardians, as if to warm, and light, and cheer the departed. On the palisades around this edifice which has been called a temple, the ghastly trophies of victories were arranged. Once, when, during a storm, such as in those regions sometimes blends the elements, rocks the forest, and bows the hearts of the bravest, the sacred edifice caught fire from the lightning, seven or eight mothers won the applause of the terror-stricken tribes by casting their babes into the flames to appease the unknown power of evil.

The grand chief of the tribe was revered as of the family of the sun, and he could trace his descent with certainty from the nobles; for the inheritance of power was transmitted exclusively by the female line. Hard by the temple, on an artificial mound of earth, stood the hut of the Great Sun: around it were grouped the cabins of the tribe. There, for untold years, the savage had freely whispered his tale of love; had won his bride by a purchase from the father; had placed his trust in manitous; had turned, at daybreak, towards the east, to hail and worship the beams of morning; had listened to

the revelations of dreams; had invoked the aid of the medicine men to dance the medicine dance; had achieved titles of honor by prowess in war; had tortured and burned his prisoners. There were the fields where, in spring, the whole tribe had gone forth to cultivate the maize and vines; there the scenes of the glad festivals at the gathering of the harvest; there the natural amphitheatres, where councils were convened, and embassies received, and the calumet of reconciliation passed in solemn ceremony from lip to lip. There the dead had been arrayed in their proudest apparel; the little baskets of food for the first month after death, set apart for their nurture; the requiem chanted by the women in mournful strains over their bones; and there, when a great chief died, persons of the same age were strangled, that they might constitute his escort into the realm of shades.

Nowhere was the power of the grand chieftain so nearly despotic. The race of nobles was so distinct, that usage had moulded language into forms of reverence. In other respects, there was among the Natchez no greater culture than among the Choctas; and their manners hardly differed from those of northern tribes, except as they were modified by climate.

The French, who were cantoned among the Natchez, coveted their soil; the commander, Chopart, swayed by a brutal avarice, demanded as a plantation the very site of their principal village. They listened to the counsels of the Chickasas; they prevailed in part with the Choctas; and a general massacre of the intruders was concerted. The arrival of boats from New Orleans with merchandise hastened the rising of the Natchez. On the morning of the twenty-eighth of November, 1729, the work of blood began; and before noon nearly every Frenchman in the colony was murdered.

The Great Sun, taking his seat under the storehouse of the company, smoked the calumet in complacency, while the head of Chopart was laid at his feet. One after another, the heads of the principal officers at the post were ranged in order around it, while their bodies were left abroad to be a prey to dogs and buzzards. At that time, the Jesuit Du Poisson was the appointed missionary among the Arkansas. Two years before, he had made his way up the Mississippi from New Orleans, till he reached the prairies that had been selected for the plantations of Law, and smoked the calumet with the southernmost tribes of the Dahcotas. Desiring to plan a settlement near the margin of the Mississippi, he had touched at Natchez in search of counsel, had preached on the first Sunday in ad-

vent, had visited the sick, and was returning with the host from the cabin of a dying man, when he, too, was struck to the ground, and beheaded. The Arkansas, hearing of his end, vowed that they would avenge him with a vengeance that should never be appeased. Du Codère, the commander of the post among the Yazoos, who had drawn his sword to defend the missionary, was himself killed by a musket ball, and scalped because his hair was long and beautiful. The planter De Koli, a Swiss by birth, one of the most worthy men, zealous for the colony, had come with his son to take possession of a tract of land on St. Catherine's Creek; and both were shot. The Capuchin missionary among the Natchez chanced to be absent when the massacre began; returning, he was shot near his cabin, and a negro slave by his side. Two white men, both mechanics, and two only, were saved. The number of victims was reckoned at two hundred. Women were spared for menial services; children, also, were detained as captives. When the work of death was finished, pillage and carousals began.

The news spread dismay in New Orleans. Messengers were sent with the tidings to the Illinois, by way of the Red River, and to the Choctas and Cherokees. Each house was supplied with arms; the city fortified by a ditch. Danger appeared on every side. The negroes, of whom the number was about two thousand, half as large as the number of the French, showed symptoms of revolt. But the brave, enterprising Le Sueur, repairing to the Choctas, ever ready to engage in excursions, won them to his aid, and was followed across the country by seven hundred of their warriors. On the river the forces of the French were assembled, and placed under the command of Loubois.

Le Sueur was the first to arrive in the vicinity of the Natchez. Not expecting an attack, they were celebrating festivities, which were gladdened by the spoils of the French. Mad with triumph, and exulting in their success, on the evening of the twenty-eighth of January, 1730, they gave themselves up to sleep, after the careless manner of the wilderness. On the following morning, at daybreak, the Choctas broke upon their villages, liberated their captives, and, losing but two of their own men, brought off sixty scalps, with eighteen prisoners.

On the eighth of February, Loubois arrived, and completed the victory. Of the Natchez, some fled to the neighboring tribes for shelter; the remainder of the nation crossed the Mississippi to the vicinity of Natchitoches. They were pursued, and, in 1731, partly by stratagem, partly by force, their

place of refuge was taken. Some fled still farther to the west. Of the scattered remnants, some remained with the Chickasas, others found a shelter among the Muskhogees. In 1732, the Great Sun and more than four hundred other prisoners were shipped to Hispaniola and sold as slaves.

Thus perished the nation of the Natchez. Their peculiar language,—which has been still preserved by the descendants of the fugitives, and is, perhaps, now on the point of expiring,—their worship, their division into nobles and plebeians, their bloody funereal rites,—invite conjecture, and yet so nearly resemble in character the distinctions of other tribes, that they do but irritate, without satisfying, curiosity.

The cost of defending Louisiana exceeding the returns from its commerce and from grants of land, the company of the Indies, seeking wealth by conquests or traffic on the coast of Guinea and Hindostan, solicited leave to surrender the Mississippi wilderness; and, on the tenth of April, 1732, the jurisdiction and control over its commerce reverted to the crown of France. The company had held possession of Louisiana for fourteen years, which were its only years of comparative prosperity. The early extravagant hopes had not subsided till emigrants had reached its soil; and the emigrants, being once established, took care of themselves. In 1735, the Canadian Bienville reappeared to assume the command for the king.

It was the first object of the crown to establish its supremacy throughout the borders of Louisiana. The Chickasas were the dreaded enemies of France; it was they who had hurried the Natchez to bloodshed and destruction; it was they whose cedar barks, shooting boldly into the Mississippi, interrupted the connection between Kaskaskia and New Orleans. Thus they maintained their savage independence, and weakened by dividing the French empire. No settlements on the eastern banks of the Mississippi were safe; and from Natchez, or even from the vicinity of New Orleans, to Kaskaskia, none existed. The English traders from Carolina were, moreover, welcomed to their villages. Nay, more: resolute in their hatred, they had even endeavored to debauch the affections of the Illinois, and to extirpate French dominion from the west. But the tawny envoys from the north descended to New Orleans, and presented the pipe of friendship. "This," said Chicago to Perrier, as he concluded an offensive and defensive alliance—"this is the pipe of peace or war. You have but to speak, and our braves will strike the nations that are your foes."

To secure the eastern valley of the Mississippi, it was neces-

sary to reduce the Chickasas; and nearly two years were devoted to preparations for the enterprise. At last, in 1736, the whole force of the colony at the south, with D'Artaguette and troops from his command in Illinois, and probably from the Wabash, was directed to meet, on the tenth of May, in the land of the Chickasas. The government of France had itself given directions for the invasion, and its eye was turned anxiously to watch the issue of the strife.

From New Orleans the little fleet of thirty boats and as many pirogues departed for Fort Condé at Mobile, which it did not leave till the fourth of April. In sixteen days, it ascended the river to Tombecbee, a fort which an advance party had constructed on the west bank of the river, two hundred and fifty miles above the bay. Of the men employed in its construction, some had attempted to escape, and enjoy the liberty of the wilderness: in the wilds of Alabama, a court-martial sentenced them to death, and they were shot.

The Choctas, lured by gifts of merchandise, and high rewards for every scalp, gathered at Fort Tombecbee to aid Bienville. Of these red auxiliaries the number was about twelve hundred; and the whole party slowly sounded its way up the windings of the Tombecbee to the point where Cotton-gin Port now stands, and which was but about twenty-one miles south-east of the great village of the Chickasas. There the artillery was deposited in a temporary fortification; and the solitudes of the quiet forests and blooming prairies between the head-sources of the Tombecbee and the Tallahatchie were disturbed by the march of the army towards the long house of their enemy. After the manner of Indian warfare, they encamped, on the evening of the twenty-fifth of May, at the distance of about a league from the village. In the morning, before day, they advanced to surprise the Chickasas. In vain. The brave warriors, whom they had come to destroy, were on the watch; their intrenchments were strong; English flags waved over their fort; English traders had assisted them in preparing their defence. Twice during the day an attempt was made to storm their log citadel; and twice the French were repelled, with a loss of thirty killed, of whom four were officers. The next day saw skirmishes between parties of Choctas and Chickasas. On the twenty-ninth, the final retreat began; on the thirty-first of May, Bienville dismissed the Choctas, having satisfied them with presents, and, throwing his cannon into the Tombecbee, his party ingloriously floated down the river. In the last days of June, he landed on the banks of the Bayou St. John.

But where was the brave commander in the Illinois, the pride of the flower of Canada? And where the gallant soldier, whose name, in honor of the founder of a state, is borne by the oldest settlement of Indiana?

The young D'Artaguette had already gained glory in the war against the Natchez, braving death under every form. Advanced to the command in the Illinois, he obeyed the summons of Bienville; and, with an army of about fifty French soldiers and more than a thousand red men, accompanied by Father Senat, and by the Canadian Francis Morgan de Vincennes, the careful hero stole cautiously and unobserved into the country of the Chickasas, and, on the evening before the appointed day, encamped near the rendezvous among the sources of the Yalabusha. But the expected army from below did not arrive. For ten days he retained his impatient allies in the vicinity of their enemy; at last, as they menaced desertion, he consented to an attack. His measures were wisely arranged. One fort was carried, and the Chickasas driven from the cabins which it protected; at the second, the intrepid youth was equally successful; on attacking the third fort, he received one wound and then another, and, in the moment of victory, was disabled. The red men from Illinois, dismayed at the check, fled precipitately. Voisin, a lad of but sixteen years old, conducted the retreat, having the enemy at his heels for five-and-twenty leagues, marching forty-five leagues without food, while his men carried with them such of the wounded as could bear the fatigue. The unhappy D'Artaguette lay weltering in his blood, and by his side fell others of his bravest troops. The Jesuit Senat remained to receive the last sigh of the wounded, regardless of danger, mindful only of duty. Vincennes, too, the Canadian, refused to fly, and shared the captivity of his gallant leader. After the Indian custom, their wounds were stanched; they were received into the cabins of the Chickasas, and feasted bountifully. At last, when Bienville had retreated, the Chickasas brought the captives into a field; and, while one was spared to relate the deed, the adventurous D'Artaguette; the faithful Senat, true to his mission; Vincennes, whose name will be perpetuated as long as the Wabash shall flow by the dwellings of civilized man;—these, with the rest of the captives, were bound to the stake; and neither valor nor piety could save them from death by slow torments and fire.—Such is the early history of Mississippi.

Ill success did but increase the disposition to continue the war. To advance the colony, a royal edict, in 1737, permitted

a ten years' freedom of commerce between the West India Islands and Louisiana; while, in 1739, a new expedition against the Chickasas, receiving aid not from Illinois only, but even from Montreal and Quebec, and from France, made its rendezvous in Arkansas, on the St. Francis River. In the last of June, the whole army, composed of twelve hundred whites, and twice that number of red and black men, took up its quarters in Fort Assumption, on the bluff of Memphis. But autumn wasted itself in languor and weariness of spirit; the recruits from France, the Canadians, sunk under the climate. When, in March, 1740, a small detachment proceeded towards the Chickasa country, they were met by messengers, who supplicated for peace; and Bienville gladly accepted the calumet. The fort at Memphis was razed; the troops from Illinois and from Canada drew back; the fort on the St. Francis was dismantled; and Bienville returned, to conceal his shame under false pretences. Peace, it was said, was established between France and the Chickasas; but the settlements between Lower Louisiana and the Illinois were interrupted. From Kaskaskia to Baton Rouge was a wilderness; the Chickasas remained the undoubted lords of their country; and, in the great expanse of territory claimed by France, the jurisdiction of her monarch was but a name. The French were kept out of the country of the Chickasas by that nation itself; red men protected the English settlements on the west.

Such was Louisiana more than half a century after the first attempt at colonization by La Salle. Its population may have been five thousand whites and half that number of blacks. Louis XIV. had fostered it with pride and liberal expenditures; an opulent merchant, famed for his successful enterprise, assumed its direction; the company of the Mississippi, aided by boundless but transient credit, had made it the foundation of their hopes; and, again, Fleury and Louis XV. had sought to advance its fortunes. Priests and friars, dispersed through nations from Biloxi to the Dahcotas, propitiated the favor of the savages. But still the valley of the Mississippi was nearly a wilderness. All its patrons—though among them it counted kings and ministers of state—had not accomplished for it, in half a century, a tithe of the prosperity which, within the same period, sprung naturally from the benevolence of William Penn to the peaceful settlers on the Delaware.

CHAPTER XLIX.

PROGRESS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIES.

THE progress of the Anglo-American colonies was advanced, not by anticipating strife with the natives, but by the progress of industry. Peace on the eastern frontier revived the youthful maritime enterprise of Maine, and its settlements began to obtain a fixed prosperity. The French, just before occupying Crown Point, pitched their tents on the opposite eastern shore, in the township of Addison. But already, in 1724, the government of Massachusetts had established Fort Dummer, on the site of Brattleborough; and thus, one hundred and fifteen years after the inroad of Champlain, a settlement of civilized man was made in Vermont. That Fort Dummer was within the limits of Massachusetts was not questioned by the French; for the fort at Saybrook, according to the French rule, gave to England the whole basin of the river. Of Connecticut the swarming population spread over all its soil, and occupied even its hills; for its whole extent was protected against the desolating inroads of savages. The selfish policy of its governors and its royalist party delayed the increase of New York. Pennsylvania, as the land of promise, was still the refuge of the oppressed. We shall "soon have a German colony," wrote Logan, in 1726, "so many thousands of Palatines are already in the country." Nor did the southwest range of mountains, from the James to the Potomac, fail to become occupied by emigrants, and enlivened by county courts; and, in 1732, the valley of Virginia received white inhabitants. There were no European settlements, even in Carolina, on streams that flow westward. In that colony the abodes of civilized man reached scarcely a hundred miles from the Atlantic; the more remote ones were made by herdsmen, who pastured beeves upon canes and natural grasses; and the cattle, hardly kept from running wild, were now and then rallied at central "Cowpens." Philanthropy opened the way beyond the Savannah. A British poet pointed with admiration across the Atlantic:—

> "Lo! swarming southward on rejoicing suns,
> Gay colonies extend,—the calm retreat
> Of undeserved distress, the better home

Of those whom bigots chase from foreign lands.
Not built on rapine, servitude, and woe,
But bound by social freedom, firm they rise."

While the Palatinate poured forth its sons from their devastated fields; while the Scotch, who had made a sojourn in Ireland, crowding to America, established themselves as freeholders in almost every part of the United States,—the progress of colonization was mainly due to the rapid increase of the descendants of former settlers. At the peace of Utrecht, the inhabitants in all the colonies could not have been far from four hundred thousand. Before peace was again broken, they had grown to be not far from eight hundred thousand. Happy America! to which Providence gave the tranquillity necessary for her growth, as well as the trials which were to discipline her for action.

The effects of the American system of social freedom were best exhibited in the colonies which approached the most nearly to independence. More than a century and a half ago, "the charter governments were celebrated for their excellent laws and mild administration; for the security of liberty and property; for the encouragement of virtue, and suppression of vice; for promoting letters by erecting free schools and colleges." Among the most distinguished sons of Ireland of that day was George Berkeley, who, like Penn, garnered up his hopes for humanity in America. By the testimony of adverse factions, possessing "every virtue under heaven," he repaired to the new hemisphere to found a university. But opinion in England did not favor his design. The funds that had been regarded as pledged to it were diverted to pay the dowry of the princess royal. Disappointed, yet not irritated, Berkeley returned to Europe, to endow a library in Rhode Island; to cherish the interests of Harvard; to gain a right to be gratefully remembered at New Haven; to encourage the foundation of a college at New York. Advanced to a bishopric, he still loved the simplicity and gentle virtues which the villages of America illustrated; and, as he looked into futurity, the ardor of his benevolence dictated his prophecy—

"In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
Where nature guides, and virtue rules;
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools;—

"There shall be sung another golden age,—
The rise of empire and of arts,—

The good and great inspiring epic rage—
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way.
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day.
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

To free schools and colleges the periodical press had been added, and newspapers began their office in America as the ministers to curiosity and the guides and organs of opinion. On the twenty-fourth day of April, in 1704, the Boston News-Letter, the first ever published on the western continent, saw the light in the metropolis of New England. In 1719, it obtained a rival at Boston, and was imitated at Philadelphia. In 1740, the number of newspapers in the English colonies on the continent had increased to eleven, of which one appeared in South Carolina, one in Virginia, three in Pennsylvania,—one of them being in German,—one in New York, and the remaining five in Boston. The sheet at first used was but of the foolscap size; and but one, or even but a half of one, was issued weekly. The papers sought support rather by modestly telling the news of the day, than by engaging in conflicts; they had no political theories to enforce, no revolutions in faith to hasten. In Boston, indeed, where the pulpit had marshalled Quakers and witches to the gallows, one newspaper, the New England Courant, the fourth American periodical, was established in August, 1721, as an organ of independent opinion, by James Franklin. Its temporary success was advanced by Benjamin, his brother and apprentice, a boy of fifteen, who wrote pieces for its humble columns, worked in composing the types, as well as in printing off the sheets, and himself, as carrier, distributed the papers to the customers. The little sheet satirized hypocrisy, and spoke of religious knaves as of all knaves the worst. This was described as tending "to abuse the ministers of religion in a manner which was intolerable." "I can well remember," writes Increase Mather, then more than fourscore years of age, "when the civil government would have taken an effectual course to suppress such a cursed libel." In July, 1722, a resolve passed the council appointing a censor for the press of James Franklin; but the house refused its concurrence. The ministers persevered; and, in January, 1723, a committee of inquiry was raised by the legislature. Benjamin Franklin, being examined, escaped with an admonition; James, the publisher, refusing to discover the author of the offence, was kept in jail for a month; his paper was censured as

reflecting injuriously on the reverend ministers of the gospel; and, by vote of the house and council, he was forbidden to print it "except it be first supervised."

Vexed at the arbitrary proceedings of the assembly; willing to escape from a town where good people pointed with horror at his freedom; indignant, also, at the tyranny of a brother, who, as a passionate master, often beat his apprentice,—Benjamin Franklin, in October, 1723, then but seventeen years old, sailed clandestinely for New York; and, finding there no employment, crossed to Amboy; went on foot to the Delaware; for want of a wind, rowed in a boat from Burlington to Philadelphia; and, bearing marks of his labor at the oar, weary, hungry, having for his whole stock of cash a single dollar, the runaway apprentice—greatest of the sons of New England of that generation, the humble pupil of the free schools of Boston, rich in the boundless hope of youth and the unconscious power of genius, which modesty adorned—stepped on shore to seek food, occupation, shelter, and fortune.

On the deep foundations of sobriety, frugality, and industry the young journeyman built his fortunes and fame; and he soon came to have a printing-office of his own. Toiling early and late, with his own hands he set types and worked at the press; with his own hands would trundle to the office in a wheelbarrow the reams of paper which he was to use. His ingenuity was such, he could form letters, make types and woodcuts, and engrave vignettes in copper. The assembly of Pennsylvania respected his merit, and chose him its printer. He planned a newspaper; and when he became its proprietor and editor, he fearlessly defended absolute freedom of thought and speech, and the inalienable power of the people. Desirous of advancing education, he proposed improvements in the schools of Philadelphia; he invented the system of subscription libraries, and laid the foundation of one that was long the most considerable library in America; he suggested the establishment of an academy, which has ripened into a university; he saw the benefit of concert in the pursuit of science, and gathered a philosophical society for its advancement. The intelligent and highly-cultivated Logan bore testimony to his merits before they had burst upon the world:—"Our most ingenious printer has the clearest understanding, with extreme modesty. He is certainly an extraordinary man,"—"of a singularly good judgment, but of equal modesty,"—"excellent, yet humble." "Do not imagine," he adds, "that I overdo in my character of Benjamin Franklin, for I am rather short in it." When the scien-

tific world began to investigate the wonders of electricity, Franklin excelled all observers in the marvellous simplicity and lucid exposition of his experiments, and in the admirable sagacity with which he elicited from them the laws which they illustrated. It was he who first suggested the explanation of thunder-gusts and the northern lights on electrical principles, and, in the summer of 1752, going out into the fields, with no instrument but a kite, no companion but his son, established his theory by obtaining a line of connection with a thunder-cloud. Nor did he cease till he had made the lightning a household pastime, taught his family to catch the subtile fluid in its inconceivably rapid leaps between the earth and the sky, and compelled it to give warning of its passage by the harmless ringing of bells.

With placid tranquillity, Benjamin Franklin looked quietly and deeply into the secrets of nature. His clear understanding was never perverted by passion, or corrupted by the pride of theory. The son of a rigid Calvinist, the grandson of a tolerant Quaker, he had from boyhood been familiar not only with theological subtilties, but with a catholic respect for freedom of mind. Skeptical of tradition as the basis of faith, he respected reason rather than authority; and, after a momentary lapse into fatalism, escaping from the mazes of fixed decrees and free will, he gained, with increasing years, an increasing trust in the overruling providence of God. Adhering to none "of all the religions" in the colonies, he yet devoutly, though without form, adhered to religion. But though famous as a disputant, and having a natural aptitude for metaphysics, he obeyed the tendency of his age, and sought by observation to win an insight into the mysteries of being. Loving truth, without prejudice and without bias, he discerned intuitively the identity of the laws of nature with those of which humanity is conscious; so that his mind was like a mirror, in which the universe, as it reflected itself, revealed her laws. He was free from mysticism, even to a fault. His morality, repudiating ascetic severities, and the system which enjoins them, was indulgent to appetites of which he abhorred the sway; but his affections were of a calm intensity; in all his career, the love of man gained the mastery over personal interest. He had not the imagination which inspires the bard or kindles the orator; but an exquisite propriety, parsimonious of ornament, gave ease of expression and graceful simplicity even in his most careless writings. In life, also, his tastes were delicate. Indifferent to the pleasures of the table, he relished the delights of music and harmony, of

which he enlarged the instruments. His blandness of temper, his modesty, the benignity of his manners, made him the favorite of intelligent society ; and, with healthy cheerfulness, he derived pleasure from books, from philosophy, from conversation,—now calmly administering consolation to the sorrower, now indulging in the expression of light-hearted gayety.

In his intercourse, the universality of his perceptions bore, perhaps, the character of humor ; but, while he clearly discerned the contrast between the grandeur of the universe and the feebleness of man, a serene benevolence saved him from contempt of his race, or disgust at its toils. To superficial observers, he might have seemed as an alien from speculative truth, limiting himself to the world of the senses ; and yet, in study, and among men, his mind always sought, with unaffected simplicity, to discover and apply the general principles by which nature and affairs are controlled,—now deducing from the theory of caloric improvements in fireplaces and lanterns, and now advancing human freedom by firm inductions from the inalienable rights of man. Never professing enthusiasm, never making a parade of sentiment, his practical wisdom was sometimes mistaken for the offspring of selfish prudence ; yet his hope was steadfast, like that hope which rests on the Rock of Ages, and his conduct was as unerring as though the light that led him was a light from heaven. He never anticipated action by theories of self-sacrificing virtue ; and yet, in the moments of intense activity, he, from the highest abodes of ideal truth, brought down and applied to the affairs of life the sublimest principles of goodness, as noiselessly and unostentatiously as became the man who, with a kite and hempen string, drew the lightning from the skies. He separated himself so little from his age, that he has been called the representative of materialism ; and yet, when he thought on religion, his mind passed beyond reliance on sects to faith in God ; when he wrote on politics, he founded the freedom of his country on principles that know no change ; when he turned an observing eye on nature, he passed always from the effect to the cause, from individual appearances to universal laws ; when he reflected on history, his philosophic mind found gladness and repose in the clear anticipation of the progress of humanity.

Thus did America, by its increase in population, and by the genius of its sons, ripen for independence. But still there was no union : neither danger from abroad, nor English invasions of liberty, had as yet roused the colonies to a common resistance. Not even the proposal to abrogate charters could excite a united

opposition. When, in 1726, the charter of Massachusetts was explained by the act of the king, the change was held to require, and it received, the assent of the colony. And Massachusetts could but submit, when, after a long strife, its territory, was unjustly abridged in favor of the royal government of New Hampshire.

The relations with the Iroquois had a greater tendency to effect concert; they interested New England on the east; and, in 1722, at a congress in Albany, Virginia, as well as Pennsylvania was represented by its governor.

The necessity of joint action, for purposes of defence, had led even Spotswood, of Virginia, to suggest to the board of trade that "the regulation of that assistance should not be left to the precarious humor of an assembly." But no attempt was made from England to tax America. It is true that, in 1728, the profligate Sir William Keith—once the governor of Pennsylvania, and afterwards, for selfish purposes, a fiery patriot, boisterous for liberty and property, meaning a new issue of paper money—submitted to the king the inquiry, "whether the duties of stamps upon parchment and paper in England may not, with good reason, be extended by act of parliament to all the American plantations." The suggestion, which, probably, was not original with Keith, met with no favor from the commissioners of trade. The influence of Sir Robert Walpole, disinclined by character to every measure of violence, and seeking to conciliate the colonies by his measured forbearance, was a guaranty against its adoption. "I will leave the taxing of the British colonies"—such are the words attributed to him towards the close of his ministry, and such, certainly, were his sentiments—"for some of my successors, who may have more courage than I have, and be less a friend to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me," he added, "during my administration, to encourage the trade of the American colonies to the utmost latitude: nay, it has been necessary to pass over some irregularities in their trade with Europe; for, by encouraging them to an extensive, growing foreign commerce, if they gain five hundred thousand pounds, I am convinced that, in two years afterward, full two hundred and fifty thousand pounds of this gain will be in his majesty's exchequer, by the labor and produce of this kingdom, as immense quantities of every kind of our manufactures go thither; and, as they increase in the foreign American trade, more of our produce will be wanted. This is taxing them more agreeably to their own constitution and laws."

In conformity with this policy, every branch of consumption was, as far as practicable, secured to English manufacturers; every form of competition in industry, in the heart of the plantations, was discouraged or forbidden. In the land of furs, it was found that hats were well made: the London company of hatters remonstrated; and their craft was protected by an act forbidding hats to be transported from one plantation to another. The proprietors of English iron works were jealous of American industry; in 1719, the house of commons voted a clause that "none in the plantations should manufacture iron wares of any kind whatsoever;" and the house of peers added a prohibition of every "forge going by water for making bar or rod iron." The opposition of the northern colonies defeated the bill. Of the purpose, which was never abandoned, the mildly-conservative Logan plainly saw the tendency. "Some talk of an act of parliament," he observed, in 1728, "to prohibit our making bar iron, even for our own use. Scarce anything could more effectually alienate the minds of the people in these parts, and shake their dependence upon Britain."

After the peace of Utrecht, the English continental colonies grew acustomed to an humble commerce with the islands of the French and Dutch, purchasing of them sugar, rum, and molasses, in return for provisions, horses, and lumber. The British sugar colonies, always eager for themselves to engage in contraband trade with the Spanish provinces, demanded of parliament a prohibition of all intercourse between the northern colonies and any tropical islands but the British.

In the formation of the colonial system, each European nation valued most the colonies of which the products least interfered with its own. Jealous of the industry of New England, England saw with exultation the increase of its tropical plantations. It was willing, therefore, to check the north, and to favor the south. Hence permission was given to the planters of Carolina, and afterwards of Georgia, to ship their rice directly to any port in Europe south of Cape Finisterre. Hence special restrictions on colonial maritime enterprise; so that, when, in imitation of the French policy, the act of navigation was modified, and liberty granted for carrying sugar from the British sugar plantations directly to foreign markets, ships built and ships owned in the American plantations were excluded from the privilege. Hence, also, after two years' discussion, an act of parliament, recognizing the prosperity of "the sugar colonies in America as of the greatest consequence to the trade of England," imposed a duty of ninepence on every gallon of rum, six-

pence on every gallon of molasses, and five shillings on every hundredweight of sugar, imported from foreign colonies into any of the British plantations.

Here was an act of the British parliament, to be executed by officers of royal appointment, levying a tax on consumption in America. In England, it was afterwards appealed to as a precedent; in America, the sixpence duty on molasses had all the effect of a prohibition. Even in cases of forfeitures, nobody appeared to demand the third part given to the king for the colony. The act of parliament produced no revenue, and led only to clandestine importations, and appeared to be no more than a regulation of commerce, a new development of the colonial system. But here a new difficulty arose. The commercial dependence on the metropolis kept the colonies in debt to England, and created a demand for remittances; so that specie disappeared. America was left without a currency. In the hope of providing for the want, the provinces manufactured bills of credit, and instituted loan offices. The first emissions of provincial paper had their origin in the immediate necessities of the government. In times of peace, provinces which had an empty treasury issued bills of credit, redeemable at a remote day, and put in circulation, by means of loans to citizens, at a low rate of interest, on the mortgage of lands. The bills, in themselves almost worthless, from the remoteness of the day of payment, were made a lawful tender. The borrower, who received them, paid annual interest on his debt to the State; and this interest constituted a public revenue, obtained, it was boasted, without taxation. The scarcity of money was ever more and more complained of: "all the silver money was sent into Great Britain to make returns for what was owing there." Yet the system was imitated in every colony but Virginia.

In Massachusetts, a struggle ensued for a new application of the credit system, by means of a land bank. The design was long resisted as "a fraudulent undertaking," and was acknowledged as tending to give to the company "power and influence in all public concerns, more than belonged to them, more than they could make a good use of, and therefore unwarrantable;" yet, but for the interference of parliament, it would at last have been established.

The first effects of the unreal enlargement of the currency appeared beneficial; and men rejoiced in the seeming impulse given to trade. It was presently found that specie was repelled from the country by the system; that the paper furnished but a depreciated currency, fluctuating in value with every new

emission; that, from the interest of debtors, there was between the colonies some rivalship in issues; that the increase of paper, far from remedying the scarcity of money, excited a thirst for new issues; that, as the party of debtors, if it prevailed in the legislature but once in ten years, could flood the country with bills of credit, men had an interest to remain in debt; that the income of widows and orphans, and all who had salaries or annuities, was ruinously affected by the fluctuations; that administrators were tempted to delay settlements of estates, as each year diminished the value of the inheritances which were to be paid; and, finally, that commerce was corrupted in its sources by the uncertainty attending the expressions of value in every contract.

This uncertainty rapidly pervaded the country. In 1738, the New England currency was worth but one hundred for five hundred; that of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, one hundred for one hundred and sixty or seventy, or two hundred; of South Carolina, one for eight; while of North Carolina—of all the states the least commercial in its character—the paper was in London esteemed worth but one for fourteen, in the colony but one for ten. And yet the policy itself was not repudiated. The statesmen of England never proposed or desired to raise the domestic currency of the colonies to an equality with that of the great commercial world; and the system which Franklin had advocated found an apologist in Pownall, and was defended by Edmund Burke, except that Burke, instead of a currency of depreciated paper, proposed an emission of base coin.

Thus the great topic of variance between England and her continental colonies of America lay in the mercantile system and its consequences. Controversies were also occurring in every part of the country.

Did the lumberers in Maine, on any land first purchased since the grant of the new charter of Massachusetts, cut some stately pine-tree into logs for the saw-mill, the officer of the British crown came to measure its diameter, and to arraign them for a trespass in destroying a mast reserved for the English navy. The colonial legislatures hated the restriction, and parliament repeatedly interfered to extend and confirm the royal monopoly in the American forests.

The ministers of Massachusetts, by the hand of Cotton Mather, desire a synod, "to recover and establish the faith and order of the gospel:" a reprimand from England forbids "the authoritative" meeting, as a bad precedent for dissenters.

The people of Massachusetts resolutely withheld a regular salary from the governor of royal appointment, but, by its legislature, voted, each year, such a grant as his good offices might seem to merit. Burnet is instructed to insist on an established salary. The rustic patriots, firmly asserting every source of popular influence over the executive, scorned "to betray the great trust reposed in them by their principals." Burnet, dying, bequeathed the contest to Belcher, his successor. The general court still persevered in its stubbornness; and at last, as Belcher obtained leave of the crown to accept the annual grants, the controversy subsided, leaving victory to the strong will of Massachusetts.

At New York, the people and the government are in collision. Cosby, imitating Andros in Massachusetts, insists on new surveys of lands and new grants, in lieu of the old. Complaint could be heard only through the press. A newspaper was established to defend the popular cause; and, in November, 1734, about a year after its establishment, its printer, John Peter Zenger, was imprisoned, on the charge of publishing false and seditious libels. The grand jury would find no bill against him, and the attorney-general filed an information. The counsel of Zenger took exceptions to the commissions of the judges, because they ran during pleasure, and because they had been granted without the consent of council. The court answered the objection by excluding those who offered it from the bar. At the trial, the publishing was confessed; but the aged Andrew Hamilton, a lawyer of Philadelphia, pleading for Zenger, justified the publication by asserting its truth. "You cannot be admitted," interrupted the chief justice, "to give the truth of a libel in evidence." "Then," said Hamilton to the jury, "we appeal to you for witnesses of the facts. The jury have a right to determine both the law and the fact, and they ought to do so." "The question before you," he added, "is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone; it is the best cause—the cause of liberty. Every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you as men who, by an impartial verdict, lay a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors, that to which nature and the honor of our country have given us a right—the liberty of opposing arbitrary power by speaking and writing truth." The jury gave their verdict, "Not guilty;" the people of the colonies exulted in the victory of freedom; Hamilton received of the common council of New York the franchises of the city for "his learned and generous defence of the rights of man-

kind." A patriot of the revolution esteemed this trial to have been the morning star of the American revolution. But it was not one light alone that ushered in the dawn of our independence: the stars of a whole constellation sang together for joy.

In Pennsylvania, there existed the fewest checks on the power of the people. "Popular zeal raged as high there as in any country;" "liberty and privileges were ever the cry." And Maryland was as restless as Pennsylvania. "One perplexity had succeeded another, as waves follow waves in the sea, while the settlement had still prospered and thriven at all times since its beginning." The result was inexplicable on the old theories of government. And Logan could not shake off distrust of the issue of the experiment.

Through the press, no one had been so active as Benjamin Franklin. "The judgment of a whole people,"—such was the sentiment of Franklin,—"if unbiased by faction, undeluded by the tricks of designing men, is infallible;" and he asserted the common rights of mankind, by illustrating "eternal truths, that cannot be shaken even with the foundations of the world." Such was public opinion in Pennsylvania more than a century ago.

Virginia was still more in contrast with England. The eighteenth century was the age of commercial ambition; and Virginia relinquished its commerce to foreign factors, paid its taxes in tobacco, and, alone of all the colonies, alone of all civilized states, resisting the universal tendency of the age, had no debts, no banks, no bills of credit, no paper money.

Thus were the colonies forming a character of their own. Throughout the continent, national freedom and independence were gaining vigor and maturity. They were not the offspring of deliberate forethought; they were not planted or watered by the hand of man; they grew like the lilies, which neither toil nor spin.

CHAPTER L.

ENGLAND SENDS NEGROES TO THE UNITED STATES.

But the population of the United States was not derived from Europe alone. Voluntary emigrations of white men were even exceeded in numbers by the importation of slaves from Africa.

A part of the creditors of England had been incorporated into a company, with the exclusive trade to the South Seas. But as Spain, having acquired the American coast in those seas, possessed a monopoly of its commerce, the grant was nugatory and worthless, unless the monopoly of Spain could be successfully invaded; and, for this end, the benefit of the assiento treaty was assigned to the South Sea company.

In 1719, the capital of the company was increased by new subscriptions of national debts; and, in the next year, it was proposed to incorporate into its stock all the national debt of England. The system resembled that of Law; but the latter was connected with a bank of issue, and became a war against specie. In England, there was no attempt, directly or indirectly, to exile specie, no increase of the circulating medium, but only an increase of stocks. The parties implicated suffered from fraud and folly; the stock-jobbers—they who had parted with their certificates of the national debt for stock in the company—they who, hurried away by a blind avidity, had engaged in other "bubbles"—were ruined; but the country was not impoverished.

Enough of the South Sea company survived the overthrow of hopes which had no foundation but in fraud or delusion to execute the contract for negroes, and to covet an illicit commerce with Spanish America. Cupidity grew the more earnest from having been baffled; and, at last, "ambition, avarice, distress, disappointment, and all the complicated vices that tend to render the mind of man uneasy, filled all places and all hearts in the English nation." Dreams of the conquest of Florida, with the possession of the Bahama Channel,—of the conquest of Mexico and Peru, with their real and their imagined wealth,—rose up to dazzle the minds of the restless. While the opportunity of conquest and rapine was anxiously waited for, Jamaica became the centre of an extensive smug-

gling trade ; and slave-ships, deriving their passports from the assiento treaty, were the ready instruments of contraband cupidity.

The colored men who were imported into our colonies, sometimes by way of the West Indies, and sometimes, especially for the south, directly from the Old World, were sought all along the African coast, for thirty degrees together, from Cape Blanco to Loango St. Paul's ; from the Great Desert of Sahara to the kingdom of Angola, or perhaps even to the borders of the land of the Caffres. It is not possible to relate precisely in what bay they were respectively laden, from what sunny cottages they were kidnapped, from what more direful captivity they were rescued. The traders in men have not been careful to record the lineage of their victims. They were chiefly gathered from gangs that were marched from the far interior ; so that the freight of a single ship might be composed of persons of different languages, and of nations altogether strange to each other. Nor was there uniformity of complexion : of those brought to our country, some were from tribes of which the skin was of a tawny yellow.

The purchases in Africa were made, in part, of convicts punished with slavery, or mulcted in a fine, which was discharged by their sale ; of debtors sold, though but rarely into foreign bondage ; of children sold by their parents ; of kidnapped villagers ; of captives taken in war. Hence the sea-coast and the confines of hostile nations were laid waste. But the chief source of supply was from swarms of those born in a state of slavery ; for the despotisms, the superstitions, and the usages of Africa had multiplied bondage. In the upper country, on the Senegal and the Gambia, three-fourths of the inhabitants were not free ; and the slave's master was the absolute lord of the slave's children. The trade in slaves, whether for the caravans of the Moors or for the European ships, was chiefly supplied from the natural increase. In the healthy and fertile uplands of Western Africa, under the tropical sun, the reproductive power of the prolific race, combined with the imperfect development of its moral faculties, gave to human life, in the eye of man himself, an inferior value. Humanity did not respect itself in any of its forms,—in the individual, in the family, or in the nation. Our systems of morals will not explain the phenomenon : its cause is not to be sought in the suppression of moral feeling, but rather in the condition of a branch of the human family not yet conscious of its powers, not yet fully possessed of its moral and rational life. In the

state of humanity itself, in Senegambia, in Upper and Lower Guinea, the problem of the slave trade finds its solution. The habits of life of the native tribes of America rendered its establishment with them impossible. The quick maturity of life, the facility of obtaining sustenance, the nature of the negro, as influenced by a hot sun, a healthful and fertile clime, an undeveloped intelligence, and the fruitfulness of the race, explain why, from century to century, the slave-ships could find a freight, and yet the population of the interior be constantly replenished.

England valued Africa as returning for her manufactures abundant laborers for her colonies, and valued it for nothing else. Africans of more than thirty years of age were rejected by the traders as too old, and few were received under fourteen. Of the whole number, not more than one-third part was composed of women, and a woman past two-and-twenty was hardly deemed worth transportation. The English slave-ships were laden with the youth of Africa.

Slavery, and even a change of masters, were familiar to the African; but to be conducted to the shores of the Western Ocean, to be doomed to pass its boundless deep, and enter on new toils, in an untried clime, and amidst an unknown race, was appalling to the black man. The horrors of the passage, also, corresponded with the infamy of the trade. Small vessels, of little more than two hundred tons' burden, were prepared for the traffic; for these could most easily penetrate the bays and rivers of the coast, and, quickly obtaining a lading, could soonest hurry away from the deadly air of Western Africa. In such a bark five hundred negroes and more have been stowed, exciting wonder that men could have lived, within the tropics, cribbed in so few inches of room. The inequality of force between the crew and the cargo led to the use of manacles; the hands of the stronger men were made fast together, and the right leg of one was chained to the left of another. The avarice of the trader was a partial guaranty of the security of life, as far as it depended on him; but death hovered always over the slave-ship. The negroes, as they came from the higher level to the sea-side,—poorly fed on the sad pilgrimage, sleeping at night on the damp earth without covering, and often reaching the coast at unfavorable seasons,—imbibed the seeds of disease, which confinement on board ship quickened into feverish activity. There have been examples where one-half of them—it has been said, even, where two-thirds of them—perished on the passage. The total loss of life on the voyage is computed

to have been, on the average, fifteen, certainly full twelve and a half, in the hundred: the harbors of the West Indies proved fatal to four and a half more out of every hundred. No scene of wretchedness could surpass a crowded slave-ship during a storm at sea, unless it were that same ship dismasted, or suffering from a protracted voyage and want of food, its miserable inmates tossed helplessly to and fro under the rays of a vertical sun, vainly gasping for a drop of water.

Of a direct voyage from Guinea to the coast of the United States, no journal is known to exist, though slave-ships from Africa entered nearly every considerable harbor south of Newport.

In the northern provinces of English America, the few negroes were lost in the larger number of whites; and only in the lowlands of South Carolina and Virginia did they constitute a great majority of the inhabitants. But they came with the limited faculties of uncivilized man: when they met on our soil, they were as strange to one another as to their masters. Coming from places in Africa a thousand miles asunder, the negro emigrants to America brought with them no common language, no abiding usages, no worship, no nationality. They were compelled to adopt a new dialect for intercourse with each other; and broken English became their tongue not less among themselves than with their masters. Hence there was no unity among them, and no immediate political danger from their joint action. Once an excitement against them raged in New York, through fear of a pretended plot; but the frenzy grew out of a delusion. Sometimes the extreme harshness of taskmasters may have provoked resistance; or sometimes an African accustomed from birth to freedom, and reduced to slavery by the chances of war, carried with him across the Atlantic the indomitable spirit of a warrior; but the instances of insurrection were insulated, and without result. Destitute of common traditions, customs, and laws, the black population existed in fragments, having no bonds of union but color and misfortune. Thus the negro slave in America was dependent on his master for civilization; he could be initiated into skill in the arts only through him; through him only could he gain a country; and, as a consequence, in the next generation, if dissatisfied with his condition, he had yet learned to love the land of his master; it was his country also.

It is not easy to conjecture how many negroes were imported into the English continental colonies. The usual estimates far exceed the truth. Climate came in aid of opinion to oppose

the introduction of them. As their limited number diminished the danger from their presence, they, from the first, appear to have increased, though, owing to the inequality of the sexes, not rapidly in the first generation. Previous to the year 1740, there may have been introduced into our country nearly one hundred and thirty thousand; before 1776, a few more than three hundred thousand. In 1727, "the vast importation of negroes" was a subject of complaint in South Carolina. The German traveller Von Reck, in 1734, reported the number of negroes in that province at thirty thousand, and for the annual importation gave the greatly exaggerated estimate of nearly three thousand.

In the Northern and the Middle States, the negro was employed for menial offices and in the culture of wheat and maize. Almost all the tobacco exported from Maryland and Virginia, all the indigo and rice of Carolina, were the fruit of his toils. Instead of remaining in a wild and unproductive servitude, his labor contributed to the wealth of nations,—his destiny, from its influence on commerce, excited interest throughout the civilized world.

With new powers of production, the negro learned new wants, which were at least partially supplied. At the north, he dwelt under the roof of his master; his physical well-being was provided for, and opinion protected him against cruelty. At the south, his home was a rude cabin of his own, constructed of logs or slabs,—to him, but for the abundance of fuel, a feeble protection against winter. The early writers tell us little of his history, except the crops which he raised.

The physical constitution of the negro decided his home in the New World: he loved the sun; even the climate of Virginia was too chill for him. His labor, therefore, increased in value as he proceeded south; and hence the relation of master and slave came to be essentially a southern institution: to the southern colonies, mainly, Providence intrusted the guardianship and the education of the colored race.

The concurrent testimony of tradition represents the negroes, at their arrival, to have been gross and stupid, having memory and physical strength, but undisciplined in the exercise of reason and imagination. Their organization seemed analogous to their barbarism. But, at the end of a generation, all observers affirmed the marked progress of the negro American. In the midst of the horrors of slavery and the slave trade, the masters had, in part at least, performed the office of advancing and civilizing the negro.

The thought of general emancipation early presented itself. Massachusetts, where the first planters assumed to themselves "a right to treat the Indians on the foot of Canaanites or Amalekites," always opposed the introduction of slaves from abroad; and, in 1701, the town of Boston instructed its representatives "to put a period to negroes' being slaves." In 1712, to a general petition for the emancipation of negro slaves by law, the legislature of Pennsylvania answered, that "it was neither just nor convenient to set them at liberty;" and yet George Keith, the early abolitionist, was followed by the eccentric Benjamin Lay, by Ralph Sandiford,—who held slavery to be inconsistent alike with the rights of man and the principles of Christianity,—and, at a later day, by the amiable enthusiast Anthony Benezet.

But did not Christianity enfranchise its converts? The Christian world of that day almost universally revered in Christ the impersonation of the divine wisdom. Could an intelligent being, who, through the Mediator, had participated in the Spirit of God, and, by his own inward experience, had become conscious of a Supreme Existence, and of relations between that Existence and humanity, be rightfully held in bondage? From New England to Carolina, the "notion" prevailed, that, "being baptized is inconsistent with a state of slavery;" and this early apprehension proved a main obstacle to the culture and "conversion of these poor people." The sentiment was so deep and so general, that South Carolina in 1712, Maryland in 1715, Virginia repeatedly, from 1667 to 1748, gave a negative to it by special enactments. The lawyers, also, declared the fear groundless; and "the opinion of his majesty's attorney and solicitor-general, Yorke and Talbot, signed with their own hands, was accordingly printed in Rhode Island, and dispersed through the plantations." "I heartily wish," adds Berkeley, "it may produce the intended effect;" and, at the same time, he rebuked "the irrational contempt of the blacks," which regarded them "as creatures of another species, having no right to be instructed." In like manner, Gibson, the bishop of London, declared that "Christianity and the embracing of the gospel does not make the least alteration in civil property;" while he besought the masters to regard the negroes "not barely as slaves, but as men-slaves and women-slaves, having the same frame and faculties with themselves."

But for the difference of color, the question of emancipation would at once have been decided in the affirmative. There is not, in all the colonial legislation of America, one single law

which recognizes the rightfulness of slavery in the abstract. Every province favored freedom as such. The real question at issue was, from the first, not one of slavery and freedom generally, but of the relations to each other of the Ethiopian and American races.

Our country might well have shrunk from assuming the guardianship of the negro. Hence the question of tolerating the slave trade and the question of abolishing slavery rested on different grounds. The one related to a refusal of a trust; the other, to the manner of its exercise. The English continental colonies, in the aggregate, were always opposed to the African slave trade. Maryland, Virginia, even Carolina, — alarmed at the excessive production and the consequent low price of their staples, at the heavy debts incurred by the purchase of slaves on credit, and at the dangerous increase of the colored population,—each showed an anxious preference for the introduction of white men; and laws designed to restrict importations of slaves are scattered copiously among the records of colonial legislation. The first continental congress which took to itself powers of legislation gave a legal expression to the well-formed opinion of the country, by resolving "that no slave be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies."

Before America legislated for herself, the interdict of the slave trade was impossible. England was inexorable in maintaining the system, which gained new and stronger supporters by its excess. The English slave trade began to attain its great activity after the assiento treaty. From 1680 to 1700, the English took from Africa about three hundred thousand negroes, or about fifteen thousand a year. The number, during the continuance of the assiento, may have averaged not far from thirty thousand. Raynal considers the number of negroes exported by all European nations from Africa before 1776, to have been nine millions; and the considerate German historian of the slave trade, Albert Hüne, deems his statement too small. A careful analysis of the colored population in America at different periods, and the inferences to be deduced from the few authentic records of the numbers imported, corrected by a comparison with the commercial products of slave labor, as appearing in the annals of English commerce, seem to prove, beyond a doubt, that even the estimate of Raynal is larger than the reality. We shall not err very much, if, for the century previous to the prohibition of the slave trade by the American congress, in 1776, we assume the number imported by the English into the Spanish, French, and English West Indies, as well as the

English continental colonies, to have been, collectively, nearly three millions; to which are to be added more than a quarter of a million purchased in Africa, and thrown into the Atlantic on the passage. The gross returns to English merchants, for the whole traffic in that number of slaves, may have been not far from four hundred millions of dollars. Yet, as at least one-half of the negroes exported from Africa to America were carried in English ships, it should be observed that this estimate is by far the lowest ever made by any inquirer into the statistics of human wickedness. After every deduction, the trade retains its gigantic character of crime.

In an age when the interests of trade guided legislation, this branch of commerce possessed paramount attractions. English ships, fitted out in English cities, under the special favor of the royal family, of the ministry, and of parliament, stole from Africa, in the years from 1700 to 1750, probably a million and a half of souls, of whom one-eighth were buried in the Atlantic, victims of the passage; and yet in England no public opinion lifted its voice against the traffic; no statesman rebuked its enormities; the philosophy of that day furnished to the African no protection against oppression; and the interpretation of English common law was equally regardless of human freedom. The colonial negro, who sailed to the metropolis, found no benefit from touching the soil of England, but returned a slave. Such was the approved law of Virginia in the first half of the last century; such was the opinion of Yorke and Talbot, the law officers of the crown, as expressed in 1729, and, after a lapse of twenty years, repeated and confirmed by one of the same authorities, as chancellor of England.

The influence of the manufacturers was still worse. They clamored for the protection of a trade which opened to them an African market. Thus the party of the slave trade dictated laws to England. A resolve of the commons, in the days of William and Mary, proposed to lay open the trade in negroes, "for the better supply of the plantations;" and the statute-book of England soon declared the opinion of its king and its parliament, that "the trade is highly beneficial and advantageous to the kingdom and the colonies." In 1708, a committee of the house of commons report that "the trade is important, and ought to be free;" in 1711, a committee once more report that "the plantations ought to be supplied with negroes at reasonable rates," and recommend an increase of the trade. In June, 1712, Queen Anne, in her speech to parliament, boasts of her success in securing to Englishmen a new

market for slaves in Spanish America. In 1729, George II. recommended a provision, at the national expense, for the African forts; and the recommendation was followed. At last, in 1749, to give the highest activity to the trade, every obstruction to private enterprise was removed, and the ports of Africa were laid open to English competition; for "the slave trade" —such are the words of the statute—"the slave trade is very advantageous to Great Britain." "The British senate," wrote one of its members, in February, 1750, "have this fortnight been pondering methods to make more effectual that horrid traffic of selling negroes. It has appeared to us that six-and-forty thousand of these wretches are sold every year to our plantations alone."

But, while the partial monopoly of the African company was broken down, and the commerce in men was opened to the competition of Englishmen, the monopoly of British subjects was rigidly enforced against foreigners. That Englishmen alone might monopolize all wealth to be derived from the trade, Holt and Pollexfen, and eight other judges, in pursuance of an order in council, had given their opinion "that negroes are merchandise," and that therefore the act of navigation was to be extended to the English trade in them, to the exclusion of aliens.

The same policy was manifested in the relations between the English crown and the colonies. Land from the public domain was given to emigrants, in one West India colony, at least, on condition that the resident owner would "keep four negroes for every hundred acres." The eighteenth century was, as it were, ushered in by the royal instruction of Queen Anne to the governor of New York and New Jersey, "to give due encouragement to merchants, and in particular to the royal African company of England." That a similar instruction was given generally, is evident from the apology of Spotswood for the small importations of slaves into Virginia. In that commonwealth, the planters beheld with dismay the increase of negroes. A tax checks their importation; and, in 1726, Hugh Drysdale, the deputy-governor, announces to the house that "the interfering interest of the African company has obtained the repeal of that law." Long afterwards, a statesman of Virginia, in full view of the course of colonial legislation and English counteracting authority, unbiased by hostility to England, bore true testimony that "the British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to this infernal traffic." On whatever ground Virginia opposed the trade, the censure was just.

The white man, emigrating, became a dangerous freeman; it was quite sure that the negroes of that century would never profess republicanism; their presence in the colonies increased dependence. This reasoning was avowed by "a British merchant," in 1745, in a political tract, entitled "The African Slave Trade the great Pillar and Support of the British Plantation Trade in America." "Were it possible for white men to answer the end of negroes in planting," it is there contended, "our colonies would interfere with the manufactures of these kingdoms. In such case, indeed, we might have just reason to dread the prosperity of our colonies; but while we can supply them abundantly with negroes, we need be under no such apprehensions." "Negro labor will keep our British colonies in a due subserviency to the interest of their mother country; for, while our plantations depend only on planting by negroes, our colonies can never prove injurious to British manufactures, never become independent of their kingdom." This policy of England knew no relenting. "My friends and I," wrote Oglethorpe, "settled the colony of Georgia, and by charter were established trustees. We determined not to suffer slavery there; but the slave merchants and their adherents not only occasioned us much trouble, but at last got the government to sanction them." South Carolina, in 1760, from prudential motives, attempted restrictions, and gained only a rebuke from the English ministry. Great Britain, steadily rejecting every colonial restriction on the slave trade, instructed the governors, on pain of removal, not to give even a temporary assent to such laws; and, but a year before the prohibition of the slave trade by the American congress, in 1776, the earl of Dartmouth illustrated the tendency of the colonies and the policy of England, by addressing to a colonial agent these memorable words:—"We cannot allow the colonies to check, or discourage in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation."

Yet there was one region, in the south of our republic, from which it was designed to exclude the African. In 1717, a proposal was brought forward to plant a new colony south of Carolina, in the region that was heralded as the most delightful country of the universe. The land was to be tilled by British and Irish laborers, exclusively, without "the dangerous help of blackamoors." Three years afterwards, in the excited season of English stock-jobbing and English anticipations, the suggestion was revived. When Carolina became, by purchase, a royal province, Johnson, its governor, was directed to mark out townships as far south as the Alatamaha; and, in 1731, a

site was chosen for a colony of Swiss in the ancient land of the Yamassees, but on the left bank of the Savannah. The country between the two rivers was still a wilderness, over which England held only a nominal jurisdiction, when the spirit of benevolence formed a partnership with the selfish passion for extended territory, and, heedless of the objection that "the colonies would grow too great" for England, "and throw off their dependency," resolved to plant the sunny clime with the children of misfortune,—with those who in England had neither land nor shelter, and those on the continent to whom, as Protestants, bigotry denied freedom of worship and a home.

In the days when protection of property was avowed to be the end of government, the gallows was set up as the penalty for a petty theft; and each year, in Great Britain, at least four thousand unhappy men were immured in prison for the misfortune of poverty. A small debt exposed to a perpetuity of imprisonment; one indiscreet contract doomed the miserable dupe to life-long confinement. The subject won the attention of James Oglethorpe, a member of the British parliament; a man of an heroic mind and a merciful disposition; hardly thirty years of age, and yet full of experience; who had been disciplined alike in the schools of learning and action; an hereditary loyalist; in his boyhood commissioned during the power of Bolingbroke; a pupil of the university of Oxford; a volunteer in the family of Prince Eugene; present at the siege of Belgrade, and in the brilliant campaign against the Turks on the Danube. To him, in the annals of legislative philanthropy, the honor is due of having first resolved to redress the griefs that had so long been immured and locked up from the public gaze,—to lighten the lot of debtors. Touched with the sorrows which the walls of a prison could not hide from his merciful eye, he searched into the gloomy horrors of jails,

> "Where sickness pines, where thirst and hunger burn,
> And poor misfortune feels the lash of vice."

In 1728, he invoked the interference of the English parliament; and, as a commissioner for inquiring into the state of the jails of the kingdom, his benevolent zeal persevered, till, "from extreme misery, he restored to light and freedom multitudes, who, by long confinement for debt, were strangers and helpless in the country of their birth." He did more. For them, and for persecuted Protestants, he planned an asylum and a new destiny in America, where former poverty would be no reproach, and where the simplicity of piety could indulge the

spirit of devotion, without fear of persecution from men who hated the rebuke of its example.

It was not difficult for Oglethorpe to find associates in his disinterested purpose. To further this end, a charter from George II., dated the ninth day of June, 1732, erected the country between the Savannah and the Alatamaha, and from the head-springs of those rivers due west to the Pacific, into the province of Georgia, and placed it, for twenty-one years, under the guardianship of a corporation, "in trust for the poor." All executive and legislative power, and the institution of courts, were, for twenty-one years, given exclusively to the trustees, or their common council, who were appointed during good behavior. The trustees, men of benevolence and of leisure, ignorant of the value or the nature of popular power, held these grants to contain but "proper powers for establishing and governing the colony." The land, open to Jews, was closed against "Papists." At the head of the council stood Shaftesbury, the antagonist of Locke; but its most celebrated member was Oglethorpe. So illustrious were the auspices of the design, that hope at once painted brilliant visions of an Eden that was to spring up to reward the ardor of such disinterested benevolence. The kindly sun of the new colony was to look down on the abundance of purple vintages, and the silkworm yield its thread to enrich the British merchant, and employ the British looms. The benevolence of England was aroused; the charities of an opulent and an enlightened nation were to be concentrated on the new plantation; individual zeal was kindled in its favor; the Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts sought to promote its interests; and parliament showed its good-will by at once contributing ten thousand pounds.

The common seal of the corporation, having on one side a group of silkworms at their toils, with the motto, *Non sibi, sed aliis*,—Not for themselves, but for others,—expressed the disinterested purpose of the patrons, who, by their own request, were restrained from receiving any grants of lands, or any emolument whatever. On the other side of the seal, the device represented two figures reposing on urns, emblematic of the boundary rivers, having between them the genius of "Georgia Augusta," with a cap of liberty on her head, a spear in one hand, the horn of plenty in the other. The cap of liberty was, for a time at least, an emblem that, south of the Savannah River, "slavery was absolutely proscribed."

CHAPTER LI.

COLONIZATION OF GEORGIA.—WAR WITH SPAIN.

But, while others gave to the design their leisure, their prayers, or their wealth, Oglethorpe, heedless of danger, devoted himself to its fulfilment. In November, 1732, embarking with about one hundred and twenty emigrants, he began the voyage to America, and in fifty-seven days arrived off the bar of Charleston. Accepting a hasty welcome, he sailed directly for Port Royal. While the colony was landing at Beaufort, its patron ascended the boundary river of Georgia, and chose for the site of his chief town the high bluff on which Savannah now stands. At the distance of a half mile dwelt the Yamacraws, a branch of the Muskhogees, who, with Tomo-chichi, their chieftain, sought security by an alliance with the English. "Here is a little present," said the red man, as he offered a buffalo skin, painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle. "The feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love; the buffalo skin is warm, and is the emblem of protection. Therefore love and protect our little families." On the first day of February, or, according to the new style of computation, on the twelfth, the colonists, on board of a small sloop and periagus, arrived at the place intended for the town, and before evening encamped on shore near the edge of the river. Four beautiful pines protected the tent of Oglethorpe, who, for near a twelvemonth, sought no other shelter. In the midst of the pleasant region, the streets of Savannah were laid out with greatest regularity; in each quarter a public square was reserved; the houses were planned and constructed on one model—each a frame of sawed timber, twenty-four feet by sixteen, floored with rough deals, the sides with feather-edged boards unplaned, and the roof shingled. Such a house Oglethorpe afterwards hired as his residence, when in Savannah. Erelong a walk, cut through the native woods, led to the large garden on the river-side, destined as a nursery of European fruit and of the wonderful products of America. Thus began the commonwealth of Georgia. The humane reformer of prison discipline was already the father of a state, "the place of refuge for the distressed people of Britain and the persecuted Protestants of Europe."

INDIAN TRADER.

The fame of the hero penetrated the wilderness; and, in May, the chief men of the eight towns of the Lower Muskhogees, accepting his invitation, came down to make an alliance. Long King, the tall and aged civil chief of the Oconas, spoke for them all. Claiming the country south of the Savannah, he bade the strangers welcome to the lands which his nation did not use; and, in token of sincerity, he laid eight bundles of buckskins at Oglethorpe's feet. On the first of June, a treaty of peace was signed, by which the English claimed sovereignty over the land of the Creeks as far south as the St. John's; and the chieftains departed laden with presents.

A Cherokee appeared among the English. "Fear nothing," said Oglethorpe, "but speak freely;" and the mountaineer answered, "I always speak freely. Why should I fear? I am now among friends; I never feared even among my enemies." And friendly relations were cherished with the Cherokees. In the following year, Red Shoes, a Chocta chief, proposed commerce. "We came a great way," said he, and we are a great nation. The French are building forts about us, against our liking. We have long traded with them, but they are poor in goods; we desire that a trade may be opened between us and you." And when commerce with them was begun, the English coveted the harbors on the Gulf of Mexico.

The good faith of Oglethorpe in the offers of peace, his noble mien and sweetness of temper, conciliated the confidence of the red men; he, in his turn, was pleased with their simplicity, and sought for means to clear the glimmering ray of their minds, to guide their bewildered reason, and teach them to know the God whom they ignorantly adored.

While the neighboring province of South Carolina displayed "a universal zeal for assisting its new ally and bulwark," the persecuted Protestants known to us as Moravians heard the message of hope, and, on the invitation of the Society in England for propagating the Gospel, prepared to emigrate to the Savannah. A free passage; provisions in Georgia for a whole season; land for themselves and their children, free for ten years, then to be held for a small quitrent; the privileges of native Englishmen; freedom of worship;—these were the promises made, accepted, and honorably fulfilled. On the last day of October, 1733, "the evangelical community,"—well supplied with Bibles and hymn-books, catechisms, and books of devotion,—conveying in one wagon their few chattels, in two other covered ones their feebler companions, and especially their little ones,—after a discourse, and prayer, and benedic-

tions,—cheerfully, and in the name of God, began their pilgrimage. History need not stop to tell what charities cheered them on their journey, what towns were closed against them by Roman Catholic magistrates, or how they entered Frankfort on the Main, two by two, in solemn procession, singing spiritual songs. As they floated down the Main, and between the castled crags, the vineyards, and the white-walled towns that adorn the banks of the Rhine, their conversation, amidst hymns and prayers, was of justification, and of sanctification, and of standing fast in the Lord. At Rotterdam, they were joined by two preachers, Bolzius and Gronau, both disciplined in charity at the Orphan House in Halle. A passage of six days carried them from Rotterdam to Dover, where several of the trustees visited them, and provided considerately for their wants. In January, 1734, they set sail for their new homes. The majesty of the ocean quickened their sense of God's omnipotence and wisdom; and, as they lost sight of land, they broke out into a hymn to His glory. The setting sun, after a calm, so kindled the sea and the sky, that words could not express their rapture; and they cried out, "How lovely the creation! How infinitely lovely the Creator!" When the wind was adverse, they prayed; and, as it changed, one opened his mind to the other on the power of prayer, even the prayer "of a man subject to like passions as we are." As the voyage excited weariness, a devout listener confessed himself to be an unconverted man; and they reminded him of the promise to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at the word. As they sailed pleasantly, with a favoring breeze, at the hour of evening prayer, they made a covenant with each other, like Jacob of old, and resolved, by the grace of Christ, to cast all the strange gods which were in their hearts into the depths of the sea. A storm grew so high that not a sail could be set; and they raised their voices in prayer and song amidst the tempest; for to love the Lord Jesus as a brother gave consolation. At Charleston, Oglethorpe bade them welcome; and, in five days more, the wayfaring men, whose home was beyond the skies, pitched their tents near Savannah.

It remained to select for them a residence. To cheer their principal men, as they toiled through the forest and across brooks, Oglethorpe, having provided horses, himself joined the little party. By the aid of blazed trees and Indian guides, he made his way through morasses; a fallen tree served as a bridge over a stream, which the horses swam, for want of a ford; at night, he encamped with them abroad round a fire,

and shared every fatigue, till the spot for their village was chosen, and, like the little stream which formed its border, was named Ebenezer. There they built their dwellings, and there they resolved to raise a column of stone, in token of gratitude to God, whose providence had brought them safely to the ends of the earth.

In the same year, the town of Augusta was laid out, soon to become the favorite resort of Indian traders. The good success of Oglethorpe made the colony increase rapidly by volunteer emigrants. "His undertaking will succeed," said Johnson, the governor of South Carolina; "for he nobly devotes all his powers to serve the poor, and rescue them from their wretchedness." "He bears a great love to the servants and children of God," wrote the pastor of Ebenezer. "He has taken care of us to the utmost of his ability." "God has so blessed his presence and his regulations in the land, that others would not in many years have accomplished what he has brought about in one."

At length, in April, 1734, after a residence in America of about fifteen months, Oglethorpe sailed for England, taking with him Tomo-chichi and others of the Creeks, to do homage at court, and to invigorate the confidence of England in the destiny of the new colony, which was shown to possess the friendship of the surrounding Indian nations.

His absence left Georgia to its own development and to discontent. For its franchises it had only the system of juries; and legislation by its own representatives was not begun.

Deceived by reasonings from the system of feudal law, and by their own prejudices as members of the landed aristocracy of England, the trustees had granted lands only in tail male. Here was a grievance that soon occasioned a just discontent. A regulation prohibiting ardent spirits led only to clandestine traffic. On the rule which forbade the introduction of slaves, the colony was divided in opinion; after a little more than two years, several of those who esteemed themselves "the better sort of people in Savannah," addressed a petition to the trustees "for the use of negroes."

During his stay in England, Oglethorpe won universal favor for his colony, the youngest child of the colonial enterprise of England. Parliament continued its benefactions; the king expressed interest in a province which bore his name. While the jealousy of the maritime powers on the continent was excited, new emigrants continued to be sent from England. The voice of mercy reached the Highlands of Scotland; and a com-

pany of Gaelic mountaineers, as brave as the bravest warriors of the Creek nation, some of them kindred to the loyalists who fell victims to their fidelity to the Stuarts, embarked for America, and established New Inverness, in Darien,

"Where wild Altama murmured to their woe."

In February, 1736, a new company of three hundred emigrants, conducted by Oglethorpe himself, whose care of them during the voyage proved him as considerate as he was brave, ascended a rising ground, not far from Tybee Island, "where they all knelt and returned thanks to God for having safely arrived in Georgia." Among that group was a reënforcement of Moravians—men who had a faith above fear; "whose wives and children even were not afraid to die;" whose simplicity and solemnity, in their conferences and prayers, seemed to revive the primitive "assemblies, where form and state were not, but Paul, the tent-maker, or Peter, the fisherman, presided with the demonstration of the Spirit." There, too, were John and Charles Wesley,—the latter selected as the secretary to Oglethorpe, the former eager to become an apostle to the Indians,—fervent enthusiasts, "whose end in leaving their native country was not to gain riches and honor, but singly this—to live wholly to the glory of God." Residing in America less than two years, they neither desired nor exercised influence in moulding the political institutions of Georgia. When afterwards George Whitefield came, his intrepid nature did not lose its cheerfulness in the encounter with the wilderness; his eager benevolence, led by the example of the Moravians and the fame of the Orphan House at Halle, founded and sustained an orphan house at Savannah by contributions which his eloquence extorted. He became more nearly identified with America, visited all the provinces from Florida to the northern frontier, and made his grave in New England; but he, also, swayed no legislatures, and is chiefly remembered for his fervor and his power of melting the multitude.

At once, Oglethorpe visited the Moravians at Ebenezer, to praise their good husbandry, and to select the site of their new settlement—of which the lines were no sooner drawn, and the streets laid out by an engineer, than huts covered with bark rose up as a shelter, and the labors of the field were renewed. In a few years, the produce of raw silk by the Germans amounted to ten thousand pounds a year; and indigo also became a staple. In earnest memorials they long deprecated the employment of negro slaves, pleading the ability of the white

man to toil even under the suns of Georgia. Their religious affections bound them together in the unity of brotherhood; their controversies were decided among themselves; every event of life had its moral; and the fervor of their worship never disturbed their healthy tranquillity of judgment. They were cheerful and at peace.

From the Moravian towns Oglethorpe hastened to the southward, passing in a scout boat through the narrow island channels, which delighted the eye by their clear sea-green color and stillness, and were sheltered by woods of pines, and evergreen oaks, and cedars, that grew close to the water's side. On the second day, aided by the zeal of his own men, and by Indians skilful in using the oar, he arrived at St. Simon's Island. A fire, kindling the long grass on an old Indian field, cleared a space for the streets of Frederica; and, amidst the carols of the great numbers of the red and the mocking bird, and the noisy mirth of the rice bird, a fort was constructed on the centre of the bluff, with four bastions, commanding the river, and protecting the palmetto cabins, which, appearing like a camp, with bowers instead of tents, and smooth leaves, of a pleasing color, for canvas, each twenty feet by fourteen, were set up on forks and poles in regular rows—a tight and convenient shelter for the emigrants.

It was but ten miles from Frederica to the Scottish settlement at Darien. To give heart to them by his presence, Oglethorpe, in the Highland costume, sailed up the Alatamaha; and all the Highlanders, as they perceived his approach, assembled, with their plaids, broadswords, targets, and firearms, to bid him welcome.

It remained to vindicate the boundaries of Georgia. The messengers who, in February, had been despatched to St. Augustine, had not returned. Oglethorpe resolved himself to sustain the pretensions of Great Britain to the territory as far south as the St. John's, and the Highlanders volunteered their service. With their aid, he explored the channel south of Frederica; and on the island to which Tomo-chichi gave the name of Cumberland, he marked out a fort to be called St. Andrew's. But Oglethorpe still pressed forward to the south. Passing Amelia Island, and claiming the St. John's River as the southern boundary of the territory possessed by the Indian subjects of England at the time of the treaty at Utrecht, on the southern extremity of the island at the entrance of that stream,—where myrtles and palmettoes abounded, and wild grape-vines, climbing to the summit of trees, formed as beautiful walks as art

could have designed,—he planted the Fort St. George, as the defence of the British frontier.

Indignant at the near approach of the English, the Spaniards of Florida threatened opposition. The messengers of Oglethorpe were detained as prisoners, and he resolved to claim their liberty. The rumors of his intended expedition had reached the wilderness; and, in May, the Uchees, all brilliantly painted, came down to form an alliance, and to grasp the hatchet. Long speeches and the exchange of presents were followed by the war-dance. Tomo-chichi appeared, also, with his warriors, ever ready to hunt the buffalo along the frontiers of Florida, or to engage in warfare with the few planters on the peninsula; and an embarkation was made for the purpose of regulating the southern boundary of the British colonies.

But, for that season, active hostilities were avoided by negotiation. The Spaniards did, indeed, claim peremptorily the whole country as far as St. Helena's Sound; but the English envoys at St. Augustine were set free; and, if the English post on the St. George was abandoned, St. Andrew's, commanding the approach to the St. Mary's, was maintained. Hence the St. Mary's ultimately became the boundary of the colony of Oglethorpe.

The friendship of the red men insured the safety of the English settlements. The Chickasas, animated by their victory over the Illinois and D'Artaguette, in July, 1736, came down to narrate how unexpectedly they had been attacked, how victoriously they had resisted, with what exultations they had consumed their prisoners by fire. Ever attached to the English, they now sent their deputation of thirty warriors, with their civil sachem and war-chief, to make an alliance with Oglethorpe, whose fame had reached the Mississippi. They brought for him an Indian chaplet, made from the spoils of their enemies, glittering with feathers of many hues, and enriched with the horns of buffaloes. Thus the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Chickasas, were his unwavering friends, and even the Choctas had covenanted with him to received English traders. To hasten preparations for the impending contest with Spain, Oglethorpe, in November, 1736, embarked for England. He could report to the trustees "that the colony was doing well; that Indians from seven hundred miles' distance had confederated with him, and acknowledged the authority of his sovereign."

Receiving a commission as brigadier-general, with a military command extending over South Carolina, Oglethorpe himself, in Great Britain, raised and disciplined a regiment; and, after

an absence of more than a year and a half, in September, 1738, he returned to Frederica. There, by the industry of his soldiers, the walls of the fortress were completed. Their ivy-mantled ruins are still standing; and the village, now almost a deserted one, in the season of its greatest prosperity is said to have contained a thousand men.

At Savannah, he was welcomed by salutes and bonfires. But he refused any alteration in the titles of land. The request for the allowance of slaves he rejected sternly, declaring that, if negroes should be introduced into Georgia, "he would have no further concern with the colony;" and he used his nearly arbitrary power, as the civil and military head of the state, the founder and delegated legislator of Georgia, to interdict negro slavery. The trustees applauded this decision, and, notwithstanding "repeated applications," "persisted in denying the use of negroes,"—even though many of the planters, believing success impossible with "white servants," prepared to desert the colony.

The openness and fidelity of Oglethorpe preserved the affection of the natives. Muskhogees and Chickasas came round him once more, to renew their covenants of friendship. The former had, from the first, regarded him as their father; and, as he had made some progress in their language, they appealed to him directly in every emergency.

Nor was this all. In the summer of 1739, the civil and war chiefs of the Muskhogees held a general council in Cowetas, and adjourned it to Cusitas, on the Chattahoochee; and Oglethorpe, making his way through solitary paths, fearless of the suns of summer, the night dews, or the treachery of some hireling Indian, came also into the large square of their council-place, to distribute presents to his red friends; to renew and explain their covenants; to address them in words of affection; to drink with the Creek warriors the sacred safkey, and smoke with their nations the pipe of peace. It was then agreed, that the ancient love of the tribes to the British king should remain unimpaired; that the lands from the St. John's to the Savannah, between the sea and the mountains, belonged, of ancient right, to the Muskhogees. Their cession to the English of the land on the Savannah, as far as the Ogeechee, and along the coast to the St. John's, as far into the interior as the tide flows, was, with a few reservations, confirmed; and the entrance to the rest of their domains was barred forever against the Spaniards. The right of preëmption was reserved for the trustees of Georgia alone; nor might they enlarge their possessions, except with the consent of the ancient proprietaries of the soil.

The news of this treaty could not have reached England before the negotiations with Spain were abruptly terminated. Walpole desired peace; he pleaded for it in the name of national honor, of justice, and of the true interests of commerce. But the active English mind, debauched by the hopes of sudden gains, had become soured by disappointment, and was now resolved on illicit commerce, or on plunder and conquest. A war was desired, not because England insisted on cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras, where Spain claimed a jurisdiction, and had founded no settlements; nor because the South Sea company differed with the king of Spain as to the balances of their accounts; nor yet because the boundary between Carolina and Florida was still in dispute;—these differences could all have been adjusted;—but because English "merchants were not permitted to smuggle with impunity."

In an ill hour for herself, in a happy one for America, England declared war against Spain. To acquire possession of the richest portions of Spanish America, Anson was sent, with a small squadron, into the Pacific; but disasters at sea compelled him to renounce the hope of conquest, and seek only booty.

In November, 1739, Edward Vernon, with six men-of-war, appeared off Porto Bello. The attack on the feeble and ill-supplied garrison began on the twenty-first; and, on the next day, losing but seven men, he was in possession of the town and the castles. Vernon belonged to the opposition; and the enemies of Walpole exalted his praises, till his heroism was made a proverb, his birthday signalized by lights and bonfires, and his head selected as the favorite ornament for signposts. Meantime he took and demolished Fort Chagre, on this side of the Isthmus of Darien; but without result; for the gales near Cape Horn had prevented the coöperation of Anson at Panama.

The victory, in its effects, was sad for the northern colonies. England prepared to send to the West Indies by far the largest fleet and army that had ever appeared in the Gulf of Mexico, and summoned the colonies north of Carolina to contribute four battalions to the armament. No colony refused its quota; even Pennsylvania voted a contribution of money, and thus enabled its governor to enlist troops for the occasion. The expedition from England reached Jamaica in the early part of 1741. Near the end of January, with a fleet of twenty-nine ships of the line, beside about eighty smaller vessels, with fifteen thousand sailors, with twelve thousand land forces, equipped with all sorts of warlike instruments, and every kind of convenience, Vernon weighed anchor, and, after vainly

searching for the fleet of the French and Spaniards, he resolved to attack Carthagena, the strongest place in Spanish America. During the siege, the fever of the low country in the tropics began its rapid work; men perished in crowds; the dead were cast into the sea, sometimes without winding-sheet or sinkers; the hospital ships were crowded with miserable sufferers. In two days, the effective force on land dwindled from six thousand six hundred to three thousand two hundred. The English could only demolish the fortifications and retire.

In July, an attack on Santiago, in Cuba, was meditated, and abandoned almost as soon as attempted.

Such were the fruits of an expedition which was to have prepared the way for conquering Mexico and Peru. Of the recruits from the colonies, nine out of ten fell victims to the climate and the service. When the fleet returned to Jamaica, late in November, 1741, the entire loss of lives is estimated to have been about twenty thousand, of whom few fell by the enemy. England had made no acquisitions, and had inflicted on the Spanish West Indies far less evil than she herself had suffered.

The disasters in the West Indies prevented the conquest of Florida. Having, in September, 1739, received instructions from England of the approaching war with Spain, Oglethorpe hastened, before the close of the year, to extend the boundaries of Georgia once more to the St. John's, and immediately, in December, urged upon the province of South Carolina the reduction of the Spaniards at St. Augustine. "As soon as the sea is free," he adds, "they will send a large body of troops from Cuba." His own intrepidity would brook no delay, and, in the first week of 1740, he entered Florida.

In March, Oglethorpe hurried to Charleston, to encourage the zeal of South Carolina; but the forces, which that province voted in April, were not ready till May; and when, on the second of June, the expedition, composed of six hundred regular troops, four hundred militia from Carolina, beside Indian auxiliaries, who were soon reduced to two hundred, advanced to the walls of St. Augustine, the garrison, commanded by Monteano, a man of courage and energy, had already received supplies. A vigorous sally was successful against a detached party, chiefly of Highlanders, at Fort Moosa. Yet, for nearly five weeks, Oglethorpe endeavored, in defiance of his own weakness and the strength of the place, to devise measures for victory, till "the Carolina troops, enfeebled by the heat, dispirited by sickness, and fatigued by fruitless efforts, marched away in

large bodies." The small naval force also resolved, in council, "to take off all their men, and sail away," and thus "put an end to the enterprise." Oglethorpe returned without molestation to Frederica.

The English still asserted their superiority on the southern frontier. St. Augustine had not fallen; the Spaniards had not been driven from Florida; but Oglethorpe maintained the extended limits of Georgia; his Indian alliances gave him the superiority in the wilderness as far as the land of the Choctas.

At last, in 1742, to make good its pretensions, the Spanish government resolved on invading Georgia. It collected its forces from Cuba, and a large fleet, with an armament, of which the force has been greatly exaggerated, sailed towards the mouth of the St. Mary's. Fort William, which Oglethorpe had constructed at the southern extremity of Cumberland Island, defended the entrance successfully, till, fighting his way through Spanish vessels, which endeavored to intercept him, the general himself reënforced it. Then, promptly returning to St. Simon's, having no aid from Carolina, with less than a thousand men, he prepared for defence. "We are resolved not to suffer defeat;"—such was his cheering message to Savannah;—"we will rather die, like Leonidas and his Spartans, if we can but protect Carolina and the rest of the Americans from desolation." And, going on board one of the little vessels that chanced to be at hand, he called on the seamen to stand by their liberties and country. "For myself," he added, "I am prepared for all dangers. I know the enemy are far more numerous than we; but I rely on the valor of our men, and, with the aid of God, I do not doubt we shall be victorious."

On the fifth of July, seven days after it first came to anchor off Simon's Bar, the Spanish fleet of thirty-six vessels, with the tide of flood and a brisk gale, entered St. Simon's Harbor, and succeeded in passing the English batteries on the southern point of the island. The general signalled his ships to run up to Frederica, and, spiking the guns of the lower fort, withdrew to the town, while the Spaniards landed at Gascoin's Bluff, and took possession of the camps which the English had abandoned. But, in constructing the road to Frederica, Oglethorpe had left a morass on the one side, and a dense oak wood on the other. On the seventh, a party of Spaniards advance; they are within a mile of the town; they are met by Oglethorpe himself, with the Highland company, are overcome, pursued, and most of the party killed or taken prisoners. A second party of the Spaniards march to the assault; they come

to a place where the narrow avenue, bending with the edge of the morass, forms a crescent; as they reach the fatal spot, Highland caps rise up in the wood, and, under the command of Mackay and Sutherland, an attack is begun. The opposing grenadiers at first stood firm, and discharged volley after volley at an enemy whom the thicket concealed. But, as Oglethorpe hastened to the scene, he found the victory already complete, except as a Highland shout, or the yell of an Indian, announced the discovery of some straggling Spaniard. The enemy had retreated with a loss of about two hundred men, leaving to the ground, which was now strown with the dead, the name of "the Bloody Marsh."

Despairing of success, and weakened by divisions,—deceived, too, by an ingenious stratagem,—the Spaniards, on the night of the fourteenth, re-embarked, leaving a quantity of ammunition and guns behind them. On the eighteenth, on their way to the south, they renewed their attack on Fort William, which was bravely defended by Stuart and his little garrison of fifty men. The English boats watched the movements of the retreating squadron till it was south of the St. John's; and, on the twenty-fourth day of July, Oglethorpe could publish an order for a general thanksgiving for the end of the invasion.

Thus was Georgia colonized and defended; its frontiers were safe against inroads; and, though Florida still lingered under the jurisdiction of Spain, its limits were narrowed. To meet the complaints of the disaffected, in July, 1743, Oglethorpe, after a year of tranquillity, sailed for England, never again to behold the colony with which the disinterested toils of ten years had identified his fame. For the welfare of Georgia he had renounced ease and the enjoyment of fortune, to scorn danger, and "fare much harder than any of the people that were settled there." Yet his virtues were the result of sentiment, not of reflection, and were colored by the prejudices of his nation—the hatred of Papists, the aversion to Spain. But the gentleness of his nature appeared in all his actions; he was merciful to the prisoner; a father to the emigrant; the unwavering friend of Wesley; the constant benefactor of the Moravians; honestly zealous for the conversion of the Indians; invoking for the negro the panoply of the gospel. He loved to relieve the indigent, to soothe the mourner; and his name became known as another expression for "vast benevolence of soul."

The life of Oglethorpe was prolonged beyond fourscore; and, even in the last year of it, he was extolled as "the finest fig-

ure" ever seen—the impersonation of venerable age; his faculties were still bright, and his eye was undimmed; but his legislation did not outlive his power. The system of tail male went gradually into oblivion; the importation of rum was no longer forbidden; slaves from Carolina were hired by the planter, first for a short period, then for life, or a hundred years. Slavers from Africa sailed directly to Savannah, and the laws against them were not rigidly enforced. Whitefield, who believed that God's providence would certainly make slavery terminate for the advantage of the Africans, pleaded before the trustees in its favor, as essential to the prosperity of Georgia; even the poorest people earnestly desired the change. The Moravians still expressed regret, moved partly by a hatred of oppression, and partly by antipathy to the race of colored men. At last, they, too, began to think that negro slaves might be employed in a Christian spirit; and it was agreed that, if the negroes were treated in a Christian manner, their change of country would prove to them a benefit. A message from Germany served to hush their scruples. "If you take slaves in faith, and with the intent of conducting them to Christ, the action will not be a sin, but may prove a benediction."

CHAPTER LII.

WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.

After the departure of Oglethorpe, the southern colonies enjoyed repose; for the war for colonial commerce had become merged in a vast Europeon struggle, involving the principles and designs which had agitated the civilized world for centuries. In France, Fleury had adhered to the policy of peace, when, by the death of Charles VI., the extinction of the male line of the house of Hapsburg raised a question on the Austrian succession. The pragmatic sanction, to which France was a party, secured the whole Austrian dominions to Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI.; while, from an erudite genealogy or previous marriages, the sovereigns of Spain, of Saxony, and of Bavaria each derived a claim to the undivided heritage. The interest of the French king, his political system, his faith, as pledged by a solemn treaty, the advice of his minister, demanded of him the recognition of the rights of Maria Theresa in their integrity; and yet, swayed by the intrigues of the Belle-Isles, and the hereditary hatred of Austria, without one decent pretext, he constituted himself the centre of an alliance against her. As England, by its arrogant encroachments on Spain, unconsciously enlarged the commercial freedom, or began the independence, of colonies; so France, by its unjustifiable war on Austria, floated from its moorings, and foretold the wreck of Catholic legitimacy.

In the great European contest, England, true to its policy of connecting itself with the second continental power, gave subsidies to Austria. The fleets of England and France meet in the Mediterranean; the fleet of England is victorious. France declares war against England also; and the little conflicts in America are lost in the universal conflagration of Europe. Never did history present such a scene of confusion. Europe rocked like the ocean on the lulling of a long storm, when the opposite wind has just sprung up, throwing the heaving billows into tumultuous conflict.

The absence of purity in public life extinguished attachment to the administration, and left an opportunity to the Pretender to conquer Scotland, and advance to within four days' march of London. This invasion had no partisans in America, where the

house of Hanover was respected as the representative of Protestantism. In England, where monarchy was established, the vices of the reigning family had produced disgust and indifference; but the friends of revolution did not look beyond a choice of dynasty. America was destined to choose, not between kings, but between forms of government.

On the continent France gained fruitless victories. Her flag waved over Prague only to be struck down by Austria. Saxony, Bavaria, her allies on the borders of Austria, one after another, abandoned her. The fields of blood at Fontenoy, at Raucoux, at Laffeldt, were barren of results; for the collision of armies was but an unmeaning collision of brute force, guided by selfishness. Statesmen scoffed at Virtue, and she avenged herself by bringing their counsels to naught.

One result, however, of which the character did not at first appear, was, during the conflict, achieved in the north. Protestantism was represented on the continent by no great power. Frederick II., a pupil of the philosophy of Leibnitz and Wolf, took advantage of the confusion, and, with the happy audacity of youth, and a discreet ambition, which knew where to set bounds to its own impetuosity, wrested Silesia from Austria. Indifferent to alliances with powers which, having no fixed aims, could have no fixed friendships, he entered into the contest, and withdrew from it, alone. Assuming arms in 1742, and again in 1745, and twice concluding a separate peace, he retired, with a guaranty from England of the acquisitions which, aided by the power of opinion, constituted his monarchy the central point of political interest on the continent of Europe.

Nor was the war limited to Europe and European colonies: in the East Indies, where the empire of the Great Mogul lay in ruins, the commercial companies of France and England struggled for supremacy. The French company of the Indies, aided by the king, had confirmed its power at Pondicherry; and, as the Sorbonne had published to a credulous nation, that dividends on the stock of the commercial company would be usurious, and therefore a crime against religion, the corporation was unfortunate, though private merchants were gaining wealth in the Carnatic and on the Ganges. The brave mariner from St. Malo, the enterprising La Bourdonnais, from his government in the Isle of France, devised, in September, 1746, schemes of conquest. But the future was not foreseen; and, limited by instructions from the French ministers to make no acquisitions of territory whatever, though, with the aid of the governor of Pondicherry, he might have gained for France the entire ascendency in Hin-

dostan, he pledged his word of honor to restore Madras to the English, in the very hour when he proudly planted the flag of France on its fortress.

Russia, also, was invoked to take part in the contest, as the stipendiary of England. At an earlier period of the war, she had, in the opposite direction, drawn near our present borders. After the empire of the czars had been extended over Kamtschatka, Peter the Great had planned a voyage of discovery along the shores of Asia; and, in 1728, Behring demonstrated the insulation of that continent on the east. In 1741, the same intrepid navigator, sailing with two vessels from Ochotzk, discovered the narrow straits which divide the continents; caught glimpses of the mountains of North-west America; traced the line of the Aleutian archipelago; and, tossed by storms, in the midst of snows and ice, fell a victim to fatigue on a desert island of the group which bears his name. The gallant Danish mariner did not know that he had seen America; though, through him, Russia, by right of discovery, thus gained the north-west of our continent.

While the states of Europe, by means of their wide relations, were fast forming the nations of the whole world into one political system, the few incidents of war in our America could obtain no interest. A proposition was brought forward by Coxe to form a union of all the colonies, for the purposes of defence; but danger was not so universal or so imminent, as to furnish a sufficient motive for a confederacy. The peace of the central provinces was unbroken. The strifes of the world, in opinion or in arms, did not disturb the scattered planters of Virginia.

The ownership of the west was still in dispute; and at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, the governor of that state, with commissioners from Maryland and from Virginia, met the deputies of the Iroquois, who, since the union with the Tuscaroras, became known as the Six Nations. "We conquered," said they, "the country of the Indians beyond the mountains: if the Virginians ever gain a good right to it, it must be by us." And, in July, 1744, for about four hundred pounds, the deputies of the Six Nations made "a deed recognizing the king's right to all the lands that are or shall be, by his majesty's appointment, in the colony of Virginia." The lands in Maryland were, in like manner, confirmed to Lord Baltimore, but with definite limits; the deed to Virginia extended the claim of that colony indefinitely in the west and north-west.

The events of the war of England with France were then detailed, and the conditions of the former treaties of alliance were

called to mind. "The covenant chain between us and Pennsylvania," replied Canassatego, "is an ancient one, and has never contracted rust. We shall have all your country under our eye. Before we came here, we told Onondio, there was room enough at sea to fight, where he might do what he pleased; but he should not come upon our land to do any damage to our brethren." After a pause, it was added, "The Six Nations have a great authority over the praying Indians, who stand in the very gates of the French: to show our further care, we have engaged these very Indians and other allies of the French; they have agreed with us they will not join against you." Then the chain of union was made as bright as the sun. The Virginians proposed to educate the children of the Iroquois at their public school. "Brother Assaragoa," they replied, "we must let you know that we love our children too well to send them so great a way; and the Indians are not inclined to give their children learning. Your invitation is good, but our customs differ from yours." And then, acknowledging the rich gifts from the three provinces, they continued, as if aware of their doom—"We have provided a small present for you; but, alas! we are poor, and shall ever remain so, as long as there are so many Indian traders among us. Theirs and the white people's cattle eat up all the grass, and make deer scarce." And they presented three bundles of skins. At the close of the conference, the Indians gave, in their order, five *yo-hahs;* and the English agents, after a health to the king of England and the Six Nations, put an end to the assembly by three loud huzzas. Thus did Great Britain at once acquire and confirm its claims to the basin of the Ohio, and, at the same time, protect its northern frontier.

Yet the sense of danger led the Pennsylvanians, for the first time, to a military organization, effected in 1747, by a voluntary system. "The country raised above one hundred and twenty companies of militia, of which Philadelphia raised ten, of about a hundred men each." "The women were so zealous, that they furnished ten pairs of silk colors, wrought with various mottoes." "Benjamin Franklin was the prime actor in all this;" elected to the command of a regiment, he declined the distinction, and, as an humble volunteer, "himself carried a musket among the common soldiers."

While the central provinces enjoyed tranquillity, in May, 1744, a body of French from Cape Breton, before the news of the declaration of war with France had been received in New England, surprised the little English garrison at Canseau; destroyed

the fishery, the fort, and the other buildings there, and removed eighty men, as prisoners of war, to Louisburg. The fortifications of Annapolis, the only remaining defence of Nova Scotia, were in a state of ruin. An attack made upon it by Indians in the service of the French, accompanied by Le Loutre, their missionary, was with difficulty repelled. The inhabitants of the province, sixteen thousand in number, were of French origin ; and a revolt of the people, with the aid of Indian allies, might have once more placed France in possession of its ancient colony. While William Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, foresaw the danger, and solicited aid from England, the officers and men taken at Canseau, after passing the summer in captivity at Louisburg, were sent to Boston on parole. They brought accurate accounts of the condition of that fortress ; and Shirley resolved on an enterprise for its reduction. The fishermen, especially of Marblehead, interrupted in their pursuits by the war, disdained an idle summer, and entered readily into the design. The legislature of Massachusetts, in January, 1745, resolved on the expedition by a majority of one vote. Solicited to render assistance, New York sent a small supply of artillery, and Pennsylvania of provisions ; New England alone furnished men ; of whom Connecticut raised five hundred and sixteen ; New Hampshire—to whose troops Whitefield gave, as Charles Wesley had done to Oglethorpe, the motto, "Nothing is to be despaired of, with Christ for the leader"—contributed a detachment of three hundred and four ; while the forces levied for the occasion by Massachusetts exceeded three thousand volunteers. Three hundred men sailed from Rhode Island, but too late for active service. Of Commodore Warren at Antigua, an express-boat requested the coöperation with such ships as could be spared from the Leeward Islands ; but, on a consultation with the captains of his squadron, it was unanimously resolved by them, in the absence of directions from England, not to engage in the scheme.

Thus, then, relying on themselves, the volunteers of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, with a merchant, William Pepperell, of Maine, for their chief commander, in April, 1745, met at Canseau. The inventive genius of New England had been aroused ; one proposed a model of a flying bridge, to scale the walls even before a breach should be made; another was ready with a caution against mines ; a third, who was a minister, presented to the merchant general, ignorant of war, a plan for encamping the army, opening trenches, and placing batteries. The expedition itself was composed of fishermen, who,

in time of war, could no longer use the hook and line on the Grand Bank, but, with prudent forethought, took with them their codlines; of mechanics, skilled from childhood in the use of the gun; of lumberers inured to fatigue and encampments in the woods; of husbandmen from the interior, who had grown up with arms in their hands, accustomed to danger, keenest marksmen, disciplined in the pursuit of larger and smaller game; all volunteers; all commanded by officers from among themselves; many of them church-members; almost all having wives and children. As the ice of Cape Breton was drifting in such heaps that a vessel could not enter its harbors, the New England fleet was detained many days at Canseau,—when, on the twenty-third of April, the squadron of Commodore Warren happily arrived. Hardly had his council at Antigua declined the enterprise, when instructions from England bade him render every aid to Massachusetts; and, learning at sea the embarkation of the troops, he sailed directly to Canseau. The next day arrived nine vessels from Connecticut, with the forces from that colony, in high spirits and good health.

On the last day of April, an hour after sunrise, the armament, in a hundred vessels of New England, entering the Bay of Chapeaurouge, or Gabarus, as the English called it, came in sight of Louisburg. Its walls, raised on a neck of land on the south side of the harbor, forty feet thick at the base, and from twenty to thirty feet high, all swept from the bastions, surrounded by a ditch eighty feet wide, were furnished with one hundred and one cannon, seventy-six swivels, and six mortars; its garrison was composed of more than sixteen hundred men; the harbor was defended by an island battery of thirty twenty-two pounders, and by the royal battery on the shore, having thirty large cannon, a moat and bastions, all so perfect that it was thought two hundred men could have defended it against five thousand. On the other hand, the New England forces had but eighteen cannon and three mortars; but no sooner did they come in sight of the city, than, letting down the whale-boats, "they flew to shore, like eagles to the quarry." The French, that came down to prevent the landing, were put to flight, and driven into the woods. On the first day of May, a detachment of four hundred men, led by William Vaughan, a volunteer from New Hampshire, marched by the city, which it greeted with three cheers, and took post near the north-east harbor. The French who held the royal battery, struck with panic, spiked its guns, and abandoned it in the night. In the morning, boats from the city came to recover

it; but Vaughan and thirteen men standing on the beach, kept them from landing till a re-enforcement arrived. To a major in one of the regiments of Massachusetts, Seth Pomroy, from Northampton, a gunsmith, was assigned the oversight of above twenty smiths in drilling the cannon, which were little injured; and the fire from the city and the island battery was soon returned. "Louisburg," wrote Pomroy to his family, "is an exceedingly strong place, and seems impregnable. It looks as if our campaign would last long; but I am willing to stay till God's time comes to deliver the city into our hands." "Suffer no anxious thought to rest in your mind about me," replied his wife from the bosom of New England. "The whole town is much engaged with concern for the expedition, how Providence will order the affair, for which religious meetings every week are maintained. I leave you in the hand of God."

The troops made a jest of technical military terms; they laughed at proposals for zigzags and epaulements. The light of nature, however, taught them to erect fascine batteries at the west and south-west of the city. Of these the most effective was commanded by Tidcomb, whose readiness to engage in hazardous enterprises was justly applauded. As it was necessary for the purposes of attack to drag the cannon over boggy morasses, impassable for wheels, Meserve, a New Hampshire colonel, who was a carpenter, constructed sledges; and on these the men, with straps over their shoulders, sinking to their knees in mud, drew them safely over. Thus the siege proceeded in a random manner. The men knew little of strict discipline; they had no fixed encampment; destitute of tents to keep off the fogs and dews, their lodgings were turf and brush houses; their bed was the earth—dangerous resting-place for those of the people "unacquainted with lying in the woods." Yet the weather was fair; and the atmosphere, usually thick with palpable fogs, was, during the whole siege, singularly dry. All day long, the men, if not on duty, were busy with amusements,—firing at marks, fishing, fowling, wrestling, racing, or running after balls shot from the enemy's guns. The feebleness of the garrison, which had only six hundred regular soldiers, with about a thousand Breton militia, prevented sallies; the hunting-parties, as vigilant for the trail of an enemy as for game, rendered a surprise by land impossible; while the fleet of Admiral Warren guarded the approaches by sea.

Four or five attempts to take the island battery, which commanded the entrance to the harbor, had failed. The failure is

talked of among the troops; a party of volunteers, after the fashion of Indian expeditions, under a chief of their own election, enlist for a vigorous attack on the night of the twenty-sixth of May; "but now Providence seemed remarkably to frown upon the affair." The assailants are discovered; a murderous fire strikes their boats before they land; only a part of them reach the island; a severe contest for near an hour ensues; those who can reach the boats escape, with the loss of sixty killed, and one hundred and sixteen taken prisoners.

To annoy the island battery, the Americans, under the direction of Gridley of Boston, with persevering toil, erect a battery near the north cape of the harbor, on the Light-House Cliff; while, within two hundred yards of the city, trenches had been thrown up near an advanced post, which, with guns from the royal battery, played upon the north-west gate of Louisburg.

Still no breach had been effected, while the labors of the garrison were making the fortifications stronger than ever. The expedition must be abandoned, or the walls of the city scaled. The naval officers, who had been joined by several ships-of-war, ordered from England on the service, agreed to sail into the harbor, and bombard the city, while the land forces are to attempt to enter the fortress by storm. But, strong as were the works, the garrison is discontented, and Duchambon, their commander, ignorant of his duties. The Vigilant, a French ship of sixty-four guns, laden with military stores for his supply, was decoyed by Douglas, of the Mermaid, into the English fleet, and, on the fifteenth of June, after an engagement of some hours, was taken, in sight of the besieged town. The next day, the desponding governor sent out a flag of truce; terms of capitulation were accepted; on the seventeenth of June, the city, the fort, the batteries, were surrendered. As the troops, entering the fortress, beheld the strength of the place, their hearts, for the first time sunk within them. "God has gone out of the way of his common providence," said they, "in a remarkable and almost miraculous manner, to incline the hearts of the French to give up, and deliver this strong city into our hands." When the news of success reached Boston, the bells of the town rung merrily, and all the people were in transports of joy. Thus did the strongest fortress of North America capitulate to an army of undisciplined New England mechanics, and farmers, and fishermen. It was the greatest success achieved by England during the war.

The capture of Louisburg seemed to threaten a transfer of

the scene of earnest hostilities to America. France planned its recovery, and the desolation of the English colonies; but, in 1746, the large fleet from France, under the command of the duke d'Anville, wasted by storms and shipwrecks, and pestilential disease,—enfeebled by the sudden death of its commander, and the delirium and suicide of his successor,—did not even attack Annapolis. In the next year, the French fleet, with troops destined for Canada and Nova Scotia, was encountered by Anson and Warren; and all its intrepidity could not save it from striking its colors. The American colonies suffered only on the frontier. Fort Massachusetts, in Williamstown, the post nearest to Crown Point, having but twenty-two men for its garrison, capitulated to a large body of French and Indians. In the wars of Queen Anne, Deerfield and Haverhill were the scenes of massacre. It marks the progress of settlements, that danger was now repelled from Concord on the Merrimac, and from the township now called Charlestown, on the Connecticut.

Repairing to Louisburg, Shirley, with Warren, had concerted a project for reducing all Canada; and the duke of Newcastle replied to their proposals by directing preparations for the conquest. The colonies north of Virginia voted to raise more than eight thousand men; but no fleet arrived from England; and the French were not even driven from their posts in Nova Scotia. The summer of the next year passed in that inactivity which attends the expectation of peace; and, in September, the provincial army, by direction of the duke of Newcastle, was disbanded. Men believed that England, from motives of policy, had not desired success. "There is reason enough for doubting whether the king, if he had the power, would wish to drive the French from their possessions in Canada." Such was public opinion at New York, in 1748, as preserved for us by the Swedish traveller Peter Kalm. "The English colonies in this part of the world," he continues, "have increased so much in wealth and population, that they will vie with European England. But to maintain the commerce and the power of the metropolis, they are forbid to establish new manufactures, which might compete with the English; they may dig for gold and silver only on condition of shipping them immediately to England; they have, with the exception of a few fixed places, no liberty to trade to any parts not belonging to the English dominions; and foreigners are not allowed the least commerce with these American colonies. And there are many similar restrictions. These oppressions have made the inhabi-

tants of the English colonies less tender towards their mother land. This coldness is increased by the many foreigners who are settled among them; for Dutch, Germans, and French are here blended with English, and have no special love for Old England. Besides, some people are always discontented, and love change; and exceeding freedom and prosperity nurse an untamable spirit. I have been told, not only by native Americans, but by English emigrants, publicly, that, within thirty or fifty years, the English colonies in North America may constitute a separate state, entirely independent of England. But, as this whole country is towards the sea unguarded, and on the frontier is kept uneasy by the French, these dangerous neighbors are the reason why the love of these colonies for their metropolis does not utterly decline. The English government has therefore reason to regard the French in North America as the chief power that urges their colonies to submission."

The Swede heard but the truth, though that truth lay concealed from British statesmen. Even during the war, the jealous spirit of resistance to tyranny was once kindled into a fury at Boston. Sir Charles Knowles, the British naval commander, whom Smollett is thought to have described justly as "an officer without resolution, and a man without veracity," having been deserted by some of his crew, while lying off Nantasket, early one morning sent his boats up to Boston, and impressed seamen from vessels, mechanics and laborers from the wharves. "Such a surprise could not be borne here," wrote Hutchinson, who was present; and he assigns, as the reason of impatience, that "the people had not been used to it." "Men would not be contented with fair promises from the governor;" "the seizure and restraint of the commanders and other officers, who were in town, were insisted upon, as the only effectual method to procure the release of the inhabitants aboard the ships." And "the mob" executed what the governor declined. At last, after three days of rage and resentment, through the mediation of the house of representatives, order was restored. The officers were liberated from their irregular imprisonment; and, in return, most, if not all, of the impressed citizens of Boston were dismissed from the English fleet.

The alliance of Austria with Russia hastened negotiations for the pacification of Europe; and a congress convened at Aix la Chapelle to restore tranquillity to the civilized world. As between England and Spain, and between France and England, after eight years of reciprocal annoyance, after an immense accumulation of national debt, the condition of peace was the

state of possession before the war. Nothing was gained. Humanity had suffered without a purpose, and without a result. In the colonial world, Madras was restored for Cape Breton; the boundaries between the British and the French provinces in America were left unsettled, neither party acknowledging the right of the other to the basin of the Penobscott, or of the Ohio; the frontier of Florida was not traced. Neither did Spain relinquish the right of searching English vessels suspected of smuggling; and, though it was agreed that the assiento treaty should continue for four years more, the right was soon abandoned, under a new convention, for an inconsiderable pecuniary indemnity. Of higher questions, in which the interests of civilization were involved, not one was adjusted. To the balance of power, sustained by standing armies of a million of men, the statesmen of that day intrusted the preservation of tranquillity, and, ignorant of the might of principles to mould the relations of states, saw in Austria the certain ally of England, in France the natural ally of Prussia.

Thus, after long years of strife, of repose, and of strife renewed, England and France solemnly agreed to be at peace. The treaties of Aix la Chapelle had been negotiated, by the ablest statesmen of Europe, in the splendid forms of monarchical diplomacy. They believed themselves the arbiters of mankind, the pacificators of the world,—reconstructing the colonial system on a basis which should endure for ages,—confirming the peace of Europe by the nice adjustment of material forces. At the very time of the congress of Aix la Chapelle, the woods of Virginia sheltered the youthful George Washington. Born by the side of the Potomac, beneath the roof of a Westmoreland farmer, almost from infancy his lot had been the lot of an orphan. No academy had welcomed him to its shades, no college crowned him with its honors: to read, to write, to cipher—these had been his degrees in knowledge. And now, at sixteen years of age, in quest of an honest maintenance, encountering intolerable toil; cheered onward by being able to write to a schoolboy friend, "Dear Richard, a doubloon is my constant gain every day, and sometimes six pistoles;" "himself his own cook, having no spit but a forked stick, no plate but a large chip;" roaming over spurs of the Alleghanies, and along the banks of the Shenandoah; alive to nature, and sometimes "spending the best of the day in admiring the trees and richness of the land;" among skin-clad savages, with their scalps and rattles, or uncouth emigrants, "that would never speak English;" rarely sleeping in a bed; holding a bearskin

a splendid couch ; glad of a resting-place for the night upon a little hay, straw, or fodder, and often camping in the forests, where the place nearest the fire was a happy luxury ;—this stripling surveyor in the woods, with no companion but his unlettered associates, and no implements of science but his compass and chain, contrasted strangely with the imperial magnificence of the congress of Aix la Chapelle. And yet God had selected, not Kaunitz, nor Newcastle, not a monarch of the house of Hapsburg, nor of Hanover, but the Virginia stripling, to give an impulse to human affairs, and, as far as the events can depend on an individual, had placed the rights and the destinies of countless millions in the keeping of the widow's son.

END OF HISTORY OF COLONIZATION.